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With the establishment in 1959 of a small experimental college within a large public city university, a record was kept of the impact of the college's high demand program on the working class students recruited from the university. To document the progress of the new institution and its students, a huge volume and variety of data was collected and social science analyses ranging from demographic studies following different stages of the social history of the student population, to analyses of variables, pattern analyses, sociometric analyses and combinations of all previous approaches were made. A flow chart of the students' career is drawn measuring quality of earlier work, outcome, scholarship level, perseverence, pace. The effect of the students' parents' lack of education on preparation and performance is measured and patterns of the students' adjustment to high academic demands and personal development are sketched. Researchers examined student reactions to various aspects of different faculty roles (as lecturer, discussion leader, tutor, counselor etc.) as well as to alternative learning situations. The conclusion is that an excellent college can be effective in a "streetcar" college setting with unselective admission if students and faculty are highly involved in the educational process. Volume II contains selected research conducted at the college by researchers of different disciplines and interests on many aspects of the college environment and student development. (JS)

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FINAL REPORT
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# IMPACT OF A HIGH-DEMAND COLLEGE IN A LARGE UNIVERSITY ON WORKING CLASS YOUTH

Volume I

August, 1968

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

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Final Report

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# IMPACT OF A HIGH-DEMAND COLLEGE IN A LARGE UNIVERSITY ON WORKING CLASS YOUTH

Volume I

By Sally Whelan Cassidy and others

Monteith College of
Wayne State University

Detroit, Michigan

Aug. 31, 1968

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

to

Everett C. Hughes

_Maitre et_

_Compagnon de Route_

and to

Clarence Hilberry

Founder and

Steadfast Friend

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first plans which ultimately resulted in the grant from the Office of Education being given for the present study. The paper by her which opens Volume II gives only a small idea of her contribution to our whole enterprise. Whenever we cite a student's answer to a question in one of the interviews, we could acknowledge again our indebtedness to her. We want to single out for special thanks at this point two of her collaborators, Myron Sharaf and Robert Weiss. The first took several first rate long interviews with a small sample of students, and was most helpful in discussing with us some of the main lines of the study; he also generously passed on valuable ideas derived from his sensitive analysis of portions of the OPI test. The second was helpful in many ways; his massive contribution to the codes and his key assistance in setting up the sociometric study have been acknowledged in Volume II.

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We finally thank the people from our own University and College who backed us in the huge responsibility of doing this piece of research for the Office of Education: Dean Ross and Dean Coral tirelessly cleared the way for us, cooperated with every request, valiantly stood by us in times of distress. We hope that this final product will give them cause for rejoicing. We also thank Dean Chester Kuhn of the College of Liberal Arts and Walter Hoffman and James McCarthy of the computing center, who each in his way and in his setting gave excellent advice and often priceless sponsorship.

As for us, if our years of labor can bring some light on the value of a first rate program of general education in a small college on a large urban campus; if it can bring some hope to people involved in parallel enterprises, we shall consider ourselves well rewarded.

Sally Whelan Cassidy and Paule Verdet

# Summary

The research which is reported here was initiated even before Hawthorn college opened its doors. The idea of a small autonomous college providing a first rate education to interested students on a large urban campus was at that time a very new idea. Its pioneers felt a responsibility to themselves, to City University, and to higher education in general, to keep a record of what they were doing and systematically to examine the result of their effort. This was from the start the function of "Program Study." The grant from the Office of Education was obtained to help finance this self-study a few years after Program Study had been launched.

The main focus of the study thus became the impact of the high demand program of Hawthorn, on the working class students recruited by the large state University, its parent institution.

In Chapter I, we examine the career of the 1959 entering class taken as a whole: first steps, faltering or successful; how many persevered, how many dropped out; what proportion decided to continue their studies elsewhere than in Hawthorn; how many graduated and when; what proportion achieved academic excellence. As we present these basic facts, we introduce the reader to the major hurdles of college life at Hawthorn, and we give a sense of the context within which the success or failure of "working class students" can be gauged.

In Chapter II we tackle the thorny question of the most appropriate and most practical operational definition of "working class student." After examining several possibilities, we select the index of parents' education. From then on, when we speak of "handicapped" students, we mean those who come from families in which neither parent finished high school. For the rest of the chapter, we compare these students to those with parents better educated in various degrees. We examine their preparation for college, their ability to perform, their expectations from college, their career orientation. Going one step further, and focussing back on the facts presented in Chapter I, we see the impact of the (lack of) parents' education on the students' early success or failure, their perseverance in Hawthorn (and in college), the outcome of their studies, both in terms of graduation and with regard to the quality of their work. We also consider the typical ways in which they maintain or alter their original choice of curriculum. One additional thing of importance is discovered in this chapter--the differences in preparation for college between men and women. Data on both sexes are separately tabulated and commented on throughout this chapter.

In Chapter III we divide our "handicapped students" into small groupings, according to their scores on entrance tests. We look carefully at key statements from their 1963 interviews, to capture the flavor of their experience at Hawthorn. We quote abundantly from these interviews and when necessary for the elucidation of the early stages of a given experience, from the 1960 interviews as well. We draw sketches of the types of response to Hawthorn made by these students, and find that they are distinguishable not only in terms of their capacity to perform, but also in terms of their approach to work, to time, to self-change, to knowledge itself. At the same time, we find that a substantial number from each subgrouping, no matter how poor their preparation for college, manage not only to graduate but to acquire a real taste for the intellectual life. Since this chapter provides the most direct approach to the problem under study, we present then and there some general conclusions and practical suggestions.

But two important factors have been dealt with only in passing: relationships with peers and relationships with faculty members. On the basis of a sociometric test taken in 1963, supplemented when necessary by other data, we undertake in Chapter IV the study of the various student "worlds" (by which we mean "cultures", only insisting on the interaction aspect more than is usually done). We first point out the elements of homogeneity and heterogeneity in the student body of 1959. Then we make a special study of the sets of students who emerge as leaders. Next, we point out the basic perspectives of six student worlds, and the background of the students who belong to them. We find that our "handicapped" students are far from segregated in a small world of their own or relegated to the role of secondary members. To a greater or lesser degree, they are involved in all the worlds, and some of them have achieved a prominent position among their fellows. We close this chapter with some evidence that there is a common element which appeals to, and even inspires, students from all worlds--a deep interest in education, in the continuing process of learning.

In Chapter V we come to grips with one of the most delicate but also most vital questions: has this small college truly offered its students unusual access to the faculty? After describing in some detail the premises and efforts of the Hawthorn staff in launching the college, and their various occasions for contact with the students, we study the students' statements of their own response to the faculty. First, we use the Ego-chart which graphically presents the various relationships of the students to faculty and peers within Hawthorn, at City University, and to other people off campus. We examine two cliques of successful students, cliques drawn from two very different worlds, and study their members' pattern of response to their environment in general and to the faculty in particular. We see where these two cliques agree and disagree in their appreciation of various faculty members. We then find that a large majority of their fellow students join them in agreeing on their judgement of the importance, in their own development and for Hawthorn in general, of a few particularly involved faculty members. An effort is made to find commonalities between students singling out the same faculty member, or between students and the faculty member they choose. Here, as in the study of the worlds, what is striking is the heterogeneity of background among partners in almost any relationship.

There follow three exhibits. In the first two, the students tell in their own words about their experience at Hawthorn and in the rest of the University, where most of them take close to half of their courses. Most students indicate how much more satisfactory is their student role at Hawthorn, particularly in relationship to the staff. The last exhibit gives some information on the academic career and other relevant characteristics of the Hawthorn faculty.

Having documented the availability and meaningfulness of staff in the previous chapter, in Chapter VI we examine the impact of various types of relationships upon the intellectual and also the personal development of the students. Several main approaches are taken. First, we find that the Mentor role of the staff member stands out among the various combinations of important relationships. Second, we find that the difeerent ways in which students interpret their instructors' motivations and rationale can be grouped into a few consistent ideologies, two which seem properly characteristic of Hawthorn, another more detached, the last more traditional. Here again, we examine the position of our handicapped students, and find that they tend to see the Hawthorn professor as competent innovator, or to hold with a rather traditionalist ideology of the benevolent well-trained pedagogue. They do not usually emphasize the more personal aspects of the instructor's motivation and involvement, though many say they have been greatly helped in the early stages of their college life by the friendly countenance of their early discussion leaders.

In a final effort to assay the value of the Hawthorn style of student-faculty relationship, we select four principal characteristics, not based only on students' choices, but also on what they do and on what their answers demonstrate--do they find that they can relate easily to any faculty member, one whom they find meaningful, accessible and friendly, but also under whom they may actively study?--do they show real knowledge and understanding of the faculty member they select as most meaningful to them?--have they found a meaningful faculty member early in their college career?--are they willing to ascribe desirable qualities to members of the staff? We find that all these characteristics have a definite positive impact on the academic performance of the students. Their importance to the students personally has been spelled out time and again in statements quoted all through this Volume.

In conclusion we think we can affirm that Hawthorn has started fulfilling its promise as a high quality small college. It has enkindled in many of its students a love of learning, has given them varied opportunities for friendship with peers, has brought to many of them the services of an interested and dedicated faculty (by the students' own account). It has done this for students from the least educated backgrounds as well as for the children of college graduates, sometimes along different pathways, more often in remarkable comingling.

# INTRODUCTION, METHODOLOGY

## The Setting

Hawthorn College, the latest of the ten colleges and schools at City University was added in 1959 when a decision was made to break away from the ordinary pattern of City higher education and to try an earlier model, the small college with its own student body, staff, location, and course offerings. Could such an institution be viable in this setting, could it give itself an adequate staff and curriculum; could its image be made clear and consistent; could it be meshed with other institutions in the basic complex of City University? Would students, burdened with the strain of commuting and job holding be willing to follow a series of basic sequences, so much the harder to fit into a constantly evolving work situation; would they benefit from the added contact with fellow students and staff members made highly visible by participation in the identical pattern of courses? Would an urban, principally working class population, such as public universities usually attract, respond to the unique characteristics of the smaller institution? Could Hawthorn College make its high demands perceivable and acceptable. Could a staff and student body enact a sub-culture within the larger university world which would act as a liberating, affirming catalyser and sustainer for its members. Could the students adjust to a situation which demanded that they be truly members of the larger academic complex, members of the larger community, sharers in its life and facilities, participants in its institutions and student life?

What would the impact of an institution having a consistent program be on its students and on the overall university? What processes can be detected that effect student motivation to pursue knowledge, to persevere through the dozen hurdles- psychological, institutional and economic- which face the poor students in any urban university? This is our problem, this is the burden of our four years of research which started before any student set foot in this Hawthorn College.

## Recruitment of Student Body

In order to make this new venture a uniquely useful one for the University as a whole, the decision was made not to recruit a special student body but to allow Hawthorn College to work with the ordinary City University undergraduate who entered either the College of Engineering or of Liberal Arts as freshman.[1] In order to ensure the adequacy of this experiment, schemes were devised which would allow Hawthorn College to accept a sizeable contingent from each cooperating college.[2] Recruitment devices varied from the College of Engineering's draft of Civil Engineers (while allowing students entering mechanical or electrical engineering to volunteer), to the Colleges' of Medicine and Education scheme to invite a given proportion of students planning to enter their schools at City University to prepare at Hawthorn College, to a random invitation scheme operating in Liberal Arts where every nth students was invited.

Thus in the Fall of 1959, Hawthorn College had a student body which was a microcosm of the undergraduate population of City University, students who had met its ordinary admission standards and who had agreed to enter on their college careers in this new setting.

Brochures had been sent out to the city's high schools; Hawthorn College's chief figures participated in interviews on television, and a few articles appeared in the local press. All publicity stressed Hawthorn College's experimental nature, its integrated general program, its small classes, its desire to foster student independence, and the advantages of a small college atmosphere in a larger university setting.

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[1] Liberal Arts acts as the service unit for the Colleges of Education and Engineering and the School of Business Administration and prepares the students for the University's Medical and Law Schools.

[2] Who were these students? Sixty came in from the College of Education, fifty came in from the College of Engineering, fifteen were preparing for Law School, sixty were pre-medical students, twenty came in from Business Administration and a hundred and ten came from the College of Liberal Arts. For more on the vagaries of an experimental design once it is placed in the hands of administrators see Appendix "Evaluating an Experimental College Program with Institutional Records" by Sally W. Cassidy et al. (O of E. Project 0998, Contract 3-20-001, D. Campbell Principal Investigator.)

A comparison of students coming to Hawthorn College in the Fall of 1959 with a sample of freshmen entering City University's College of Liberal Arts shows that there is strikingly little difference in the two groups in socio-demographic characteristics, in high school preparation, in entrance test scores, in various personality measures, and in perception of the goals of college education. Two factors did differentiate the two groups. Hawthorn College recruited a relatively heavy preponderance of men over women[1], and those having a readiness to try out new ways (as measured by the OPI scale.)

It would not be misleading to think of the Hawthorn College student as a local boy, a second generation immigrant, probably of Slav or Northern European origin, whose parents might well speak a foreign language at home. His parents more likely than not, have less than twelve years education apiece. His father is a salaried employee, more likely a blue collar worker than a minor clerk. He is probably Protestant, although he has one chance in four of being a Roman Catholic and one chance in five of being Jewish. This student went to an ordinary public school and considered himself in the upper fifth of his class. He considered himself best prepared in Humanities but was most interested in Science, least well prepared in foreign languages but least interested in Mathematics.

A third of his peers are of English or Celtic origin, and have parents both of whom went to college. Two in five have fathers who are businessmen, technicians, or professionals. One in four comes from an outstanding high school, but one in ten went to one of the worst high schools in the city.[2] A third of his peers thought the most important goal of college was training for future work, but almost as many chose intellectual development as their most important goal. He thought his goal was achievable, particularly if he tried hard enough and worked persistently. He did not see college as an enjoyable place, or college work as interesting in itself, but rather as self-enhancing or as a necessary step towards a fairly sharply focussed future occupation.[1]

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[1] This preponderance does not appear in the classroom or on campus, given the complementary preponderance of men among the transfer students to City University.

[2] The singular reflects the modal type, the plural the more frequent other types.

An examination of the entering student's image of Hawthorn College showed that they often believed it to be an elite college, that they thought they had been specially selected, that the characteristics of the College which they understood best were its overall size, its small classes, its concern for coherence in curriculum, its stress on independence, and on informal access to staff. A subsequent study showed that misunderstood were Hawthorn's standards (some saw the school as very tough, others as less demanding than other City University colleges), access to specialized fields in ordinary Liberal Arts programs (e.g., I want to be a psychologist or mathematician and I can't become one at Hawthorn), and the College's position on the student being self-disciplined. It became the task of Program Study to follow that first class of entering students throughout their college career, in order to ascertain what impact, if any, the carefully devised Hawthorn program would have on them.

Documenting a new institution is a staggering task. Hawthorn would be developing a distinctive culture or failing to do so, incorporating unknown recruits and their constructing networks of relationships, surviving as a going institution though imbedded in a huge university with its own established culture and organizational arrangements, or being engulfed by its milieu. It seemed important to collect a huge variety of data, to show what happened, win or lose, not knowing in advance whether or not any of them would turn out to be of prime importance in the end. Just anticipating the need of those later writing up the material collected in systematic fashion, to check out a hunch, we collected agendas and reports of Student Board meetings, lists of students planning and attending freshman camps, student-faculty get togethers, protest rallies of various sorts. An effort was made to keep track of items on the bulletin board of the Center, of the one-night stand petitions, or poems or cartoons. An effort to get at faculty style brought tape recorders and observers using Bales' technique into key classrooms. All lectures were taped and kept so as to assess faculty styles, which later was done and proved useful-- reaching out to the student vs. I am the maestro on my podium. More prosaic lists of probationers and those selected for semester honors at University-wide convocations; those attending ROTC and those whose works were exhibited at the Christmas and Spring Art Shows; those who were proficient in jazz, in classical guitar; those who earned their way through Hawthorn managing posh cinemas showing the best foreign films, and those who made it by managing an all-night cafe or downtown parking lot; girls who tablehopped; girls who modeled for University art classes, boys who delivered campus mail or who lugged around audio-visual equipment; students who were regulars in tutorial programs for inner city grammar school kids and students who went on missions such as going to Alabama when the first Negro student was being barred from campus; students going to Europe, to Frisco, to the Village; to Indian Reservations and London film schools; students who were newly interested in municipal politics and those who came from old world ideologically committed socialist families; students who signed up to vote on the first possible occasion after their twenty-first birthday and those who waited for a presidential election to come around.

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[1] We found the very same misconceptions cropping up three years later when we analysed the reasons why students entering City University preferred not to come to Hawthorn College. New reasons emerged of course, but the major reasons were the same- it is too hard (or too easy), it can't prepare me for Education (or History, or Business). Recent reasons, more accurately, cite problems of self-discipline (I need prodding in order to work well), intimacy (I like to lose myself in a crowd; I don't like to be obliged to speak up in classes), or the particular "egghead" image which Hawthorn College projects in some of the city high schools.

Yet, tabulating the data endlessly provides no knowledge at all with regard to the process. What was yet to be discovered was which variables are indeed worth reporting, to what extent, why, and in connection with what? The questions came from the staff who asked about: did a student's job interfere with his studies, did students invite other students home, which were difficult components of first year basic course, which were interesting? This checking on faculty hunches later continued in the probes which twice put to the students a number of real problems confronting the staff. Work done in one context proved useful in another, such as the probe on staff structuring courses and making clear their expectations to students which served as background for the discussion in Chapter III of the feeling of confusion of students of poor educational background; this in turn allowed the important discovery of the whole gestalt of knowledge seen as something which gets poured into one's head.

On the other hand, the endless streams of socio-demographic information did alert us to the silent presence of Poles, to the abrupt shifts in flow of students from good high schools, indeed to the deterioration of some of these same high schools. We were able first to become aware of and then document the increasing number of students already engaged in considerable intergenerational conflict or witnessing conflict between their elders. Each increment of new data set off a wave of speculation, particularly in the Social Science staff, who were already prone to spinning hypotheses on the basis of my students = the students. This kept up a high level of alertness as the first "Hawthorn" class was viewed against successive entering classes, each highly distinctive as it reacted to broad shifts in the national mood.

Uncovering the living processes of education requires endless poring over the data, trying to find out regularities and patterns, sensitizing oneself to the real value of a given instrument. Months were thus spent on student rankings of college goals, first trying to decide whether taking first and second choices separately or in combination was the more useful, then in devising codes which seemed adequate to changes in a student's ranking of his college goals made by the student in his senior year.

Finally all this sifting and processing ended up as three pages in Chapter II, plus a three page Appendix. By then, however, we had outgrown our early fascination with lists of college goals and learned how to pay attention to behavioral indices, such as the changes in curriculum (hence developing the notion of Liberal, Adaptive, Instrumental approaches) and to what students said in open-ended questions.

The CCI (College Characteristics Index), on the other hand, proved useful in several ways, first in permitting Hawthorn to be viewed in the broader national context and comparisons to be made with elite colleges, with university colleges, with urban colleges. This allowed us on the one hand to have some sense of having constructed a college which walked, quacked and tasted like an elite college. On the other hand it highlighted the great difference between Hawthorn and elite colleges in the level of predictability of Hawthorn's basic curriculum, in the energy and ambition of its student body. It proved to be a useful device in allowing us to document the amazing strength of consensus about Hawthorn and its persistence through the years.

## The Pitfalls of Intimate Knowledge, the Values of Distance

The staff was heavily involved in the research on Hawthorn by its very knowledgeability, its constantly whetted curiosity, its readiness to raise questions and to offer hypotheses explanatory of newly perceived student behavior, its generous participation as expert in endless discussions of research design where one school's pooh-poohing questionnaires and recommending the cultivation of a few key informants was met by another clan's austere reliance on standardized instruments and shying away from informants as potentially contaminating.[1]

Several staff members wrote up portions of the data in reports which are published in this work. We all could not help but be concerned about how to guard against the natural bias in favor of one's students, one's staff, one's pet hypotheses. One very real guarantee was the multiplicity of approaches. The interlocking research teams were confronted with each other's findings and often jointly elaborated tests which would dredge up satisfactory evidence-- a procedure which proved realistic, given the devoted thoroughness and persistence of Hawthorn's full time research staff. Data coming in from participant observers or from observant participants helped verify intimations of student activity derived primarily from comparing names on myriad lists of camp cookouts, NSA delegates and students ever employed at Hawthorn, etc., etc. On the other hand, sociometric data derived from several different instruments, and administered by different personnel from the interviewers, helped us place their much fuller descriptions of a student's involvement with Hawthorn staff in a cruder, but more comparable, matrix of his peers' overall relationship with that staff and with City's staff, where a given student could be perceived as more intricately or more simply woven into the whole network of university relationships as detailed by his whole class.

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[1] The first set of data was collected under almost surgically aseptic conditions, as were the final interviews which were administered by strangers to both students and staff. Many of the initial codes, particularly on the faculty, were worked out by people who were not involved in the final writing up. Serious attempts were made to set and maintain high standards for coding and relentlessly to check for reliability.

### Useful Inside Knowledge, the Cooperative Insider, the Informant

Yet, by and large, research at Hawthorn benefited immensely from the pervasive interest of staff and its willing gift of time, but more important from its ongoing alertness to the endless shifts in the student environment, in the university milieu and even in Hawthorn's relationship with the neighborhood, with suburban parents, with local community college and the like.

True, there seemed to be persistent biases, despite repeated vows of repentence. These biases were those which focussed observations on students in the general over those in professional curriculum; biases which favored boys over girls, Core members of Hawthorn over students at the periphery or those heavily committed to City University student activity; bias bringing in ten observations of rich ethnic data for one scrap on cleancut suburbia, a dozen anecdotes on working class students[1] to one account of the child of professionals; detailed account of parties where student journalists, artists and political activists were well represented but hardly the barest rumor of an equally significant gathering among potential teachers.[2]

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[1] Though often woefully ignorant of it; "working class" students often proved to be sons and daughters of highly placed union officials who were a recognized part of the local aristrocracy.

[2] Occasional encounters with students who came in for an interview as part of a random sample acted as partial corrective as did the increasingly more voluminous reports by off campus research collaborators or the shrewd, sharp observation of a colleague just passing through who did not perceive import of the telling anecdote or who blandly served up an alternative explanation.

.Still the judgement buttressed by four years' observation, of the weekly meetings of the Student Board, the agreements of colleagues who had had the students in class or estimates made from his responses to a projective test, the constant assessment and reassessment of who was responding to Hawthorn's challenge, what role fraternities played (countering Hawthorn's impact, or merely giving a student who wanted to live on campus a convenient and cheap pied-a-terra), none of these insights could be written off if only because these very conversations helped mold Hawthorn. Correctness of response was greatly speeded, and hopefully made sensitive by the fine edge of colleagues' observation. This in turn bred a mutual confidence which allowed for sharing of disappointments as well as triumphs.

Students themselves carried out small research projects at Hawthord often focussing on the pattern of sociability at the Hawthorn Center, sometimes investigating cliques in the one and only girls' dorm, sometimes chasing down the meanderings of fellow students who were spectacular procrastinators or the meteor path of some campus celebrities or the internecine battles between various student organizations whose differences seemed miniscule compared to their common ferocity. These somewhat haphazardly chosen but often painstakingly carried out efforts provided the researchers with some of the most astute observations, giving us some hint of the unsuspected labyrinth of student life.

A small college of its very nature cannot provide the researcher with large numbers of students to be fit into elaborate Greco-Roman squares or any other patterns characteristic of multivariate analysis. Even the humble Chi Square has its minimal requirements of a given N for each cell. We could hope gradually to accumulate reasonable number of students incarnating intriguing combinations of variables but could the difference of national mood, say before or after President Kennedy's assassination, be discounted or would it override, blot out, or unduly heighten one component of the overall pattern we were trying to examine?

Some inequalities of distribution were built into Hawthorn by its constituting document, The Gray Book, which decreed that Social Scientists would face freshman classes of twelve, Natural Scientists freshman classes of eighteen, while Humanities teachers would face Junior classes (shrunk by attrition) of twenty or more.[1] This led necessarily to major comparisons (such as in the Gamson study) being made not between all three staffs, but only between Social Scientists and Natural Scientists who not only had students in common but were numerous enough to permit other than one at a time analysis.

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[1] The underlying theory was maximizing high level contact early in undergraduate Education so as to develop an independent student who could handle his later classes with minimal faculty guidance.

Some inequalities sprang up from the different conduct of individuals and staffs. Thus four individual staff members each drew to himself more student affirmation than went to all the other members of the faculty put together. One staff, similarly grossly disproportionate ruined easy statistical analysis by drawing the lion's share of student attention.

But even the much larger numbers available in the LA sample were deceptive. Under careful scrutiny their reassuring bulk shrank to a pitiful few when we eliminated those who could not have become Hawthorn students: part time students, evening students, students in certain para-professional curricula, those admitted to City University after Hawthorn registration closed. Thus tight comparisons between the two settings were obdurated not by lack of data but because the bulk of the data was gathered from students who did not have an equal chance of having been invited to Hawthorn.

Then numbers refused to stay put but seemed to swell and shrink as the Drop Out returned (which occured often enough for us to coin a special term, the ricochet student). Then City University took students in three times a year and graduated them twice a year. Where should one draw the line establishing an individual's membership even in a class; at entry? at graduation? Eager beaver students loading themselves up with courses for each of eight successive semesters (or less) could catch up with students who had entered college when they had been high school Juniors. The Hawthorn class, which is the chief focus of this report, while fortunately keeping its distinctive membership, still contributed to vagaries of numbers by having members who slowed down the pace of their college career either by periodic withdrawals, or by taking a year off to study elsewhere, or by staying an extra year to firm up newly acquired interests, or by simply doing so poorly that it took longer to accumulate the designated number of credit hours.[1]

Thus the reader will often find that numbers don't match. This will usually reflect the differing periods in which the data was worked up, and not a cavalier disregard to minimal standards of research- the numbers should always add up.

## Reflections on Research in a Small College

In a small college, one is not working on an anonymous sample. The interviewing becomes part and parcel of common life. All instructors are involved, unless they desolidarize themselves, but it is almost impossible to desolidarize oneself in a small college.

How the tests (such as the OPI) were made acceptable:

> Through explanation of why they had to be given.
> Through elaboration of principles of use which satisfied the students (eg., overall, not individual, analysis.)

There might have been a temptation to make compliance obligatory; eg., you will receive your degree only after you've had a final interview. But this throws research into the ranks of unpleasant requirements imposed by "them" and jeopardizes the fullness if not the veracity of the account, invites the student to monosyllabic replies. Rather, the raison d'etre of research and the spirit of cooperating with it needs to be established early. Certain key points were made effectively:

> The college, as a community, trying out certain ways of doing things on behalf of all of higher education.

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[1] Low grades earned in one course had to be compensated for by higher grades in another if not by repeating the course itself.

The common desire to improve our own program by becoming aware of our own practices and results.

The relevance of relating various aspects of life in and outside the college to each other, to understand their impact on one another, to gain intellectual mastery of one's world.

At Hawthorn, from the very beginning, the open door policy was established. Instructors attended each other's lectures; visitors of all sorts (including fellow instructors and unregistered students) were welcome at discussion groups.

One of the problems engendered by the cooperative character of research was the necessary delay between the collection of the data and the presentation of the findings; students have been waiting for the results of program study, and might have come to give up ever seeing any useful result of their painstaking and time consuming cooperation.

## The variety of Analyses

Each chapter of this volume represents a different style of social science analysis. Thus, as we cover different topics we use different kinds of data in different ways, drawing from different traditions in research, trying to put to use different skills.

Chapter I is demographic. It follows the various stages of the social history of the student population. It shows how this population falls into important groupings in terms of the institutional process (e.g. grouping of the drop outs, grouping of the early graduates, etc.). One has to accept the institutional model as a norm and to work from it. The discoveries are primarily those of surprising contrasts in size, or of instances where the actual facts depart from institutional definitions or expectations (e.g. how long does it take to graduate).

Chapter II is concerned with the analysis of variables. An independent variable, operationally defined by objective measurable criteria (here, parents' education) is considered important to the process under study (student's education in college). Its impact on the preparation for and the undergoing of the process is followed, in terms of its relation to dependent variables, the definition and relevance of which to the process are in large part taken for granted (e.g. curriculum decisions). These dependent variables are also operationally defined from behavioral data (even data in which the student reports an experience or a wish, e.g. college goals, are treated as "behavior"). The various associations or correlations observed shed light on the relevance of the independent variable to the process: the analyst reconstructs imaginatively some aspects of the experience undergone by the student, and thus comes to differentiate between the kinds of persons who happen to fall within the categories established for the independent variable (e.g. the men one of whose parents graduated from high school). This reconstruction, however, has to be made from ill-fitted pieces, i.e. the insights drawn from the consideration of dependent variables (this is hardly avoidable, since the categories used are objective, measurable, etc.). Some researchers might derive regularities, laws, predictions even from such a study. Another use is to show how far from the facts are many of the general assumptions upon which the institution operates (e.g. the students from poorly educated families have practical goals).

Chapter III is in the tradition of Pattern Analysis. At the start two independent variables are used in combination (parents' education and entrance test scores). But this time they are used to separate out small groupings, homogeneous in this double regard. What is studied is the response of the individuals in these small groupings to the process of education: not only what they say of different aspects of the process, but how they say it, in which words, expressing which feelings, placing emphasis on what. It is, so to say, thanks to individual differences between students that the commonalities in their definition of the situation and of self within it are discovered. If contrasting patterns emerge from the study of the same subgrouping, new aspects (new meanings, new stages) of the process are revealed (e.g. the difference between students who transfer late from Hawthorn and those who stay til the end among the students from poorly educated families with uneven entrance scores). Because the contact with the concreteness of the student's own statement about his experience is faithfully kept, abstraction is freer to soar (and much more apt to be tested). Thus the process is explored in a way which is far from limited to the small subgroupings under consideration (hence the rather broad conclusions to Chapter III).

In Chapter IV, we turn to Sociometric Analysis. Here, it is the data which is abstract. The construct tries to rebuild the concrete. This can be done in a multitude of different ways, obviously. Yet, there must be a best one, truest to the social reality. This is why, time and again, complementary data (from participant observation, from records, from independent variables) have to be used. The value of the approach is that, if all these additional data are truly used as complementary, a completely unexpected picture may emerge (e.g. the discovery that the "Core" is not so much the central group as it is adjacent to many others). Here, groups, rather than categories as in Chapters I and II, or groupings as in Chapter III, are taken into account--groups upon which one may engage in a pattern analysis similar to the one done in Chapter III.

Chapters V and VI draw on all those previous approaches which up to this point we have tried to keep separate, and harness them together in an effort to handle a difficult topic. The Ego chart contributes a new sociometric element. Objectively defined variables such as quality of performance or test scores are used again. Types rather than patterns are derived from student perception of staff ideologies. One of the important distinctions between the two chapters, however, is that while Chapter V above all pays attention to students' statements of their perception of faculty, or of their frequency of relationships with various other kinds of people, Chapter VI takes such statements in combination with facts, events, qualities, which are not dependent on the students' own rendition of their experience (e.g. in establishing the quality of knowledgeability, we do not pay attention to whether or not the student says that he knows a given professor, but to the knowledge of that professor or lack of it the student exhibits in his comments about him). Both Chapters endeavor to incorporate concepts, hunches discovered in previous chapters and approaches elaborated earlier. Hence the tightly knit quality of the presentation.

## Theoretical Guidelines

> The process by which a distinctly human or social mind and a corresponding type of knowledge grows up within us was first expounded at some length in 1895 by James Mark Baldwin, who called it "the dialectic of personal growth". It resembles a game of tennis in that no one can play it alone; you must have another on the opposite side of the net to return the ball. From the earliest infancy our life is passed in eager response to incitements that reach us through the expressive behavior of other people.....(C.H. Cooley, "The Roots of Social Knowledge" in Sociological Theory and Social Research, Henry Holt, 1930, page 293.)

> If the distinctive trait of spatial knowledge is that it is mensurative, that of social knowledge is, perhaps, that it is dramatic. As the former may be resolved into distinctions among our sensations, and hence among the material objects that condition those sensations so the latter is based ultimately on perceptions, of the intercommunicating behavior of men, and experience of the processes of mind that go with it. What you know about a man consists, in part, of flashes of vision as to what he would do in particular situations, how he would look, speak and move; it is by such flashes that you judge whether he is brave or a coward, hasty or deliberate, honest or false, kind or cruel, and so on. (C.H. Cooley, ibid, page 294.)

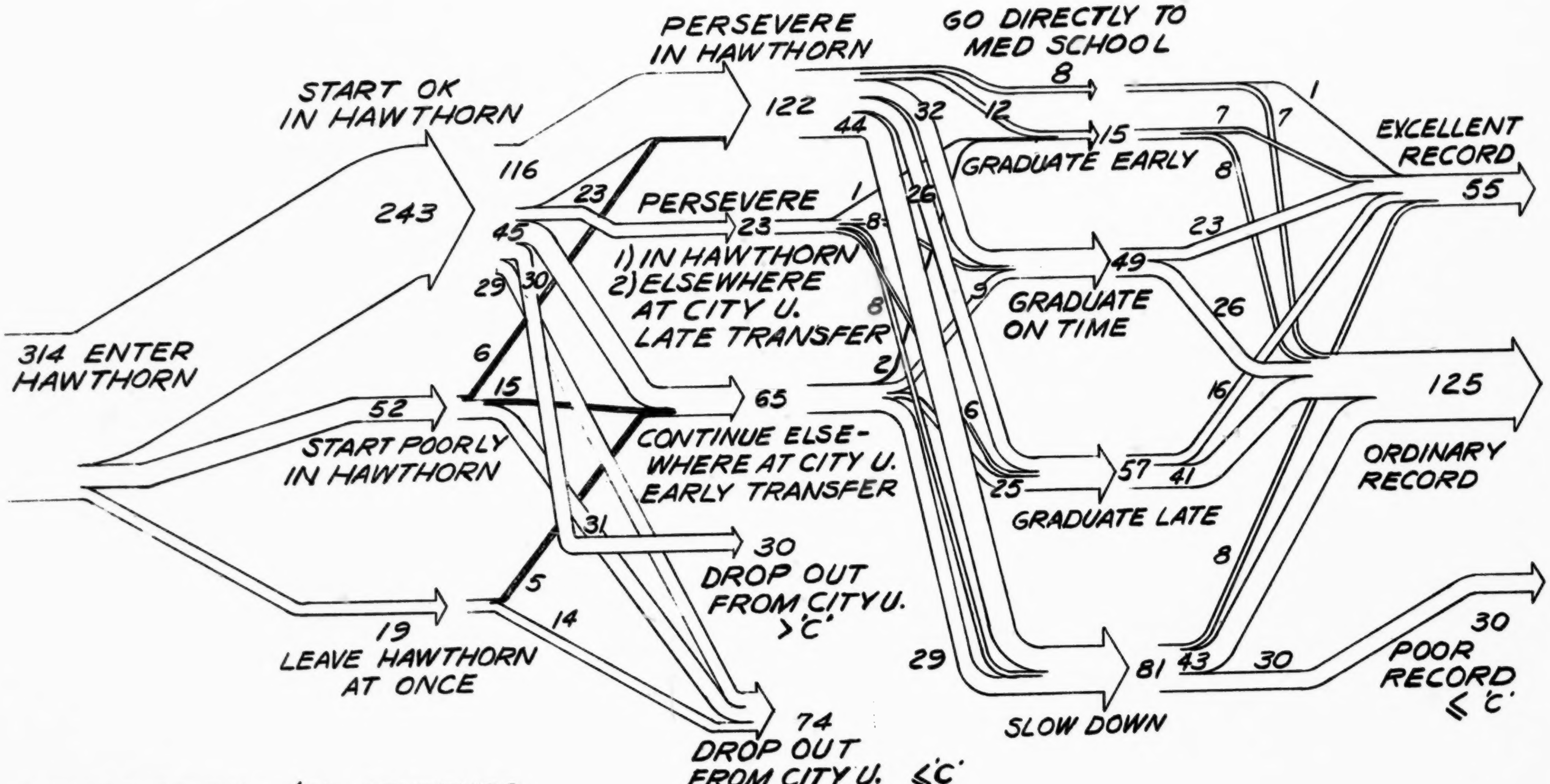
> .....In particular he does it largely by what may be called sympathetic introspection; putting himself into intimate contact with various sorts of persons and allowing them to awake in himself a life similar to their own, which he afterwards, to the best of his ability, recalls and describes. In this way he is more-or-less able to understand--always by introspection--children, idiots, criminals, rich and poor, conservative and radical--any phase of human nature not wholly alien to his own. This I conceive to be the principal method of the social psychologist. (C.H. Cooley, Social Organization, Schocken Paperback SB22, page 7.)

# CHAPTER I

What happened to the students who entered Hawthorn in the Fall of 1959? One could attempt to answer this question by listing a series of figures: so many stayed in school, so many dropped out, so many came back; so many remained in Hawthorn until graduation, so many until their senior year, so many until the end of the first semester and then transferred to some other college at City University; so many graduated by the end of four years, so many graduated later, so many did not graduate; so many did very well, so many did average work and so many did poorly. While such an enumeration gives the reader the "basic facts", it presents them isolated from each other. These slices of reality need to be fitted together again to reconstruct the whole picture.

I think that in order to gain a truer grasp of the situation one must follow the complex way in which students fall into various sub-groupings, in terms of their performance, the career choices they make, or their use of time. Chart I attempts to present the reader with a pictorial representation of some of the main characteristics of the varied careers of a student at Hawthorn. It can be seen as a system of pools connected by rivulets or streams. The size of the pools corresponds to the "basic facts" mentioned above; the size of the connecting streams give an idea of the relationship existing between different kinds of facts.

The Chart ought not to be read as a time chart, though three of its columns indicate specific points in time: column 1 refers to the Fall of 1959; column 2 refers to the student's performance during the year 1959-60; column 4 indicates the outcome by the end of the year 1963-64. Columns 3 and 5, however, refer to the overall career of the student: column 3 indicates where he pursued it; column 5 its quality. Column 3 comes in the middle of the chart fittingly, as it expresses the basic relationship of the student to the College. Column 5, on the other hand, indicates better than anything else what the college has contributed to the future of the student, hence can come last. I shall now go over each one of the columns in detail, explaining why the facts it presents were singled out, and how the subcategories were devised.


314 ENTER HAWTHORN
243
START OK IN HAWTHORN
52
START POORLY IN HAWTHORN
19
LEAVE HAWTHORN AT ONCE
116
45
29
30
6
15
31
5
14
23
122
PERSEVERE IN HAWTHORN
23
PERSEVERE
1) IN HAWTHORN
2) ELSEWHERE AT CITY U.
LATE TRANSFER
65
CONTINUE ELSE-WHERE AT CITY U.
EARLY TRANSFER
30
DROP OUT FROM CITY U. >'C'
74
DROP OUT FROM CITY U. ≤'C'
44
32
12
1
8
26
8
9
2
6
25
29
8
GO DIRECTLY TO MED SCHOOL
15
GRADUATE EARLY
49
GRADUATE ON TIME
57
GRADUATE LATE
81
SLOW DOWN
1
7
7
8
23
26
16
41
8
43
30
55
EXCELLENT RECORD
125
ORDINARY RECORD
30
POOR RECORD ≤'C'

CAREER OF FALL '59 STUDENTS

## 1. Entering Hawthorn

It is useful to remember that in the Fall of 1959 Hawthorn was a new college, a new member in the federation of Colleges which constitute City University. It proposed to offer an experimental program along the lines of general education to a sample of students admitted to City University (an effort was made to send invitations to a random sample of students). It aimed to recruit about 340 entering freshmen, of whom about 270 would be pursuing a preprofessional program (Medicine, Education, Law, Business Administration, Engineering), the others a general program (including academic majors). The curriculum was planned so that, in addition to the required core of Hawthorn courses, the student would take an important portion of his training (up to one-half of his courses) in other City University colleges.

Thus the Hawthorn entrant was to be a City University student as well. He would be exposed from the start both to the Hawthorn style of education and to the more orthodox style which prevails elsewhere at City University. If he was admitted in a pre-professional program, sooner or later his professional school would claim his allegiance, thus competing with the demands of Hawthorn. Presumably too (despite persistant rumors to the contrary throughout the first year) credit earned in Hawthorn would be recognized by other City University colleges if the student decided he had made a mistake in accepting the invitation to the new college and wanted to transfer out of it.

I am repeating these basic givens of the situation to underline the fact that the '59 entering class was anything but a captive audience.[1]

## 2. Quality of work done during the first year

College is a new experience for the freshman: he has less hours of classes to attend than in high school, he has more freedom to organize his time; simultaneously much higher demands are placed on him. In Hawthorn the contrast is complete: attendance is required neither at lectures nor at discussions, quizzes are practically unknown; but the student is expected to become thoroughly involved in his work, to think for himself, to read difficult material, to raise questions and follow them up. Hawthorn is a workshop for apprentices, not a super market or cafeteria for consumers.[1]

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[1] It is only fair to add that it was to a large extent a captivated audience: much attention paid to individual students, a tremendous amount of faculty time spent in contact with them, the friendly curiousity expressed by visitors, and above all the excitement of seeing a new institution being born and making it happen, all contributed to attach a large number of entering students to Hawthorn as they could never be attached to City University.

Either the entering student recogizes this basic rule of the game or he does not. If he does, he can go on to take advantage of the opportunities which are opened to him. If he does not recognize this fundamental difference between Hawthorn and high school, there is very little chance that a meaningful dialogue can ever be established between him and his professors. He will doubt his capacity to learn, or doubt the capacity of the school to teach anything, or both.

The criterion of "poor start" in the chart is based on the average of the grades received by the freshmen in the four courses normally taken in Hawthorn during the first two semesters: two in Natural Science (including one course in Math and Logic), and two in Social Science (including one course requiring an important research paper). We use a low cutting point to single out students who had major problems in their studies: the "pool" of those who "start poorly in Hawthorn" comprises students whose average fell below C (this was obtained by a combination of any of the following: two D's and two C's: three C's and one failure; three D's and one B; two B's and two failures; one A and three failures).

In addition to those who were successful and those who started poorly, there were students who were not enrolled long enough to get a grade in any of the Hawthorn courses. They either decided to quit school at once or they decided that they had made a clear mistake in accepting the invitation to Hawthorn and transferred at once to another college at City University.

What can one learn from the distribution of the Hawthorn entrants into the three categories in this first column on the chart? First, that Hawthorn did not use grades as a means of conveying to the students its intention to be a "high demand" college. Only 17% of the freshmen ended their first year with a poor record. At Oakland University, which was started at the same time, at least twice as many students failed at the end of the first year and were not allowed to come back. Hawthorn used different means to communicate to its students the high expectations it had of them; much work was demanded, but much encouragement was given and many opportunities to do the job well (including the chance to rewrite a paper, to take an incomplete).

It is interesting to see, however, that as many as 6% of the entering students left without even completing their first semester. (Half of these left college altogether; the nine others, or 3% of the entering class, left Hawthorn but decided to give college another try elsewhere).

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[1] Yet its lack of strict discipline may suggest to the neophyte that it is a cafeteria rather than a workshop. Hence the student's possible confusion.

### 3. Overall Status

Here I am taking into account the fact that Hawthorn was not the only pathway to a college degree which was opened to the entering class. The question is: who decided to continue on in Hawthorn, and for how long?

The first category "persevere in Hawthorn" is self-explanatory. These students maintained their decision to go to college, and to be a part of the Hawthorn experiment, up to graduation (or to the end of the year 1963-64, whichever one came first). Included are students who left school for a while and then returned; included also would be students who transferred out of Hawthorn into another college at City University and then came back to complete the Hawthorn program. In other words, perseverance at Hawthorn does not have to be sustained throughout; it can be interrupted, it can tolerate exploration elsewhere, as long as in the end it is revived and confirmed.

The second category, as well as the third, includes students who, having started in Hawthorn, leave to continue their studies in another college at City University. Since this can happen as early as the first semester, and as late as during the last quarter at school, there is clearly a need to differentiate between students who have received a sizeable portion of their education in Hawthorn and those who have not. Besides, students who leave early are likely to do it because they do not approve of nor feel at ease in the kind of education process offered by Hawthorn. Students who leave late are more likely to do so because the demands of a professional degree dictate that they take more of the specialized types of courses and give up the senior offerings which crown the program of general education in Hawthorn. Or they may already have a specific job in mind and judge that certain specialized courses would be an advantage to them at the beginning of their career.

Thus, both in terms of amount of training received and of motivation for transferring out of Hawthorn, we need to distinguish between early and late transfers. I have selected the completion of the three core sequences as my cutting point (adding to the contingent of late transfers, however, all students who did not get credit for one of the semester courses of one or other of the sequences for a variety of reasons, the most common being a grade of "incomplete"). Thus the second category, those labelled as having "persevered (1) in Hawthorn, (2) elsewhere at City University," are students who transferred late, generally missing the senior colloquium and senior essay. The third category, those labelled as having "continued elsewhere at City University", are students who transferred earlier than that (usually during the first year or at the end of the sophomore year).

Drop-outs in turn are divided into two categories: those who left with a good enough record to be able to gain admittance at other state universities in Michigan; and those whose record was not good enough to enable them to go to college elsewhere. Included in these two categories are all Hawthorn entrants who dropped out definitively either from Hawthorn or from another college at City University, at any time during the five years covered by the chart. On the other hand, students who dropped out and came back are not counted among the drop outs.

The distribution of the entering class among those five categories can be summarized in the following way. Close to 50% persevere in Hawthorn either to the end or almost so. Another fourth drop out without hope of pursuing college work anywhere. The rest (31%) consists of students who have preferred another college at City University to Hawthorn, or another University to City University (or at least can be presumed to have done so). It is interesting to see that this very last pool (of transfers from City University) is considerably smaller than any of the others: it would seem that while Hawthorn does not have a captive audience, the student body of City University is rather limited in its capacity to move on towards greener pastures.

## 4. Outcome at the end of five years

Everybody expects a college student to have finished with his college career after four years. But all kinds of contingencies interfere with these expectations: one's father loses his job, and the student has to provide for the family for a while; one's mother gets sick, and the daughter has to stay at home taking care of brothers and sisters; one gets a good job and keeps it for a year, saving money and taking only a few night courses; one gets married, and one of the spouses drops out of school until the other has his degree; one changes one's vocational choice, and has to face new requirements; one gets on probation and has to limit one's course load; one has accumulated too many incompletes and must take off for a while to make them up; one may also be so absorbed in activities related with the life of the college that one does not manage to finish one's senior essay on time. All in all, it is quite remarkable that many students do graduate at the end of four years.

It is partly because of the large number of students still at their studies at the end of four years that we extended the span of our research to cover five full years: thus we can distinguish among those labelled "slowdowns" at the end of 1963, between those who did graduate the next year and those who continued as slowdowns (each of the following years, a small number of these remaining slow-downs will graduate, though never as many as graduated in 1964).

In view of the trouble which most students have graduating on time, it is rather remarkable that a number of them actually graduated early. Here I must say a word about the status of the pre-medical students at Hawthorn. City University Medical School was willing to accept at the end of three years pre-medical students who had done particularly well. A number of them took their senior colloquium during their junior year and were dispensed from writing a senior essay. Others entered medical school elsewhere and returned once a week to Hawthorn for their senior colloquium. One student going into law and one going into architecture also started their professional studies during their fourth year, but both of them took both senior essay and senior colloquium.[1]

Finally, still other pre-medical students entered medical school simply on the basis of the three years they had spent at Hawthorn. They never made any arrangements to get a Hawthorn degree. Yet, in the eyes of their Medical school, they had received sufficient college training. Thus they are considered as successful outcomes, trained exclusively at Hawthorn, even though from the standpoint of the amount of courses they took they are no better, and sometimes worse, than the "late transfers" of the previous column. This series of exceptions should serve as a reminder that Hawthorn college, while it has full autonomy to grant a degree as it chooses, is also engaged in the business of satisfying the needs of professional and graduate schools, as well as the requirements of Boards of Education.

The distribution of students among the various outcome pools can be summarized by saying that exactly 50% of those who stayed in College graduated on time or within the following year. One fourth slowed down and might or might not graduate some day. Only 7% had some of their college requirements mitigated in view of their continuing professional education (this being the case almost exclusively of medical students).

### 5. Quality of Record

There is a tendency to consider that graduation equals success, the success that really counts, and that everything else is rather negligible. Actually, one could take the opposite view: what counts is what has been discovered, what has been assimilated; the degree itself is merely a badge of perseverance and docility. But how can one judge the impact of a college education on the mind of the student? How can one select those who have learned to think, and to appreciate; to formulate questions, and to keep looking for meaning; to write, and to engage in searching conversation?

The foregoing criteria of excellence happen to coincide with those which I know Hawthorn uses to give students the grade of A.

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[1] A somewhat parallel case is that of two pre-law students who went from the college of Liberal Arts directly into the Law School at City University in their senior year.

Hence I came to consider the sustained capacity to do A work under different teachers an acceptable index of full intellectual development. I then decided to include in my count A's obtained in City University courses as well as in Hawthorn courses, on the assumption that, whatever the college or division, grades of A would not normally be given to reward students for the sheer ability to repeat what they had been told.[1]

Establishing the proper cutting point was difficult. Somewhat arbitrarily, I decided to consider a student as having an "excellent record" if he had earned 45 credit hours of A's or more (45 hours is one-fourth of the amount of credit required for graduation). I have no doubt that it is easier in certain programs than in others to obtain this number of A's. For instance, I would guess that it is easier for students in Education than for students in Engineering. But then, it might very well be more difficult in Engineering than in Education to develop the capacity for both invention and discipline, and it is this elusive product of a good education that we are after.[2]

At the other end of the continuum stand the students afflicted with a "poor record". These are slowdowns who are on probation because their honor point average is below a C. In more ways than one, one could say of many that they are slowdowns because they are on probation. First, while on probation they are not allowed to take a full course load. Worse, some of them may have completed the number of credit hours required for graduation; still they cannot graduate because they have not raised their honor point average to the required C. Each new load of courses is bound to be seen by these students mostly as a chance to earn the grades which will bring them closer to deliverance. But as the few new good grades (if any are earned) are averaged out with all the old poor ones, this arduous reclamation job can take a long time. In the meantime, it would seem that any love of learning for its own sake should have disappeared from the soul of the student condemned to such a task. Fortunately, I am sketching here only an extreme case, which occurs rarely, but which is part of the picture, just the same.[1]

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[1] If Hawthorn entrusts half of the education of its students to the rest of City University, it has to be willing to make such an assumption. However, I excluded from the count courses presumed to have little or no intellectual content or intent, such as those in Physical Education, Air Science, Recreational Leadership, Hygiene, Engineering Orientation.

[2] These assumptions are confirmed when I look at the list of students included in the pool of "Excellent Record": those students I know well on this list are indeed young people of considerable intellectual maturity, who could be trusted with research in their area, and who are interested in much broader problems than the average college student. In point of fact, my criterion leaves out a good many others, of definite intellectual promise, but not quite as much in control of their talent.

Considering the distribution of the '59 entering class in terms of quality, we see from the chart that the main pool is that of students whose record is "ordinary" (40% of those who entered). Almost half as many (18%) have an excellent record. Ten per cent are still struggling to improve their "average" whether they are dragged down by catastrophic beginnings, or have still to discover where their best talent lies.

One could summarize these findings and expound on them by saying that at the end of five years ten per cent of the students have experienced bitter, prolonged failure at the hand of higher education. Twice as many have discovered in themselves and have developed important talents and interests; they could be seen as having earned the right - and the duty - to speak with authority wherever they may go (which in itself, of course, is a mixed blessing). Twice as many still have steered their course between these two extremes. What they have received is mainly security: the security of knowing about as much as anyone can be "reasonably" expected to know, the security of having successfully achieved a long range goal, the security also of being equipped for a respectable and even interesting job.

## 6. Connections and Pathways

Let us now look at the chart as the different pools relate to *each other. I shall discuss primarily the evidence contained in* the chart, bringing here and there additional evidence which could not be included in the chart for the sake of keeping it intelligible.

Of those who start relatively well in their first year in Hawthorn, the main stream perseveres in Hawthorn (116 out of 243 or 48%). However a sizable number transfer rather early to other colleges at City University (45 out of 243 or 19%); only half as many persevere in Hawthorn a while and then, later transfer elsewhere (9%).

Of those who start poorly in Hawthorn a few keep trying (6 out of 52 or 12%);[2] more transfer to another college (15 out of 52 or 29%).[3] Most end up by dropping out of City University

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[1] I think we should force ourselves to look at college with the eyes of the student who has been at it for five (interrupted or uninterrupted years) reaping mostly poor grades, whatever scheme he has applied to improve his performance: choice of courses, choice of career, choice of professors, method of study, etc. etc.

[2] Of these six students, five are to be found in the "Poor record" pool in column 5; the other graduated late with an ordinary record.

[3] Of these, two will end up with an excellent record, graduating

Of those who leave Hawthorn at once, most drop out of City University altogether in the end (14 out of 19); only a few continue in the College of Liberal Arts, generally without success.[1]

The students who drop out from City University with a grade average better then C come entirely from the pool of students who started their career in Hawthorn without serious trouble. I may add to the information given on the chart that, of these students, only one in four transferred out of Hawthorn before leaving City University: we do not have here the phenomenon of students shopping around in City University before venturing into the outside world.

The students who drop out from City University with a poor grade average come from the three pools of performance during the first year. Thus, not meeting failure at Hawthorn during the first year is not an insurance of continued success.[2] On the other hand, a poor start in Hawthorn is generally followed by failure, sooner or later, and so is a rapid exit from Hawthorn. What the chart does not show is the proportion of students who transfer out of Hawthorn before they have to leave City University. As one might expect, only one in three of those who started relatively well in Hawthorn tries to switch to another college before definitively failing; while two in three of those who started poorly in Hawthorn try their luck elsewhere at City University.

Moving now to the links between the third and the fourth column, that is between overall status and outcome, we notice that students who persevere in Hawthorn are more likely to graduate on time (or even early: the total figure is 44 out of 122, or 36%) than do students who transfer elsewhere early (11 out of 65, or 17%), but not than those who transfer elsewhere late (nine out of 23, or 39%). Graduating late is more typical of early transfers (25 out of 65, or 38%, vs. the 26% of late transfers and the 21% of straight Hawthorn students).

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late; five more graduate late with an ordinary record; the rest of them slow down, two with an ordinary record, six with a poor record.

[1] Of these five students, four end up as slow downs with poor record; only one graduates, late, with an ordinary record.

[2] About half the students who go from the pool of satisfactory start to a failing exit actually earned grades of C- during their first year: this was not a good enough start for them to persevere. Another fourth received grades of C or better in Hawthorn but did poorly in their other courses. The rest received a C average across the board, but their performance declined in the following years.

All the pools contribute to a sizeable contingent of slow downs: more so the early transfers (29 out of 65, or 45%) than the late transfers (eight out of 23, or 35%) or the straight Hawthorn students (44 out of 122, or 36%). Finally, only the pool of students persevering in Hawthorn contributes its small contingent to medical schools without the "formality" of graduation (8 out of 122, or 7%).

These findings cannot quite be interpreted without moving on to the next column (quality of outcome). Here we find that both pools of early graduates and graduates on time contribute about half of their students (exactly 47%) to the pool of "excellent records" (seven out of 15 for the former, 23 out of 49 for the latter). The pool of late graduates contributes considerably less (16 out of 57, or 28%), the pool of slow-downs less still (8 out of 81, or 10%). The small pool of students going directly to medical school fits somewhere between the late graduates and slow-downs, with only a proportion of 12% reaching excellence.[1]

Let us see now how the various pools considered earlier feed into that important last column I use to represent quality of achievement. I shall present here evidence which only partly appears on the chart. None of the students who left Hawthorn at once ended with an excellent record; two of those who started poorly did (i.e. 4% of those with early difficulties surmounted them beautifully); but the main contingent of those achieving an excellent record come from those who did not have any early difficulties (53 out of 243, or 23%). With regard to the amount of Hawthorn education received, some students who transferred early end with an excellent record (ten out of 65, or 15%); twice as many proportionally reach that height of quality after getting a greater amount of Hawthorn training (late transfers: seven out of 23, or 30%; straight Hawthorn students: 38 out of 122, or 31%). An interesting finding is that among students who slow down in Hawthorn or who are late transfers, there are several who have made an excellent record for themselves (six of the former, or 5%; two of the latter, or 9%). No such cases are to be found among early transfers.

The reader may wonder whether one of the reasons why students who persevere in Hawthorn tend to do so much better than those who transfer elsewhere early might not be that A's are more easily earned in Hawthorn than elsewhere at City University. If this were the case, among all students with an excellent record there should be more with a relatively low honor point average among those who persevered in Hawthorn than among those who transferred early; for the former contingent would have their "easy" Hawthorn grades averaged out with "tougher" grading from the complement of their courses taken outside Hawthorn. Actually, the reverse is true. Among the thirty-eight students who persevered in Hawthorn, two have an A average, seven have an A- average (24% in A range); fourteen have a B+ average (43%), three have a B average or less (43%). In contrast, none of the ten early transfers reaches the A- mark; three have a B+ average (30%); the rest (70%) have a B average or less.[1]

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[1] This must be a warning to the reader not to interpret the position of that pool at the top of column 4 on the chart as a signal that this outcome ranks highly. The position was selected simply because this pool feeds entirely from the pool of "persevering in Hawthorn" in column 3.

It seems fair to conclude that Hawthorn offered a real opportunity to students who persevered in its program to attain an impressive degree of competence and of intellectual mastery. Is it fair to add that students have a better chance to do very well if they stay in Hawthorn than if they switch to another college? Our figures seem to warrant this assertion. We must keep in mind, however, that the capacity of other colleges to produce superior students is tested here only on a population of students who dropped out of Hawthorn in the first place, hence who did not recognize their opportunity to do well in Hawthorn while they were there. Still it seems hard to deny that the most promising students did stay in Hawthorn. Or would it be better to say that Hawthorn satisfied the needs and challenged the capacities of an impressive number of students in the '59 entering class?

Let us pursue further the comparative study of results obtained through the Hawthorn channel and through other colleges

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[1] The reader may be ready to look now at the exact scores of the students who have an excellent record. These will be presented by status pool, starting in each case with the students with the highest overall honor point average. The number of credit hours of A's obtained in Hawthorn core courses is given first, then those obtained in Hawthorn's other courses, then those obtained elsewhere at City University.

Early Transfers:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | B+ | 00 -- 68 | B | 00 -- 61 | B- | 24 -- 35 |
| | | | 00 -- 62 | | 06 -- 45 | | 00 -- 55** |
| | | | 00 -- 60 | | 00 -- 64 | | 00 -- 50** |
| | | | | | 06 -- 66 | | |

Late Transfers:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 30 -- 73 | B+ | 00 -- 56 | B | 06 -- 42 | B- | 30 -- 66 |
| | | | 12 -- 40 | | 06 -- 56 | | |
| | | | 00 -- 54 | | | | |

at City University. Of the students who persevered in Hawthorn 31%, as we have seen, did excellent work; 57% did ordinary work; 12% did poor work. Of the students who continued elsewhere (early transfers) 15% did excellent work; 62% did ordinary work; 23% did poor work. Of the students who persevered in Hawthorn and then went elsewhere (late transfers) 30% did excellent work, 70% did ordinary work, none did poor work. This again would seem to indicate the superiority of Hawthorn's basic training.

However, I believe that it is at this point that a disquieting question (though maybe one of limited scope only) can be raised. What has happened to the students who made a poor start during their first year?

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Persevering in Hawthorn (only core courses)

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 68 -- 75 | B+ | 48 -- 50 | B | 22 -- 42 | B- | 14 -- 46 |
| | | | 28 -- 56 | | 18 -- 45 | | |
| A- | 62 -- 57 | | 52 -- 27 | | 12 -- 45 | C+ | 24 -- 22 |
| | 42 -- 64 | | 36 -- 37* | | 28 -- 25 | | |
| | 60 -- 25* | | 46 -- 10 | | 22 -- 38 | | |
| | 50 -- 48 | | 16 -- 42 | | 32 -- 16 | | |
| | 54 -- 13 | | 08 -- 60 | | | | |
| | | | 24 -- 34 | | | | |
| | | | 32 -- 24 | | | | |

Persevering in Hawthorn (other courses in Hawthorn besides core courses)

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 68 24 76 | B+ | 54 14 39 | B | 18 61 08 | B- | 16 48 00 |
| | | | 42 06 39* | | 22 17 33 | | 28 16 12 |
| A- | 50 10 59 | | 12 35 30 | | 18 10 20 | | |
| | 22 06 57 | | 16 07 36 | | 26 10 22 | | |
| | | | 16 34 40 | | 12 23 30 | | |

*The student took only about 120 hours of credit at City University before going to professional school.

**The student made a poor start at Hawthorn

Alone, the figures for late transfers would seem to indicate that it was far easier for them to get grades of A in courses taken outside Hawthorn. Besides, the large majority of students who persevered in Hawthorn show that they were quite able to get grades of A in courses that they took outside Hawthorn. Only a few Hawthorn students do not seem to have been able (or have cared) to do excellent work outside Hawthorn. And just as few did much better in courses taken outside Hawthorn than in the regular Hawthorn program.

If we trace their progress through our chart we can make the following comparison:

| Did not transfer from Hawthorn |  |  | Did transfer from Hawthorn early |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| N | % |  | N | % |
| 11 | 65 | Dropped out with average (C) | 20 | 57 |
| 5 | 29 | Slowed down, with poor record | 6 | 17 |
| 1 | 06 | Made an ordinary record | 7 | 20 |
| 0 | - | Made an excellent record | 2 | 06 |

Both Hawthorn and other colleges sooner or later let the majority of those poor starters go. But, Hawthorn did not give a chance to practically any of them while other colleges brought one fourth of their contingent to some satisfactory outcome. One may answer that students who started poorly in Hawthorn might not have been teachable by means of its special approach to education; hence, it should not be surprising that it was colleges with other methods and style which had a measure of success with these students. Still, one may wonder whether there truly was a kind of incompatibility between student and approach to education in all the cases of failure, or whether there remained some important need that was not met, some problem that was not understood.

This question brings us back to a more central consideration. Why did students transfer from Hawthorn? What did it mean in terms of their education? What can we learn about Hawthorn from all this? I can only present a few tentative leads in answer to these questions, which will have to be confirmed or qualified by data of a different kind. All our present evidence seems to point out that most students who transfer early out of Hawthorn pursue their education at a slower pace than their counterparts who stay in Hawthorn.[1] Our evidence also tells us that there are fewer of them that do very well than there are in Hawthorn; on the other hand a few of them overcome heavy early handicaps, a small triumph which is unknown in Hawthorn. It seems to add up to the following picture; Hawthorn is a demanding place, designed for full-time students. By "full-time" I mean that its students are expected to treat their getting an education as their main occupation while they are in college; they must be willing to get involved in the study in depth of Natural Science, Social Science, and Humanities, whatever their major or professional curriculum;

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[1] Let us repeat the figures here: 17% of the former graduate on time, vs. 36% of the latter; 38% of the former graduate late, vs. 21% of the latter; 45% of the former are slow-downs, vs. 36% of the latter.

in a word, they have to put their resources of time, mind and courage into the process of becoming educated. While Hawthorn is not an honors college in that it does not require its students to have achieved excellence before they enter it, it expects excellence of the students' performance once they have entered. Students who bargained for a less exacting tempo, or a less exacting definition of education, are likely to be more at ease, and more successful elsewhere.

## 7. The Case of the Spring '60 Entrants

In the Spring of 1960 a class of eighty students entered Hawthorn. Though not as much background data was collected on them as on the Fall entrants, their career in college has been studied as closely. Sketching a rapid comparison between the two classes will serve a double purpose: first, to check whether the story of the earlier class was unusual in any regards; second, to check whether it is allowable to incorporate into our study of the Fall '59 class the cases of Spring students on whom we happen to have all the necessary data.

There is a rather remarkable parallel between the stories of the two classes. A few less of the Spring entrants start poorly (13% vs. 17% earlier); but a few more drop out with a C average or less (29% vs. 25%); a few more transfer early from Hawthorn (26% vs. 21%). There is a bigger difference between the percentage who graduate by June, 1964 (50% of the '59 class, 34% of the Spring '60 class), but this is due partly to the fact that the Spring '60 class has had only four and a half years in school, partly to the fact that entering in the middle of the year makes it difficult for a student to organize his program with maximum efficiency.

The proportion of students ending up with an excellent record is the same for both classes (19% and 18%). The proportion of students ending up with a poor record is lower among the Spring entrants (2%) than among the Fall entrants (10%).[1] Spring entrants who stay in Hawthorn tend to graduate faster than those who transfer early, just as the Fall students did.[2]

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[1] This would appear to be a rather striking contrast. However it is compensated for by the fact that, as we pointed out above, the proportion of failing drop-outs is higher among the Spring entrants than among the Fall entrants.

[2] Our findings on the Spring class of 1960 suggest that we should include as many as we can of its members in the rest of our study. There are seventeen students of the Spring '60 class on whom we have sufficient background material to integrate them to subsequent chapters of the study. Most of them have persevered in Hawthorn until the end. On the other hand thirty-eight Fall '59 entrants will be left out (twenty-four who came in as Engineers, and fourteen others) because we do not have the necessary background material on them. As a result our new total will be: 314 + 17 - 38 = 293 students.

There is, however, one intriguing discrepancy. The cases of excellent records are distributed according to a very different pattern for the Spring class than they are for the Fall class.

In the Fall '59 class, 31% of the students who persevered in Hawthorn had an excellent record; only 22% do in the Spring '60 class. Among the late transfers the proportion of excellent records was 30% for the Fall class; it is only 17% for the Spring. On the other hand, only 15% of the early transfers achieved an excellent record in the Fall class; 40% of them do in the Spring class.[1] Nor is this only a difference in numbers. As we have seen earlier, in the Fall class the "excellent records" of students who stayed in Hawthorn were substantially better than those of students who continued elsewhere. In the Spring class, the contrary is true: the one student with an A average is an early transfer; of the three with an A- average, two are early transfers, only one is a Hawthorn graduate; of the eleven students with an average in the B range, five are early transfers, two are Hawthorn graduates, one is a late transfer.[2]

Something seems to have prevented Hawthorn from reaching the best of the Spring students. What could it be? The entrants of the Spring 1960 were never treated as a special class; their curriculum was arranged so as to suit the needs of the infant institution, not their own convenience;[3] they must have identified with

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[1] Counting the Fall and Spring together, the proportions of students attaining excellence become: 29% for those who persevered in Hawthorn, 28% for the late transfers, 21% for the early transfers. Thus our previous comments still hold, on the whole.

[2] The full record is as follows:

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Early transfers: | | | | | | | | |
| | A | 42 -- 92 | B+ | 00 -- 89 | B | 18 -- 50 | B- | 00 -- 45 |
| | A- | 30 -- 99+ | | 00 -- 82 | | 00 -- 53 | | |
| | | 00 -- 99+ | | | | | | |
| Late transfers: | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | B- | 06 -- 44 |
| Persevering in Hawthorn: | | | | | | | | |
| | A- | 62 12 39 | B+ | 20 -- 65 | B | 18 04 24 | B- | 04 -- 42 |
| | | | | 36 -- 30 | | | | |
| | | | | 29 09 26 | | | | |

[3] They had to take an accelerated Social Science course (doing the work of a full year in one semester) and no Natural Science course at all, so that the staff of both divisions would not have to end giving three simultaneous series of lectures each semester, which would almost certainly have brought about the breakdown of the divisions into smaller units.

the College much less than the Fall students, due to the very fact that it existed before they came in; yet the college was too young to realize that entering freshmen need to be integrated, that one must make room for them.

The discrepancy between the two classes in Hawthorn's holding power with regard to students capable of excellent work brings us to ponder an idea which should be put to the test through additional material. It seems quite natural that Hawthorn's appeal to the student's independence and initiative, its insistance at having him develop his own judgement, his own approach to knowledge, should have a kind of centrifugal effect unless this effort is balanced by an equal pull on the student's allegiance. In other words a student with considerable capacity for invention and self-discipline will sooner or later want to be entirely on his own in the world of the University, and reject Hawthorn's system of required core courses, the same for everyone, unless that student has come to realize that the college is a common enterprise, which depends on him to keep its spirit alive and its various enterprises thriving.

# CHAPTER II

The research on Hawthorn was undertaken because here was what purported to be a "non-elite" college of high quality: a college recruiting primarily among that large portion of the youth of an urban, industrial center who want to get some higher education but who cannot afford the costs of good state colleges away from home, let alone expensive private colleges; a college for the "working-class." We must find out what happened to the authentic working class members of the student body at Hawthorn. Were they able to take advantage of the opportunities Hawthorn offered as other students did? In order to answer this question, we must first find the best possible operational definition of the "working class" student.

## A. IN SEARCH OF THE WORKING CLASS STUDENTS

We have a considerable amount of data bearing on the students' socio-economic and cultural background. In 1959 we asked each student who entered Hawthorn about:

a. the number of older and younger brothers and sisters in his family; whether they had had or were getting a college education.

b. his father's education, his mother's education

c. whether his mother and father were alive, whether they were separated, divorced;

d. from which national stock his father and his mother came; whether he himself, his parents and grandparents were born abroad or in the U.S.; whether a foreign language was spoken at home;

e. his father's occupation, and place of work; whether he belonged to a union, (which one, whether he gave it much time);

f. his father's yearly salary;

g. whether his mother worked, full-time or part-time; her occupation, and place of work.

Using these data, we can take three different approaches to a definition of the working class student. The first one is the simplest: it relies primarily on data (b) above and secondarily on data (a), that is on parents' and siblings' education. The "working class student" according to this definition is the one neither of whose parents has finished high school and who has no older sibling who has been or is now in college. Here we are focusing on the remoteness of the family from the world of education: parents probably not feeling at ease with high school teachers, probably not associating with people who know about college, probably suspicious of anything which smacks of intellectualism; children feeling that they have already outdone their parents by finishing high school, eager not to prolong their childhood any longer than absolutely necessary, lacking any immediate demonstration of the relevance of education to life.

The second possible approach has to do with the occupation of the student's father. It relies primarily on data (e) above and secondarily on data (f), (g), and even (b) and (d). The "working class student" is now defined as the one whose father has a blue collar job.[1] What is emphasized here is familiarity with things rather than with ideas and symbols; the sense of the concrete rather than of the abstract; submission to discipline imposed from the outside; the habit of hard work unrelieved by variety or innovation; the dissociation between the world of work and the world of leisure. Parents caught in this iron cage may either have come to consider it the only real world, or to want passionately to get out of it, if not in person, at least through their children. In either case they have little opportunity to make contact with the world of college.

The third approach takes into account the financial difficulties of the student's family. It relies on data (a) for size of the family, (c) for the missing bread winner, (f) for father's salary, and (g) for supplementary earnings by the mother. The "working class student" is here defined as the one whose parents have a hard time making ends meet.[2] The emphasis switches from the inability to relate to the world of higher education to the pressure placed on the student, either by his relatives or by his own conscience, to use his time and energy for things immediately needed at home. From the standpoint of a family which cannot make ends meet, the student who spends years in college is at best delaying considerably the moment when he is at last supporting himself and helping the rest of the family; at worst he is placing his own satisfaction, his pride, his pointless curiosity, ahead of their clear and immediate need. Is it not silly, or wrong, to insist on getting grades when you could get a paycheck, to delight in reading books or to get involved in research when you're doing it "for nothing?"

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[1] Having to distinguish among the innumerable names of occupations in our society is one of the occupational hazards of sociology. In a city like Detroit it seems that every other worker goes by the name of engineer. This is where the information on education, salary and union membership is indispensable. But other arbitrary decisions have to be made. In our case, protective and custodial occupations (policeman, plant protection) were counted as blue collar; so were service jobs at the level of gas attendant, truck driver, bus driver; so were jobs involving minor skills such as painter, plasterer, handyman, decorator. Among factory jobs, foremen were counted as blue collar, but not tool and die makers, nor quality inspectors. Union officials were not counted as blue collar, nor were any of the self-employed (except in one case where the mother held a factory job). In cases when a blue collar father died and the mother is a school teacher, the student was not included among the "working class."

[2] Estimates here are very hard to make. A family is considered in financial difficulties if the only salary which is earned by one of its members is in the $4,000 bracket, or below. If there are several younger siblings, a salary below $5,000 is considered insufficient. Unemployment and intermittent employment place a family in this category, but not retirement of the main bread winner. Any widowed working mother (such as a school teacher) is seen as being in financial difficulty; but not a widow who does not work. In border line cases a worker who does not belong

Which of the three approaches should we use as our main one in the rest of this study? We find the one based on the parents' lack of education to be the most advantageous from a variety of standpoints. First, and most important, it relies on information which students can be expected to know, and to be willing to report exactly. I doubt that more than a handful of students have an accurate knowledge of their father's salary; nor can all of them be expected to know the exact name of his job. By contrast, the parents' extensive or limited experience with education must have come up in conversations at least during the weeks when the student applied to the University.

Second, the parents' education is not likely to vary during the student's stay in college, while their job and even more their financial status are fluctuating. Thus, the index based on education has more stability than the others. Even if a student's mother enters college, she would probably be less of an influence on him than he would be on her; in his eyes she would still be speaking from the standpoint of her previous educational status.

Third, the index based on education takes into account and cuts through possible inconsistencies in the student's background better than

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to a union, or a father precariously self-employed (such as a salesman), have been considered as likely to have financial difficulties, while the union member and the salesman for a company have not. No self-employed businessman, no matter how low the earnings reported by the student, has been considered to be in financial difficulty.

An important element of uncertainty comes from trying to take into account older siblings who have been or are now in college (our data do not distinguish between them): are they a drain on the family resources? or can they come to the rescue of both the family and the younger siblings in college? It is impossible to say. Or consider the situation created by separation or divorce: is the father doing his part in raising his child, or is the mother carrying the burden entirely by herself?

In cases too doubtful to be decided at all, we did not include the student among those under financial hardship.

the others do.[1] The index based on occupation would place in the "working class" (blue collar) category a student whose father was employed at a remunerative job in the auto industry, whose mother was a school teacher, and who lived in a neighborhood substantial enough to offer him a good high school. The index based on the family's financial status leaves out resources other than salaries and obligations other than the care of the children. It is true that one could object to any index based on education that there are men and women who have acquired a great deal of knowledge outside the system of formal education. But such people are rare and I would think that they tend to marry someone whose formal education matches their informal training. The fact that the education index is based on father's or mother's education, depending on which of them got the most, makes it sufficiently supple to do justice to these cases, as well as to oridinary cases of wide disparity in the parent's education.[2]

Fourth, the education index is clearly linked to the main object of our study, namely what happens to the student's mind and life as he goes through the process of his own education. The blue collar family's ambitions or reservations with regard to college are certainly important; so are the dilemmas of the family under financial stress. Still all these attitudes and pressures apply only indirectly to the content and meaning of education, while the parents' experience with learning and knowledge is immediately relevant to the student's own definitons and expectations.

Finally, the education index can be used to spot not only "working class" students but other categories of students as well. Because it uses accurate and adequate information, its use need not be limited to the clearest cases of hardship, as does the approach based on financial status. Because it focuses on material directly relevant to the student's education, there is a definite point in ordering all students according to it (as there would not be in ordering all of them according to father's occupation). Thus we can expand our dimension of parents' education into five clear sub-categories:

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[1] Dr. C. Kaye, one of the researchers who had a major role in the development of our study was in favor of using the Hollingshead-Redlich index, which combines the criteria of occupation and edcation, and wrote a report somewhat parallel to this one, based on this decision. I think that the Hollingshead-Redlich index may be useful in the study of a community where the status of a whole family is likely to depend on the status of its head. In a college study the reputation of the head of the student's household is somewhat irrelevant--what counts is the ability of the student's immediate entourage to give him advice and support. In view of this, the level of education of the student's mother deserves to be taken into account more than the rank of his father's occupation.

[2] I assume that a parent much better trained than his (or her) spouse will try hard to give maximum support to the child who goes to college, if only to counterbalance the impact of the spouse's example or lack of support.

- neither parent finished high school, no older sibling went to college;
- one of the parents finished high school, no older sibling went to college;
- neither parent went to college, but some older sibling did or does;
- one of the parents went to college but did not graduate (or died too early to have any present influence); this does not include business college;
- one of the parents graduated from college, and is alive and in contact with the student at the time when he enters Hawthórn.

Thus the category of "working class" students can designate the lowest of a series of five groupings, each one characterized by what the family's educational situation has to contribute to the relationship between the student and his college. Among other things, this ordinal arrangement will help test the wisdom of our decision to establish the cutting point for "working class" subgrouping below high school graduation.

Before we go on to compare students from these five sub-categories among themselves, we have to put to an empirical test our adoption of the education index of working class status.[1] Are students from poorly educated background as much at a disadvantage when they enter college as students whose father is a blue collar worker, or whose family is in financial difficulties? In order to answer this question we shall examine in turn: the student's preparation for college, as measured by the quality of high school from which he graduated, and by his performance on the college entrance tests; and his expectations of college, as revealed by what he mentioned as his principal college goals. We shall compare the sets of students falling into each of our approximations of "working class" status with the overall picture for the entering class of 1959.

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[1] Another empirical test is obtained by cross tabulating the "working class" subgroupings. (See Table 1) For the sake of completness, two minor subgroupings of underprivileged students have been added--Negroes and immigrants --the latter defined as students both of whose parents were born in a non-English speaking foreign country.

## TABLE 1

## CROSS TABULATION OF "WORKING CLASS" SUBGROUPINGS*

| | "Blue Collar" Father | | Financial | | Immigrants | | Negroes | | "Low Parents" Education | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| "Blue Collar" Father | 86 | 1.00 | 27 | .44 | 10 | .31 | 8 | .47 | 37 | .69 |
| Financial Problems | 27 | .31 | 61 | 1.00 | 10 | .31 | 9 | .53 | 15 | .28 |
| Immigrants | 10 | .12 | 10 | .16 | 32 | 1.00 | 0 | .00 | 9 | .17 |
| Negroes | 8 | .09 | 9 | .15 | 0 | .00 | 17 | 1.00 | 1 | .02 |
| Parent Ed. | | | | | | | | | | |
| Low | 37 | .43 | 15 | .25 | 9 | .28 | 1 | .06 | 54 | 1.00 |
| H.S.Grad | 27 | .31 | 19 | .31 | 8 | .25 | 4 | .24 | -- | -- |
| Sib.Coll | 16 | .19 | 13 | .21 | 6 | .19 | 4 | .24 | -- | -- |
| Some Coll | 5 | .06 | 8 | .13 | 1 | .03 | 3 | .18 | -- | -- |
| CollGrad | 1 | .01 | 6 | .10 | 8 | .25 | 5 | .29 | -- | -- |
| | (N=86) | | (N=61) | | (N=32) | | (N=17) | | | |

*More than two-thirds of the students from poorly educated background have a father who is a blue collar worker. More than one-fourth come from a family in financial trouble.

---

The picture we get from Table 2 indicates that the students from poorly educated backgrounds are not better prepared or better oriented than those identified by other handicaps. The only place where the students from poorly educated families seem less at a disadvantage than those from blue collar homes or from homes in financial difficulties is in the percentage coming from poor high schools. this finding, however, must not be taken to indicate that poorly educated parents tend to send their children to the better schools; rather that these parents do not know how to get their children into colleges. If the high school is not good enough to be actively involved in sending the youngster ahead, he just does not go on.

It is all the more striking, with such a small number coming from poor high schools, that so many students from poorly educated backgrounds (44% of the girls, i.e. almost half!) do consistently

## TABLE 2

### RECAPITULATIVE TABLE
### CHARACTERISTICS OF UNDERPRIVILEGED '59 HAWTHORN ENTRANTS
(in percentages)[1]

| | | Blue Collar Father | | Financial Problems | | Low Parents' Education | | All Students | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| HIGH SCHOOL | Excellent | .17 | .27<br>.07 | .20 | .21<br>.19 | .17 | .30<br>.04 | .27 | .34<br>.18 |
| | Poor | .12 | .14<br>.10 | .15 | .17<br>.13 | .07 | .11<br>.04 | .06 | .05<br>.07 |
| CITY UNIVERSITY ENTRANCE TESTS[2] | All above average | .20 | .23<br>.17 | .23 | .24<br>.22 | .13 | .19<br>.07 | .25 | .32<br>.17 |
| | All below average | .28 | .16<br>.40 | .28 | .21<br>.34 | .31 | .19<br>.44 | .17 | .32<br>.26 |
| COLLEGE GOALS | Intellectual[3] | .33 | .27<br>.39 | .37 | .19<br>.54 | .35 | .36<br>.33 | .32 | .27<br>.39 |
| | Practical[4] | .27 | .22<br>.32 | .19 | .23<br>.14 | .22 | .08<br>.37 | .29 | .28<br>.30 |
| | N = | 86 | 44<br>42 | 61 | 29<br>32 | 54 | 27<br>27 | 293 | 166<br>127 |

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[1] This table reports the extremes of the full range of data available. For instance the high schools are classified as excellent, good, indifferent and poor (cf. p. 50 ); this table reports only the percentage of students who come from either excellent or poor schools. In each column of this table (and of following tables similarly constructed) the figure to the left gives the overall percentage, including men and women. This is broken down at the right into separate percentages for men (above) and for women (below). Thus:

Overall % (--men
--women

For example, the first three figures at the upper left hand corner of the table read: 17% of the 1959 entrants whose father is a blue collar worker come from an excellent high school; however 27% of the sons of blue collar workers come from an excellent high school, and only 7% of their daughters.

[2] Test of Critical Thinking. Qualitative and Quantitative Reasoning. Vocabulary

[3] Academic achievement; developing intellectually.

[4] Learning new skills; preparing for jobs.

poorly on their entrance scores. It is as if the incapacity of such families to prepare their children for college could be traced way back to the language spoken at home (sometimes foreign, always different from the school's English), to feelings with regard to tests and examinations, and undoubtedly to many other factors as well!

Another fascinating thing about the students from a poorly educated background is that many more of them express intellettual interests than one would expect. Again, the girls are a special case--almost evenly divided among practical and intellectual goals. But more than a third of the men select intellectual goals, while very few show practical interests.[1]

These data reveal differences among the suggroupings obtained by each of the three approaches--they do not point to any subgroupings as being consistently more disadvantaged than the students from poorly educated homes. Thus we shall adopt this as our practical definition of the handicapped, or under-privileged, or "working class" student.[2]

## B. THE IMPACT OF THE STUDENTS" BACKGROUND ON THEIR READINESS FOR COLLEGE

Let us now compare the preparation for college, and the performance in college, of students coming from families differentiated in terms of level of education. How is the student's educational background reflected in important ways prior to or during his stay in college? If the assumptions made at the beginning of this chapter are correct, one would expect the students from poorly educated families to be at a disadvantage right across the board. We must however remember that the set of students we are studying is not representative of the population of high school graduates. Rather, it is selective in at least three ways:

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[1] It is interesting to notice that it is the women from families in financial difficulties who exhibit a pattern of choice very close to that of the men from an uneducated background.

[2] What these findings point out clearly, however, is that there are great differences between men and women from a given educational background. In view of this, we shall distinguish between men and women in all subsequent tables. We did not start with the assumption that men and women should be treated separately. In actual life at Hawthorn very little attention is paid to sex differences. One rarely hears instructors making general statements on how girls act, as opposed to the men, and if so, it would rather be in terms of the women's greater maturity, their involvement in deeper problems than the men's, their frustration at the still amorphous quality of their male counterparts. Still, in terms of measurable equipment for college, the discrepancies weigh against women, discrepancies so great that at times sex could appear to be the greatest handicap of them all.

a) these students have decided to go to college, and have been admitted to City University;

b) these students have decided to go to college at City University, that is, in Detroit, in a public (i.e. relatively inexpensive) institution;

c) these students have decided to go to a brand new college, which promises much, but has not been tested yet.

One could graph in a striking way the type of decisions which could be expected from young people of the various educational backgrounds. (Chart 1) Not only does attendance in college vary according to parents' education, but the choice of college itself is bound to be deeply influenced by the parents' acquaintance with the world of higher education and the professions. The child of a person who has not finished high school has practically no chance to go to an out of town college. To him, City University, visible, accessible, straight forward City, is higher education. To the child of a college graduate, City is only one institution among many, whose practical advantages are to be weighed against the greater renown and excitement attached to out of town colleges.

At Hawthorn, then, we could expect to find a relatively low proportion of students from poorly educated backgounds. If they went to college at all, they might have preferred the security of City University. Coming to Hawthorn might have been the result of special advice from a high school counsellor; it might also have been an only half-understanding response to the personal invitation to Hawthorn which was sent to most students after they were accepted at City University.[1]

We would expect to find a higher proportion of students from well-educated background: families eager to keep a child at home, families in financial difficulties, Negroes who considered City a relatively integrated school. To all of these Hawthorn might have appeared as a potential "high quality" college with all the advantages of City University.

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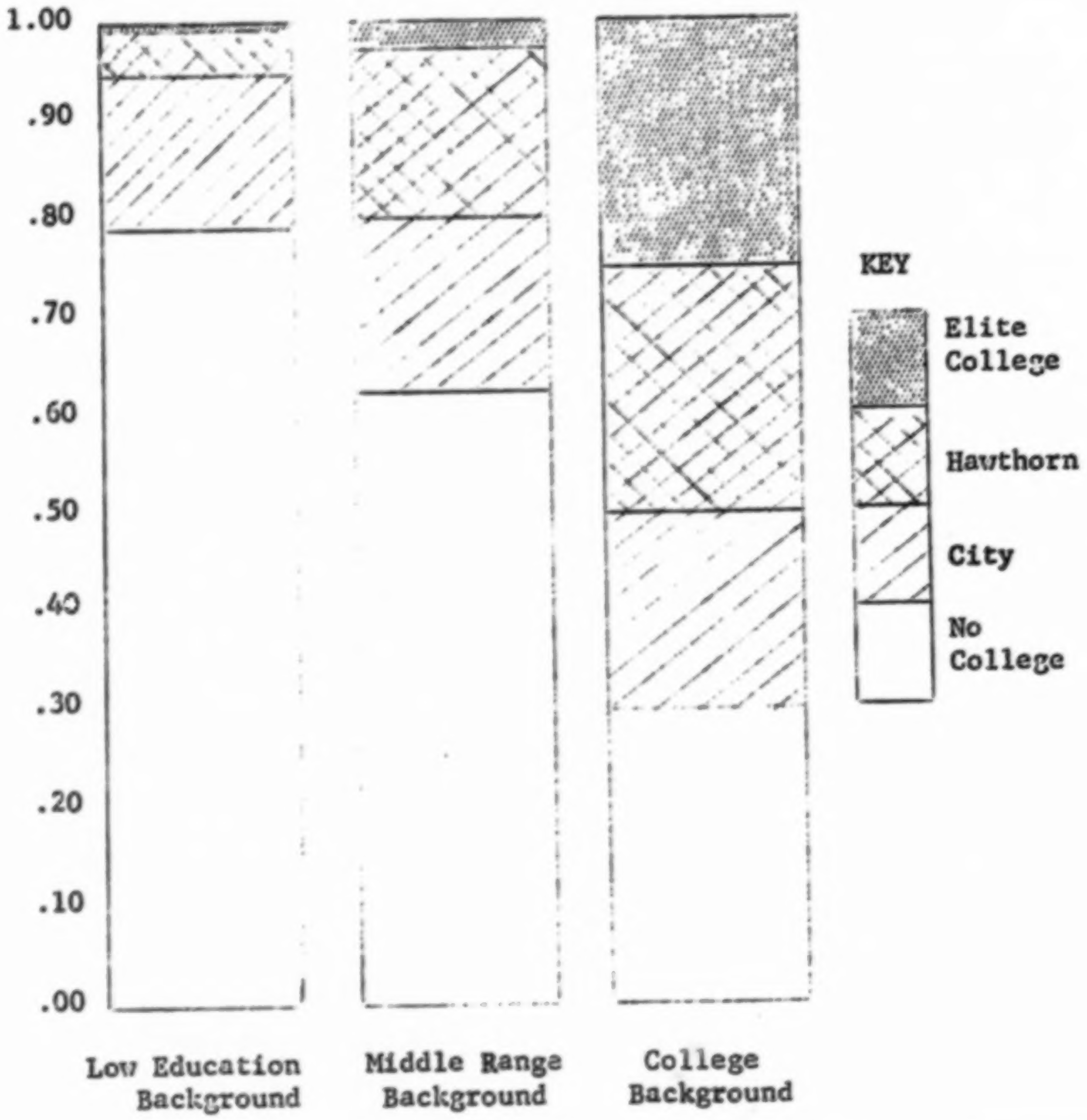
[1] This personal invitation to Hawthorn might have had a particularly strong impact on girls from almost any educational background; it might have beeen for them a foretaste of the advantages of a small institution, where they would not feel lost. On the other hand, since the letter came after the student had applied and been accepted to City University, the letter cannot be construed as having encouraged anyone to come to college, who had not already decided to do so.

Chart 1

EXPECTED CHOICE OF COLLEGE BY PARENTS' EDUCATION



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*For the percentage of potential college entrants falling in each category of parents' education, and for the percentage likely to actually enter college from each of these categories, I rely on the findings of Sewell and Shah. Their study of all 1957 high school seniors in the state of Wisconsin is the closest in time and place to our own. They found that only one fifth of the seniors from poorly educated homes entered college, vs two-fifths of seniors, one of whoses parents at least had graduated from high school ( "**middle range**" on the chart). In contrast, they found that more than two-thirds of the seniors from better educated homes entered college. (See William H. Sewell and Vimal P. Shah, "Parents' Education and Children's Educational Aspirations and Achievements," American Sociological Review, 33 (April, 1968) pp. 191-209)

Still, the most probable recrits to Hawthorn would come from families at neither extreme of the education index: families to whom Hawthorn must have appeared as just part of City University, being their provider of higher education.[1]

This can be rephrased a little differently. One could expect the Hawthorn student from poorly educaged families to be little out of the ordinary--a little more intelligent, or a little more naive, a little better supported (or pushed) by his parents or high school, a little more interested in bookish efforts than other high school graduates (or drop outs) of the same background. The student from well educated families, on the other hand, would probably be a little less bright, a little more protected and home bound (or more neglected) than the ordinary child of college graduates.[2] As for the student from neither extreme in educational

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[1] In fact, the 1959 Hawthorn entrants were distributed as follows with regard to the level of education of their parents.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | .16 |
| Neither parent a High School graduate | .18 | |
| | | .21 |
| | | .31 |
| At least one parent a High School graduate | .32 | |
| | | .32 |
| | | .28 |
| Some College, one parent or sibbling | .27 | |
| | | .24 |
| | | .24 |
| At least [illegible] parent a College graduate | .23 | |
| | | .22 |

Meanwhile, the 1960 US Census shows that the population (over 25 years of age) of the Detroit Metropolitan area was distributed as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than High School graduate | .59 |
| High School Graduate, no college | .26 |
| Some college | .08 |
| College graduate and above | .07 |

We cannot derive any definite conclusion from the two distributions above, since the populations are not comparable. However it is clear that, as we expected, the less educated strata of the people of the Detroit Metropolitan area contribute much below their share of Hawthorn entrants, while the better educated strata contribute more than their share.

[2] Evidence from the FIRO tests shows that two-thirds of the Hawthorn entrants in this category have very warm and close relationships with their parents. An additional one-fifth suffers from a lack of interest and attention at home. The others come from families saddled with financial or other problems.

background, the crucial question is--why did he choose Hawthorn rather than City University? It would seem that Hawthorn should have attracted the curious rather than the ambitious, the intellectually alert rather than the practical minded, but also the trustful rather than the suspicious.

The same reasoning about the impact of parental education on choice of college should hold for other important items in the preparation of the student for college. Thus, the students from excellent high schools, would be most likely to leave Detroit, the students from poor high schools not to come to college at all. The student with clearly intellectual goals would try to get to one of the "better" colleges, the students with clearly practical goals might just get a job right away.

It is important to keep this overall view of the situation in mind when looking at the tables which will follow. The students from lower education background are not only than; they are students who, for some reason or other (not taken into account in the table) went to Hawthorn. Even for the students from "intermediate" education background, whose presence in Hawthorn seems least "unusual", there remains the sizeable question mark of exactly why they selected Hawthorn rather than City University. Thus, the tables and the discussion which accompanies them are not dealing with simple, almost obvious, one-dimensional or two dimensional phenomena. The data which they accurately present have hidden ramifications which we will try to explore in the following chapter.

With these reservations, let us then look at the facts, to see first, what are some of the disadvantages incurred by "working class" students, and second to check on the accuracy of our cutting point in selecting our set of "underprivileged" students.

We shall look, again, at the readiness for college of the entering students of 1959, and at their performance once there. Under the general heading of "readiness" we shall consider:

a) their preparation for college, as measure by the quality of high school from which they graduated;

b) their ability to perform, as measured by their scores on WSU entrance tests;

c) their expectations from college, as revealed by what they mentioned as their principal college goals;

d) their career orientation, as revealed by the curriculum they applied for.

## Quality of high school

Has the student been in an environment where the things of the mind were treated as serious and exciting? Has he been exposed to at least some teachers who were demanding and stimulating? Has he been introduced to the discipline of thinking, of organizing his thoughts, of writing? How much of the wealth of Western culture has been brought to his attention? Has he learned the difference between a superficial opinion and an informed, reasoned, tested position? Has he been proud of his high school for the scholarly reputation of some of its teachers rather than for its sports feats? Has he come to define himself, and his school mates, in terms of what they could contribute to an intellectual discussion or even to the advancement of knowledge? Whether one is an excellent student or not, these are some of the things that an excellent high school does for a young person. On the other hand, even the gifted youngster is bound to be handicapped by attending a poor high school. His capacities are not likely to have been recognized by disenchanted teachers resigned to a custodial role. He may have been considered strange by his schoolmates, and so he may have been deprived of stimulating friendships. He may have found work too easy, getting an unrealistic picture of the effort required to do satisfactory or outstanding academic work. Of course, his decision to come to City University, his admission here, might be an achievement in itself, something to live up to; but what resources does he really have to meet the challenge?

For the purpose of this study, I have ranked the high schools of Detroit and vicinity in terms of their number of national merit scholarship semi-finalists and their area's socio-economic level.[1]

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[1] For Detroit high schools, these criteria were buttressed by two others: proportion of students in College preparatory; and drop-out rate. The operational definiton of the four levels of high schools is approximately as follows:

Excellent = School with unusual number of semi-finalists in National Merit scholarships (better than 1 in 200 students attending the high school) and located in a well-to-do community (at least 1/3 of residents in the "high income" bracket);

Good = School with a goodly number of semi-finalists, and/or located in a "well-off community" (at least as many residents in "above average" bracket as in average");

Mediocre = Schools located in an area of pretty good to average economic status, but without semi-finalists; or with a few semi-finalists, but located in an area of questionable economic status;

Poor = School without semi-finalists and located in an area of poor economic status.

Table 3 gives an idea of the distribution of the 1959 Hawthorn entrants with regard to quality of high school.

Several facts stand out. First of all, looking at the column of totals, we find an instance of the recruitment of students we anticipated, very few coming from poor high schools, the main contingent coming from "good" high schools. It is interesting, however, to notice that a sizeable number (more than ¼) come from excellent high schools. Thus City University (and/or Hawthorn) is capable of attracting students who have been exposed to the best preparation for college that is locally available.

If we look at the coulmns which differentiate according to parents' background, we find that the students from our poorly educated families (neither parent a high school graduate) are clearly at a disadvantage. For them, the mode is the mediocre high school, while for those from well educated background (one parent a college

## TABLE 3

### QUALITY OF HIGH SCHOOL, BY PARENT'S EDUCATION AND BY SEX (in percentages)*

| | Neither Parent HS Graduate | | Parent HS Graduate | | Some College Parent or Sib | | Parent College Graduate | | Totals | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Excellent | .17 | .30<br>.04 | .26 | .31<br>.19 | .26 | .32<br>.16 | .40 | .45<br>.32 | .27 | .34<br>.18 |
| Good | .22 | .22<br>.22 | .40 | .40<br>.39 | .40 | .40<br>.39 | .44 | .37<br>.53 | .38 | .37<br>.39 |
| Mediocre | .54 | .37<br>.70 | .26 | .21<br>.32 | .28 | .23<br>.35 | .15 | .18<br>.11 | .29 | .23<br>.36 |
| Poor | .07 | .11<br>.04 | .09 | .08<br>.10 | .06 | .04<br>.10 | .01 | --<br>.04 | .06 | .05<br>.07 |
| N = | 54 | 27<br>27 | 93 | 52<br>41 | 78 | 47<br>31 | 68 | 40<br>28 | 293 | 166<br>127 |

*In each column of this table (and of ther tables similarly constructed) the figure to the left gives the overall percentage, including men and women. This is broken down at the right into separate percentages for men (above) and for women (below).

graduate) the mode lies between good and excellent. For the two categories in between, the mode is clearly the good high school.[1]

However, if we look at the differences between the sexes, we find that the girls are consistently at a disadvantage--and the lower the level of education of the family, the greater the disadvantage is. The daughter of a college graduate is likely to have gone to a good high school, while his son is more likely to have gone to an excellent school. In families where neither parent finished high school, while the son comes from an excellent high school with some frequency, the daughter most likely comes from a mediocre high school.[2]

Thus we may conclude this examination of the quality of high schools with two certainties: (1) the children of poorly educated families are definitely at a disadvantage (half the men, and three fourths of the women come from mediocre or poor high schools); (2) the women generally are less well prepared than the men, whatever their parents' education. We are also left with two questions: (1) why do so many children of well educated families, well prepared by their secondary school training, come to Hawthorn (especially so many men)? (2) why do so many children of poorly educated families, poorly prepared by mediocre (or poor) high schools, come to Hawthorn (especially so many women)? The first should have gone to better colleges, the second should not have gone to college at all, according to the "reasonable" expectations which I have put forward so far.

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[1] We will not exclaim at the extraordianry resemblance between these two intermediate categoires. It is more apparent than real. The category called here "some college, parent or sibling" is made up of three subsets which differ greatly from each other:

a) neither parent a high school graduate, but siblings in college;
b) one parent a high school graduate and siblings in college;
c) one parent with some college experience.

Oddly enough, subset (a) resembles the underprivileged; subset (c) resembles the category of "parent high school graduate;" subset (b) on the other hand, resembles the category of "parent college graduate."

This hints at a very curious role of older siblings with college experience which we can only suggest as a promising topic for research. We did not collect enough data on it ourselves to be able even to raise the important questions.

[2] The regularity of the pattern of inferior preparation of women is quite puzzling. Is it really that, no matter what the level of academic sophistication of a family, parents will send their daughters to less good schools than their sons? Or is it that among the graduates of excellent high schools the men would find Hawthorn more attractive than the women while, for some unknown reason, the reverse would be true among the graduates of mediocre schools?

The answer to the first question might lie, at least partially, in the fact that Hawthorn was, in 1959, an unusually attractive place for well prepared Pre-medical students, City University Medical School having promised to admit an important contingent of them, provided that their work in college was good.[1] This must have encouraged well educated parents to send their sons to Hawthorn, if they planned a medical career.[2] As a matter of fact, this seemingly negligible detail of the image which Hawthorn presented of itself in 1959 might have been very important to well informed parents regardless of the career plans of their children. The difficulty of getting admitted to a medical school is so well known in educated circles that for City University Medical School to give such a blank check to an unknown new college must have boosted the confidence of the more knowledgeable parents.[3]

In view of all this, it might be in order to qualify the assumptions we presented before looking at the facts. We may have overestimated the desire and ability of college graduates to send their children away to the "better" colleges. On the one hand, there was the assurance given by the Medical School that Hawthorn would be a most acceptable college. On the other hand, many of the college graduates in Detroit must be City University alumni, who may have a great deal of affection for and pride in their alma mater. Such City graduates as school teachers, lawyers, business men, would be likely to send their children to City University, or to Hawthorn. Only alumni who were university professors would be strongly inclined to select the "best" for their children; MD's might be particularly impressed by the promise of the Medical School.

Thus, the Hawthorn entrants from well educated background turn out to be even more privileged than we might have thought at first. They have gone to good or excellent schools; and they are in Hawthorn in large enough numbers to indicate that they are not the left overs from good high schools who were obliged to stay in Detroit to go to a large, urban, state school.[4]

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[1] Thirty-six students were given this assurance, out of sixty who applied for it.

[2] An unusual percentage of 56% of the men from well educated families and excellent high school did enter the pre-medical curriculum, (most being given conditional admission to the medical school).

[3] "Blank check" is not an exaggeration. The students were given a conditional admission, but the college was given an unconditional stamp of approval.

[4] Unfortunately, we have practically nothing to say which would shed some light on the other extreme case--that of the girls from poorly educated background and mediocre high schools. All we know is that only from this subcategory come girls who apply for the Pre-Business curriculum. Could it be that these are girls who desire to be better than secretaries? or girls who want to be sure to become secretaries? (Several of them took the commercial curriculum in high school.) The career perspectives of the students from poorly educated background deserve to be studied in greater detail than we were able.

### Scores on WSU entrance tests:

We have another indicator of how well prepared the entering student is for college. How able is he in handling school material, solving problems, meeting a question with all the relevant knowledge he has previously acquired? How good are his memory, his vocabulary, his capacity to abstract, his sense of logic? Can he see a question having to do with numbers without getting into a panic and missing the important cue?

In 1959, City University used two tests--the College Placement Test (Science Research Associates, Chicago, Illinois, form 1), comprising a "verbal" component (vocabulary and understanding of readings) and a "quantitative" component (simple arithmetic, algebra and geometry ); and the Diagnostic Reading Tests, Survey Section (The Committee on Diagnostic Reading Tests, Inc., Mountain Home, North Carolina, Form D), on understanding of readings and vocabulary.[1] In addition, Hawthorn Program Study asked the Hawthorn entrant to take the Test of Critical Thinking.

Thus, each entrant got four main scores--"verbal ability" and "quantitative ability," based on the first test, "vocabulary," based on the second test; "critical ability," based on the third test. Of many ways of combining those different scores to rank the students with regard to their overall ability to perform, we chose the following one. The average score was computed for all Hawthorn entrants. Students were placed in one of three categories:

- The high performers were those who scored higher than Hawthorn entrants' average on all of the four tests;
- The low performers were those who scored lower than average on all of the four tests;

---

[1] Since these tests were administered to all students entering City University in the Fall of 1959, we may use them in partial answer to the question we raised above (p.46): What kinds of students selected to enter Hawthorn rather than the well-established college of Liberal Arts?

The students who entered Hawthorn did a little better than their Liberal Arts colleagues in all three tests, as shown in the table of average scores:

| | Hawthorn Entrants, 1959 | Liberal Arts Entrants |
|---|---|---|
| Verbal ability | 50.2 (s.d. 8.9) | 47.0 |
| Quantitative ability | 40.0 (s.d. 10.3) | 36.5 |
| Vocabulary | 43.3 (s.d. 6.9) | 41.4 |

This brings some minor and indirect evidence in support of our ranking Hawthorn slightly higher than City University on the ladder of higher education as seen by Detroit residents (both students and parents).

- The uneven performers were those who scored higher than average on some of the tests, lower on other(s).

The four tests are very different in style and in the demands they place on the person who takes them. The test used for the vocabulary score is strikingly unintellectual; it probes into the students' knowledge of practical life more than their knowledge of ideas; it aims at the kind of vocabulary one needs to read the newspaper or the Reader's Digest, not literature, history or philosophy; it seems to test the ability or willingness of the student to think in stereotypes.

On the contrary the "verbal" component of the college placement test never insults one's intelligence. Its passages selected for reading are interesting, its questions are cogent, they are not leading, they often call for background information which should be generally known. On the other hand, in the same booklet, the "quantitative" component is quite simple; though it may quite effectively scare the person who feels that he understands nothing in math, it may well disappoint the person who is genuinely attracted by mathematics. Still the questions are far from stupid, or obvious; just simple. By contrast, the test of critical thinking may well scare the person whom logical reasoning makes shy or awkward. It demands a great deal of agility in pure abstraction.

Thus, it might appear that a better classification of the entrants could be obtained by building a scale which would reflect the relative difficulty and relevance to college work of the various tests (critical ability coming on top, then verbal ability, then quantitative ability, then vocabulary). But how precisely would the scale be constructed? More importantly, is it not true that, in fact, the daily grind of college life requires some of all the contradictory qualities demanded by the tests--now simple reasoning, now suppleness in abstraction, now sophistication in understanding, now sheer docility?

In view of this fact of undergraduate life, we have maintained our original classification, and also because it involved a minimum of manipulation, hence potentially a minimum of obscuring of the data.

Table 4 indicates first that a majority of all the entrants perform "unevenly" on their entrance tests, both among the men and among the women. As usual, the men show up better than the women, as a whole and in each category of educational background.

Another striking fact is that, again, the children of poorly educated parents are at a considerable disadvantage. Not even the men are particularly skillful in the art of test taking. Almost half of the women do not manage to get an average score in any of the tests. How can these students find themselves at home in academe? Won't they be met with constant difficulty, never getting a chance to succeed in something, and thus to discover where their abilities lie? Won't they get lost in all the words and ideas which will assail their mind? The skills which the tests attempt to measure are to the young scholar what his senses are to the ordinary man. The students in the "low performance" category are like a man half-blind, half deaf and dumb.

By contrast, the students from well educated families are unlikely to run into that kind of trouble. Except for a handful, they show that they possess at least some of the know-how which the tests (and college studies) require. An impressive contingent of men score above average on all the tests. Here again we recognize the subset of "privileged" students.

We are now ready to look at the atitudes towards college that the students from different education backgrounds manifest as they come in.

TABLE 4

PERFORMANCE ON ENTRANCE TESTS BY PARENTS' EDUCATION AND BY SEX
(in percentages)

| | Neither Parent HS Graduate | | Parent HS Graduate | | Some College Sib or Parent | | Parent Coll Graduate | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| High | .13 | .19<br>.07 | .23 | .27<br>.17 | .29 | .39<br>.13 | .37 | .42<br>.30 | .26 | .33<br>.17 |
| Uneven | .56 | .63<br>.48 | .62 | .62<br>.63 | .55 | .50<br>.61 | .51 | .50<br>.52 | .56 | .56<br>.57 |
| Low | .31 | .19<br>.44 | .15 | .12<br>.20 | .17 | .11<br>.26 | .12 | .08<br>.19 | .18 | .12<br>.26 |
| N = | 54 | 27<br>27 | 93 | 52<br>41 | 77 | 46<br>31 | 65 | 38<br>27 | 289 | 163<br>126 |

Principal college goals

What does the entering student expect to gain from college? On his atitude or expectations will largely depend the courses he enjoys, the readings he is willing to pay close attention to, the instructors he comes to respect, the way he spends his free time. Does he want to rise socially by means of a better job - any better job? Does he want to pursue an interest in a given subject matter? Does he want to learn the Truth? Does he want to learn how to think? Does he want to make friends for life? Does she want to find a husband?

For a college like Hawthorn, which strives to give a liberal education to students many of whom are in pre-professional programs, the question of whether the student is primarily oriented to the intellectual life or to his future job is of great importance. Early in the Fall of 1959, the entering students were given a list of fifteen "college goals," two of which are clearly intellectual (developing intellectually" and "academic achievement"), two of which are clearly practical ("preparing for future work" and "learning new skills") while the others present other aspects of college experience (the discovery of values, the development of self, and social aspects ranging from friendship to sports). Among all these goals, each student was asked to choose the most important and the next most important to him.

One might expect that students who have had some experience with college through their parents or siblings would tend to favor the intellectual aspects of it, while the students from a poorly educated background would see college mainly in terms of vocational advantages. Table 5 gives us the actual distribution.[1]

### TABLE 5

### EXPECTATIONS FROM COLLEGE, BY PARENTS' EDUCATION AND BY SEX
(in percentages)

| | Neither parent HS Graduate | | Parent HS Graduate | | Some College Sib or Parent | | Parent Coll Graduate | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intellectual | .35 | .36<br>.33 | .25 | .15<br>.39 | .33 | .30<br>.39 | .40 | .35<br>.46 | .32 | .27<br>.39 |
| Intellectual & Practical | .33 | .44<br>.21 | .24 | .31<br>.14 | .26 | .30<br>.17 | .27 | .29<br>.23 | .27 | .33<br>.18 |
| Practical | .22 | .08<br>.37 | .39 | .40<br>.39 | .26 | .30<br>.17 | .23 | .24<br>.23 | .29 | .28<br>.30 |
| Other | .10 | .12<br>.08 | .12 | .15<br>.08 | .15 | .09<br>.26 | .10 | .12<br>.08 | .12 | .12<br>.12 |
| N = | 49 | 25<br>24 | 84 | 48<br>36 | 66 | 43<br>23 | 60 | 34<br>26 | 259 | 150<br>109 |

Table 5 does not demonstrate a progression from practical to intellectual goals as we move from poorly to well educated background. Quite the contrary. The children of poorly educated parents want intellectual benefits more (and for the men much more) than practical ones. It is the children of parents, one of whom graduated from high school, who represent the loww ebb of intellectual interest (especially among the men), the highest point of practical orientation. From there on, the trend we expected appears: with increased parents' or siblings' education, the intellectual interest increases, but never to the point where practical aspects are ignored.

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[1] In this table the category "intellectual" includes students who chose at least one intellectual goal and no practical one; the category "practical" includes students who chose at least one practical goal, and no intellectual one; the category "intellectual and practical" includes students who chose one intellectual and one practical goal; the category "other" includes students who chose neither intellectual nor practical goals. We consider this a fairer use of the data than taking into account primarily the first choice.

Why should students from poorly educated families desire the intellectual life as much as the children of college graduates?[1] Does it mean that it takes a real interest in books and ideas for the child of poorly educated parents to even get to college, and especially to Hawthorn? Those with practical ambition would presumably take the more direct road of getting themselves a job. The question, here, is to what extent will this orientation to the intellectual life succeed in sustaining the students through the many trials which their lack of preparation will only aggravate, on their early road in college? Will they recognize that their wishes are being answered when they face the hard work, the anguish, the false starts which accompany their discovery of the intellectual life? Will they recognize the good education that they so desire if it comes to them disguised as an elusive, ever changing, ever delayed promise of understanding?

Another interesting finding is the priority given practical goals by the children of high school graduate(s), especially the men. What does this indicate? Is it that for these young people college is the "natural" next step to take in the process of becoming responsible adults? Does it reflect a much firmer parental pressure, which would be primarily practical in orientation? Whichever of these interpretations is more valid (they are far from mutually exclusive), this finding brings strong support both for our decision to place our cutting point for "underprivileged students" where we did, and for our hypothesis that a large proportion of children of high school graduates would be likely to go to a local college.

A final remark on Table 5 concerns that other underprivileged group--the women. As the column of totals readily shows, they (like the students from poorly educated background) do not leave the choice of intellectual goals for the better prepared men to pursue. What seems to characterize the women is the inability--or unwillingness--to seek both the intellectual and practical goals of college simultaneously.[2] And of course we should not fail to underline the fact that, contrary to stereotype, women do not select other goals (social aspects of college, or value-laden goals) any oftener than do the men.[1]

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[1] Especially considering the facts, discovered earlier, of their much poorer intellectual preparation (in terms of high school quality and performance on entrance tests).

[2] Let us digress momentarily and turn to data not included in Table 5 to try to understand a little better what impact the selection of one or the other option may have had on these women's career. Of those who choose intellectual goals (39%), a third fail, a third graduate, a third remain in the no man's land of neither graduating nor flunking out. Of the women who choose practical goals (30%) half graduate, a third fail and one fifth land in no man's land.

## Curriculum at entrance

Another way of inquiring into the entering student's orientation to college is his choice of curriculum. It can be presumed that a pre-medical student will keep his mind pretty much on the next step in his long program of study: college for him will mean preparation for entrance to medical school. Other professional schools which do not have the same demanding admission requirements may still influence the students' development in college, not only by the courses they require but by the ready-made image of themselves that they provide for them (this I would think particularly true of Business Administration and Education). In contrast, the student opting for the "general" curriculum has a freedom of choice both with regard to courses and to his self image - a freedom that can be an opportunity for discovery or an occasion for the

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What part, if any, do parents' education and type of curriculum play in this outcome? Among the intellectually committed, a professional curriculum helps secure graduation for daughters of high school graduate(s); while daughters of college graduate(s) succeed equally well in the general and the pre-professional curriculums. The women from uneducated families and, surprisingly, those whose family has had some college experience almost always fail if they originally set their sight on intellectual goals. Among the practically inclined, on the other hand, the more humble the family's education background, the more strongly graduation is linked to opting for a professional curriculum. For a table and further details on the career of these women, see Appendix, p. 285, vol. II.

The foregoing analysis would tend to show that, at least among the student population of women who are attracted to Hawthorn, the clear option for intellectual or practical goals carries weight in proportion to the lack of education of their family. All other things being equal, the woman who comes from a poorly educated background needs to look forward to a practical use for her studies in order to explore actively the new world of the University. Even for women whose background is a little better informed, the discrepancy between their anticipation of what it is to "develop intellectually" and the assumptions of the Hawthorn faculty on the same subject may be great, too great to bear for comfort; a focus on a specific curriculum may help them get reoriented. Only for women from an educated background does the full freedom of the general curriculum, coupled to the desire to develop intellectually, start bearing fruit.

[1] The only slight exception is found among students whose family (parents or sibling) has had some contact with college. In this category, almost one-fourth of the women select "other" goals. I have no explanation for this, considering that the daughters of college graduate(s) follow a very different pattern.

breakdown of self-discipline.

The entering student hardly ever anticipates these indirect results of his choice of curriculum. Still his choice indicates to us what he expects from college, what his ambitions (and/or the ambitions of his parents) are. Table 6 gives us the picture for the 1959 Hawthorn entrants. An important minority selects the general, freer curriculum. Next in importance come Pre-education (almost exclusively for women), and Medicine (mainly for men). Engineering, Pre-law and Pre-business administration come far behind. [1]

The picture for the women is unusually simple; they choose essentially, the Education curriculum or the General Curriculum; and their choice is largely predicated on the level of education of their family. If their family has had no experience of college, they tend to plan on being school teachers. The more thorough going the family's contact with college, the more the girl is likely to opt for the general curriculum. This trend might reflect the social class of the students; it may simply reflect an honest puzzlement on the part of the girls lacking contact with college as to what one is supposed to do with a college education except to teach. Thus, the girls from this category who declare intellectual goals (see Table 5) should not be interpreted as ready to seek the intellectual life for its own sake and to let it take them where it will. Their intellectual ambition is primarily that of becoming a good teacher.

Among the men in pre-professional programs, there is one big contrast. The sons of college graduate(s) select medicine *en masse*, while the others divide themselves more or less equally among Medicine, Engineering, and Business or Law. Partly, no doubt, because of the heavy selection of medicine, the best educated families contribute less than their share of sons to the general curriculum. Thus the potential for successful, and contagious intellectual liveliness which we detected earlier in terms of fine preparation for college, is likely to be channeled along the rigorous lines of pre-med discipline. Will intellectual excitement prevail and alter original career plans? These are question we shall have to deal with now, as we turn to the main facets of the actual performance in college of our various categories of 1959 entrants.

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[1] It is interesting to recall that the founding fathers of Hawthorn, in an agreement with the administrative authorities of other colleges at City, had made plans for a distribution which gave a much more important place to pre-professional curriculums. They anticipated the following percentages:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| General curriculum | .20 | Engineering | .15 |
| Pre Education | .20 | Pre-Business | .15 |
| Pre-Medicine | .15 | Pre-Law | .15 |

## TABLE 6

## CURRICULUM INITIALLY CHOSEN, BY PARENTS' EDUCATION AND BY SEX

| | Neither Parent HS Graduate | | Parent HS Graduate | | Some College Sib. or Parent | | Parent Coll Graduate | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| General | .30 | .33<br>.26 | .37 | .38<br>.34 | .41 | .38<br>.45 | .43 | .30<br>.61 | .38 | .36<br>.41 |
| Profes-sional | .70 | .67<br>.74 | .63 | .62<br>.66 | .59 | .62<br>.55 | .57 | .70<br>.39 | .62 | .64<br>.59 |
| -Medicine | .15 | .22<br>.07 | .15 | .23<br>.05 | .19 | .28<br>.06 | .31 | .45<br>.11 | .20 | .29<br>.07 |
| -Engin-eering | .07 | .15<br>-- | .12 | .21<br>-- | .10 | .17<br>-- | .04 | .07<br>-- | .09 | .16<br>-- |
| -Law or Business* | .19 | .22<br>.15 | .08 | .14<br>.02 | .11 | .15<br>.06 | .07 | .13<br>-- | .11 | .15<br>.06 |
| -Education | .30 | .07<br>.52 | .24 | .04<br>.59 | .18 | .02<br>.42 | .15 | .05<br>.28 | .23 | .04<br>.46 |
| N = | 54 | 27<br>27 | 93 | 52<br>41 | 78 | 47<br>31 | 68 | 40<br>28 | 293 | 166<br>127 |

*Pre-law was selected by none of the women who entered Hawthorn in 1959. Thus the percentages for the women denote exclusively the hope of a "business" career. We have grouped together the 22 men in the Pre-business curriculum and the 10 in the Pre-law curriculum, because the latter seem to have defined law mainly as an alternate route to a business career.

## C. The Impact of the Students' Background on their Performance in College

We shall treat in turn:

a) their 1959 entrants' freshman experience of success or failure at Hawthorn;

b) their decisions to continue in Hawthorn, or to transfer, or drop out;

c) their decisions with regard to curriculum changes;

d) the outcome of their work, in terms of progress towards graduation;

e) the outcome of their work, in terms of quality of their performance.[1]

### Quality of Work Done During the First Year

What is at once striking in Table 7 is that the girls' early record, on the whole, is no worse than that of the men. If they were more poorly prepared, then they are doing something to compensate for it. In point of fact, fewer of them experience early failure than do the men - except among the students from the least educated homes. Here we observe a complete reversal, hardly any men fail, while almost a third of the women do. They are burdened with too many handicaps, and do not have enough resourses to draw from.

At the opposite end of the scale of relative advantage, the men from the best educated homes show some amount of weakness --they have the highest percentage of immediate withdrawal, and one of the highest percentages of poor quality of early work. The actual figures are low (.10 + .18 = .28), but surprising. Could it be that some of the privileged students lacked motivation? or did they feel that they could do well in college without trying? Whatever the case may be, this finding points out that early failure cannot be automatically ascribed, as it often is, to poor preparation or "cultural deprivation."[1]

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[1] In the discussion which follows, and the corresponding tables, we shall use the definitions presented in the previous chapter, which dealt with the 1959 Class taken as a whole.

Overall status with regard to choice of college

We have found earlier that Hawthorn attracted more of the children of well educated parents than we thought it would. Did it keep them? Was it simultaneously able to retain the children

TABLE 7

QUALITY OF FIRST YEAR WORK IN HAWTHORN
BY PARENTS' EDUCATION AND BY SEX
(in percentages)

| | Neither parent HS Graduate | | Parent HS Graduate | | Some College Sib. or Parent | | Parent Coll Graduate | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Passing start | .81 | .96<br>.67 | .82 | .77<br>.88 | .85 | .87<br>.81 | .78 | .72<br>.86 | .82 | .82<br>.81 |
| Poor start | .15 | --<br>.30 | .13 | .19<br>.05 | .14 | .13<br>.16 | .13 | .18<br>.07 | .14 | .14<br>.13 |
| Immediate Withdrawal | .04 | .04<br>.04 | .05 | .04<br>.07 | .01 | --<br>.03 | .09 | .10<br>.07 | .05 | .04<br>.06 |
| N = | 54 | 27<br>27 | 93 | 52<br>41 | 78 | 47<br>31 | 68 | 40<br>28 | 293 | 166<br>127 |

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[1] The exact measure of the preparation of the eleven men discussed here is given by the following distribution:

Excellent = excellent school and high test scores --1 student
Good = [excellent school and uneven (or low) scores] --6 students
[good or mediocre school and high test scores]
Indifferent = good school and uneven test scores --2 students
Poor = mediocre school and uneven test scores --2 students

These last two students are among those who withdrew immediately.

from poorly educated homes?

The answer to the first question, as Table 8 clearly shows, is a resounding yes. The first indicator is the infinitesimal percentage of students in this category who leave City University (hence Hawthorn) to transfer to other universities. The second indicator is the low percentage of students who transfer early to other colleges in City University. The third indicator is the low percentage of late transfers.

This seems to indicate that the expectations about college of the students from well educated background were met to a very large extent by the Hawthorn Program throughout their college career.

### TABLE 8

### PERSEVERANCE IN HAWTHORN, AND CITY UNIVERSITY, BY PARENTS' EDUCATION AND BY SEX (in percentages)*

| | Neither Parent HS Graduate | | Parent HS Graduate | | Some College Parent or Sib | | Parent College Graduate | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Persevere in Hawthorn | .30 | .44<br>.15 | .43 | .45<br>.41 | .38 | .36<br>.42 | .59 | .57<br>.61 | .43 | .45<br>.40 |
| Transfer late to other coll | .11 | .07<br>.15 | .09 | .06<br>.12 | .08 | .09<br>.06 | .08 | .11<br>.04 | .09 | .08<br>.09 |
| Transfer early to other coll | .19 | .19<br>.19 | .21 | .22<br>.20 | .23 | .28<br>.16 | .11 | .09<br>.14 | .19 | .20<br>.17 |
| Leave City University (HPA>C) | .11 | .11<br>.11 | .09 | .06<br>.12 | .09 | .09<br>.10 | .05 | .03<br>.07 | .08 | .07<br>.10 |
| Drop out from City Univ. (HPA<C) | .30 | .19<br>.41 | .18 | .20<br>.15 | .22 | .19<br>.26 | .17 | .20<br>.14 | .21 | .20<br>.23 |
| N = | 54 | 27<br>27 | 90 | 49<br>41 | 78 | 47<br>31 | 63 | 35<br>28 | 285 | 158<br>127 |

*We have left out of this table eight pre-medical students who

The answer to the second question is more complex. First, a large proportion of the women from a poorly educated background were unable to adjust to the demands of higher education (add to these the few who left in spite of academic success, to get married or take a job, and you already have half of that underprivileged subgroup accounted for). Now, those who were able to adjust did it in part by leaving Hawthorn, Hawthorn can take full credit for only a handful of them (15%).[1] The picture is very different for the men. One fifth of them have had to drop out due to poor academic performance and another fifth transfered early to other colleges in City University. But a full half of them received the bulk of their general education from Hawthorn, and very few of them left after taking the three sequences. To an extent this attachment to Hawthorn in spite of the allurement of other colleges at City University (when Hawthorn's offerings such as the Senior essay seem more demanding and less certain to be worth while) parallels the loyalty of sons and dqughters of well educated homes who could have been attracted by the reputation of the University of Michigan.

Another interesting detail of Table 8 is that the greatest tendency to transfer out of Hawthorn early is found among men whose family has had some experience with college. Is this due to pressure from older brothers who know about City University and encourage the recent Hawthorn entrant to leave that experimental college; or to advice from parents who don't recognize the tried and true ways of their own college in the tales they hear from their children? This again points to the need we have to be alert to the conversation about college between students and their close relatives.

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went directly to Medical School without taking their degree from Hawthorn. Inasmuch as they did not make use of all that Hawthorn offered, they should be placed with the late transfers. Inasmuch as they did not turn to another college to complete their education they should be considered as persevering in Hawthorn. We resolved to leave them out rather than confuse our definitions.

[1] Two of these four women are married women in their fourties who had other sources of moral and intellectual support than adolescent girls would.

Finally, the rate of drop outs (with honor point average equal to or below C) is surprisingly uniform among the men. Each category of level of education sees one-fifth of its men fall by the wayside. I have no explanation for this. A Durkheimian might say that this constant measures the degree to which our society is inimical to higher education regardless of the high value which everybody is supposed to give it. Or it might indicate the extent of the contrast between secondary education and higher education. In any case, it would have to be something which affects men equally, exclusive of women.[1]

## Decisions affecting curriculum

Just as students may change college, they may change curriculum. This they do as they find that they are not well equipped for their original choice, or that it does not bring them the satisfactions they had expected, or that there are other more interesting or rewarding pathways open to them. Of course, one can never be completely sure of the one main reason among many which brings about this kind of reorientation. A student who enters the pre-medical program often finds the science requirements too hard or not interesting enough; he is getting relatively poor grades. Should he persevere unflinchingly in his original choice? Would this not indicate a rather narrow definition of college? Should he switch to a new curriculum (such as Pharmacy) close enough to his early selection so that he does not have to question too drastically his original goal, nor to start a completely new career thus delaying his graduation? Should he follow entirely new insights into the various branches of knowledge and related fields of activity to rechart his course toward an

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[1] This common factor is not the poor quality of preparation for college. Preparation varies greatly among the men who have to drop out. The table below combines into a rough scale the quality of their high school and their entrance test scores. The distribution of drop-outs we find tells us to look elsewhere for the "forces" which produce the contingent of failures.

| | Neither Parent HS graduate | Parent HS graduate | Some college Sib. or Parent | Parent Coll. Graduate |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Excellent HS + High scores | | | 1 | 1 |
| Excellent HS or High scores | | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| Good HS + uneven scores | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 |
| Mediocre HS + uneven scores | 4 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Poor HS or low scores | | 1 | 1 | |
| Poor HS + low scores | | 1 | | |

adult definition of himself and the choice of a profession.[1]

Obviously we are dealing here with a whole area of choice and redefinition which extends the inquiry we started a little earlier into college goals expressed at entrance and at first curriculum chosen. Now we can study not what the students said or planned but what they did. We are using an admittedly gross measuring rod by categorizing all possible choices, reversals, etc. under three headings:

- the "liberal approach" covers all cases when a student ends his college career in an academic (liberal arts) major, or a still more general program;[2]
- the "adaptive approach" covers the cases when a student from the general curriculum comes to choose a pre-professional program, and the cases when a student transfers from one pre-professional program to another;
- the "instrumental approach" is meant to characterize the student who ends in the same professional curriculum which he elected when he came in.[3]

How do students from different educational backgrounds, and sex, show up on this practical test of their expectations from college?

We would expect three main trends:

a) the adaptive approach should be the most popular, whatever the family's level of education; for it would reflect both the effort of the student from poorly educated background to adjust to a world new to him, and the progress made by the student from well educated background to find exactly where he best fits;

b) the higher the level of education of the family, the more popular the liberal approach should be, both because academic majors would be perceived as leading somewhere, and because a liberal education would be valued for its own sake; the lower the level of education of the family, the more popular the instrumental approach should be;

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[1] For the 1959 class of Hawthorn entrants, it happened that anthropology became a favorite vocation for ex-pre-medical students.

[2] This obviously includes those who entered in the general program and persevered in it, as well as those who renounce a pre-professional orientation.

[3] The reader may detect a bias in our way of setting up these categories. We seem definitely to favor the academic over the professional, and suppleness over fixed determination. This is true. But bias for freedom is a basic assumption of "liberal" education.

c) men should favor the instrumental approach; since they are expected to be the main bread winners, the active pursuit of their chosen profession should be an important part of establishing their own identity.

Table 9 invalidates two of our anticipations. As the column of totals shown, the adaptive approach is the least popular. And men do not favor the instrumental approach, they favor the liberal choice; the women, however, do make the instrumental choice twice as frequently as the liberal one. The impact of the education of parents on student's style generally corresponds to what we anticipated. But the picture is far from simple, and once again sex seems to be most important intervening factor. Thus we can re-write Table 9 in a simplified form, highlighting the percentages which

### TABLE 9

### OVERALL APPROACH TO CURRICULUM BY PARENTS' EDUCATION AND BY SEX (in percentages)

| | Neither Parent HS Graduate | | Parent HS Graduate | | Some College Parent or Sib | | Parent College Graduate | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Liberal | .20 | .33<br>.07 | .32 | .44<br>.17 | .22 | .30<br>.10 | .35 | .37<br>.32 | .28 | .37<br>.16 |
| Adaptive | .07 | .11<br>.04 | .12 | .12<br>.12 | .28 | .21<br>.39 | .19 | .15<br>.25 | .17 | .15<br>.20 |
| Instrumental | .32 | .26<br>.37 | .30 | .19<br>.44 | .19 | .21<br>.16 | .25 | .28<br>.22 | .26 | .23<br>.31 |
| Leaves (HPA>C) | .11 | .11<br>.11 | .09 | .06<br>.12 | .09 | .09<br>.10 | .05 | .02<br>.07 | .08 | .07<br>.10 |
| Fails (HPA<C) | .30 | .19<br>.41 | .17 | .19<br>.15 | .22 | .19<br>.26 | .16 | .18<br>.14 | .21 | .19<br>.23 |
| N = | 54 | 27<br>27 | 93 | 52<br>41 | 78 | 47<br>31 | 68 | 40<br>28 | 293 | 166<br>127 |

indicate the clear preference ;of each set of students.

The men, whatever their parents' education, favor the liberal approach. This is particularly true of the sons of high school graduates. One will remember that this very category of entrants was singled out earlier as having by far the most "practical" expectations of college. Something of a conversion must have happened to many of them, as they discovered what college actually was. The sons of the least educated parents tend to stick to their intellectual orientation and their original interest in the general curriculum.[1] Some of the sons of college graduates, in keeping with their intellectual orientation, desert their original choice of a profession to join the ranks of academic majors.

The women closely reflect their parents' education in their approach to curriculum. Hardly any of the daughters of the least educated venture outside of their original occupational choice (.11 only); it is as if any other perspective on studies, on the world of occupations, and on themselves, were unthinkable. The daughters of high school graduates are still mainly committed to this same approach, but more of them (.29) deviate from it. On the other hand the women whose family has had some contact with college

TABLE 10

PREFERRED APPROACHES TO CURRICULUM BY PARENTS' EDUCATION AND BY SEX
(in percentages)

| | Neither Parent HS Graduate | Parent HS Graduate | Some College Parent or Sib | Parent College Graduate | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | Liberal .33<br>(others)*.37 | Liberal .44<br>(others) .31 | Liberal .30<br>(others) .42 | Liberal .37<br>(others) .43 | Liberal .32<br>(others) .38 |
| Women | Instrumental .37<br>(others) .11 | Instrumental .44<br>(others) .29 | Adaptive .39<br>(others) .26 | Liberal .32<br>(others) .47 | Instrumental .31<br>(others) .36 |

*The figures for "(others)" are the sum of the percentages of students who took the two other alternatives. In our tables we try not to ignore the contingent of students in each category who left City University or dropped out.

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[1] Thus, the young men whose family has had no experience with college actually outnumber those from better educated families, 32 to 29, in favoring the "liberal" approach to their college career --a far cry from what is usually assumed.

favor the adaptive approach: they tend to use college for moderate exploration without losing track of its eventual usefulness. Finally the daughters of college graduates join the men in their liberal choice (although a large proportion of them remain true to the women's practical outlook).

What can we make of these findings? Is it that the woman's mind is much more closely controlled by the opinions of her family than that of the man? Is it that the option of becoming a school teacher is too obvious, and too "feminine", to leave much room for alternatives, while no such clear option is open to the men? Is it that the girls feel guilty for spending their parents' money, especially when they come from lower class families, and want to make sure that this sacrifice has not been in vain, that they will end up with a job? Is it that the girls are resisting the pressures which would take them away from school and place them in the kitchen or in the office, by sticking desperately to a professional definition of themselves? These are all plausible explanations. None is irrelevant to the life and progress of the women students in college. More on this in Chapter III.

Tables 9 and 10 report on all 1959 entrants. But we know that some of them left Hawthorn early. Can we get a sense of the impact of Hawthorn on the students, or of the suitability of Hawthorn to these various approaches to curriculum choices?

Table 11 gives us the following picture. The number of students in each category is relatively small. But some trends are clear. Thus, among the girls who favored the instrumental approach, the lower their parents' education, the more they tend to transfer early out of Hawthorn (.40 of those from the least educated families do, none of those from the best educated ones). This tendency is even stronger among the women who favor the adaptive approach. But the opposite is true of the girls who opt for the liberal approach: only in Hawthorn do we find women from the least educated families making the liberal choice.

For the men, the picture is very different again. Regardless of their parents' education hardly any of the men who opt for the instrumental approach leave Hawthorn early. This is a rather interesting finding. Hawthorn, in each of its three divisions, gave a teaching as systematically liberal as could be devised. Yet the young men who were going to stick to their professional career apparently did not feel threatened by it, did not find it a waste of time.[1]

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[1] On the other hand it is they who make the bulk of the students who transferred late to get their degrees from other colleges, principally the School of Business Administration.

## TABLE 11

### PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS WHO TRANSFERRED EARLY OUT OF HAWTHORN FOR EACH APPROACH TO CURRICULUM, BY PARENTS' EDUCATION AND SEX

(in percentages)

| | Neither Parent HS Graduate | Parent HS Graduate | Some College Parent or Sib | Parent College Graduate | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Liberal | .27<br>.33<br>00 | .33<br>.35<br>.29 | .35<br>.43<br>00 | .12<br>00<br>.33 | .27<br>.28<br>.24 |
| Adaptive | .50<br>.33<br>1.00 | .36<br>.33<br>.40 | .45<br>.70<br>.25 | .23<br>.33<br>.14 | .38<br>.48<br>.28 |
| Instrumental | .29<br>.14<br>.40 | .18<br>.10<br>.22 | .13<br>00<br>.20 | .06<br>.09<br>00 | .17<br>.08<br>.26 |
| Percentage who left early | .31<br>.26<br>.38 | .28<br>.28<br>.27 | .33<br>.38<br>.25 | .13<br>.09<br>.18 | .26<br>.26<br>.26 |

A surprising trend can be observed, on the other hand, among the large contingent of men who opted for the liberal approach. There is a detectable tendency for them to leave Hawthorn early. One-third do, or more, among the students whose background is either ignorant of collete or partly acquainted with it; this tendency however, comes to nil among the sons of college graduates. It may be, paradoxically, that some of the liberally inclined students found Hawthorn either too constricting, or its treatment of intellectual discipline too general, unless they were guided by well-educated parents.[1]

Among the much smaller contingent of men who opt for the adaptive approach, that is to say who explore the occupational field while remaining commited to a professional outcome, there is a notable tendency to leave Hawthorn early. This is where Hawthorn fits least well. Is it that students who changed professional curriculum as a result of academic difficulties resolved to make a clean break of it and change college as well? It may be that Hawthorn as a college was least interested in helping professional students develop alternatives along professional lines.

The foregoing discussion, however, concerns itself with details. The overall picture remains one of men freeing themselves or remaining free from occupational concerns; or on the contrary following up their professional goal without flinching. Meanwhile, the women experience freedom to explore and even to abandon their early professional goal only if their family background is sufficiently educated to allow it.

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[1] Let us notice, in passing, that many of the men from educated families who entered in the strict pre-med program, became involved in other, academic, interests relatively early, thus enlivening the intellectual atmosphere of the Hawthorn student body.

## The Outcome: Progress Toward Graduation

Does family background exercise its influence upon the student's pacing of his studies, his ability to complete his college work in the time normally ascribed to it? Table 12 gives the distribution of the 1959 Hawthorn entrants as they stood in terms of academic status at the end of five years.

TABLE 12

ACADEMIC STATUS AFTER FIVE YEARS, BY PARENTS' EDUCATION AND BY SEX
(in percentages)

| | Neither Parent HS Graduate | | Parent HS Graduate | | Some College Parent or Sib | | Parent College Graduate | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Graduated Early* | .02 | .04<br>-- | .05 | .08<br>.02 | .08 | .13<br>-- | .13 | .15<br>.11 | .07 | .10<br>.03 |
| Graduated on time | .20 | .22<br>.19 | .21 | .15<br>.29 | .22 | .19<br>.26 | .15 | .10<br>.21 | .20 | .16<br>.24 |
| Graduated Late | .11 | .15<br>.07 | .18 | .19<br>.17 | .18 | .17<br>.19 | .16 | .12<br>.21 | .16 | .16<br>.17 |
| Slow down | .26 | .30<br>.22 | .29 | .33<br>.24 | .22 | .23<br>.19 | .35 | .42<br>.25 | .28 | .32<br>.23 |
| Left City (HPA>C) | .11 | .11<br>.11 | .09 | .06<br>.12 | .09 | .09<br>.10 | .04 | .03<br>.07 | .08 | .07<br>.10 |
| Dropped out of City (HPA≤C) | .30 | .19<br>.41 | .17 | .19<br>.15 | .22 | .19<br>.26 | .16 | .18<br>.14 | .20 | .19<br>.23 |
| N = | 54 | 27<br>27 | 93 | 52<br>41 | 78 | 47<br>31 | 68 | 40<br>28 | 293 | 166<br>127 |

*These are primarily students who were admitted to City University Medical School after three years of work in Hawthorn. They received a Hawthorn degree but did not do as much work for it as their fellow students (no senior essay). Students who went directly to Medical School without graduating (from Hawthorn or City University), but having taken all their "general education" component in Hawthorn, have also been placed in this category.

At first glance a detail seems to confirm what we would expect. Students take advantage of graduating early in direct relation to the degree of education of their parents. However this might be due to the popularity of medicine among the better educated families. Other, more important, indices do not support the hunch that a well educated family is bound to help the students to keep up with his studies.

We can simplify Table 12 by ascertaining first the percentage of students who were on time (or ahead of time) at the end of four years, then the percentage of graduates vs. slowdowns at the end of five years.

This simplified table offers a few surprises. First, concerning which category of students keeps best to the time-table, there is no tendency which can be ascribed either to sex or to educational background. In each category almost one-third (but never quite) of either the men or the women manages this feat: the line zig-zags across the page, pointing out now to the men now to the women. The only ones clearly behind are the women from the least educated background (only .19 are on time). The same remark applies to the final outcome, except that now the women and the men are much closer in each category except the most disadvantaged one (only .26 of its women graduate). What is surprising, however, is that the next lowest percentage of graduates is found among the sons of college graduates (only .37 graduate, after five years in college). Why

### TABLE 13

### SUMMARY OF PACE AND OUTCOME AFTER FIVE YEARS BY PARENTS' EDUCATION AND BY SEX

(in percentages)

| | Neither Parent HS Graduate | | Parent HS Graduate | | Some College Sib.or Parent | | Parent College Graduate | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PACE on time | .22 | .26 | .26 | .23 | .30 | .32 | .28 | .25 | .27 | .26 |
| | | .19 | | .31 | | .26 | | .32 | | .27 |
| OUTCOME graduates | .33 | .41 | .44 | .42 | .48 | .49 | .44 | .37 | .43 | .42 |
| | | .26 | | .48 | | .45 | | .53 | | .44 |
| slowdown | .26 | .30 | .29 | .33 | .22 | .23 | .35 | .42 | .28 | .32 |
| | | .22 | | .24 | | .19 | | .25 | | .23 |

are an inordinate number of the men from this privileged background "slowdowns"? Have they changed their curriculum too often or too drastically? Have they felt the need to leave college (and home) for the army or some other city, coming back later to pursue their studies? From their preparation, we would expect that they did not have many academic difficulties.[1] Did they run into other, personal difficulties?

Thus we should be very far from the truth if we believed that the contingent of slowdowns is composed mainly of handicapped students, from poorly educated families. Nor can anyone argue that the handicapped cannot afford to prolong their studies beyond the expected time. Students from different educational background resemble each other surprisingly in their capacity or incapacity to bring their stay in college to a successful conclusion. The special advantages of the most privileged among them must be balanced by hidden handicaps in themselves, or offset by hidden strengths in the others.[2]

## The Outcome: Quality of Performance

As in the previous chapter, we turn to this important question last. Table 14 gives us the facts on how well the students did.

Is academic excellence distributed in terms of parents' education and sex? Hardly. The students from the least educated background have as high a percentage of individuals doing exceptionally well as those whose family has some experience ~~of co~~llege. However the percentage rises sharply for children of college graduates; but here it is the girls who outdo by far all other categories (more than one-third of the daughters of college graduates make an excellent record)![3]

There is little to be added to this. The students with a "poor record" are slowdowns whose grade average is below C, and who are trying to raise it; it is not surprising that quite a few who have the patience, even the stubborness to fight on and stay in school should come from well educated families. It is more surprising that almost as many are children of high school graduates. This gives us a last, though minute, confirmation of the importance of education for parents (and/or children) of that background.

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[1] Many of them come from excellent high schools.

[2] We refer here to students from the best educated families vs. students from the least educated families, and men vs. women.

[3] This exceptional feat of women from well educated background must not make us forget the brave showing of the women from the least educated families, by far the most handicapped of all students.

Another interesting finding is derived from examining the distribution for students persevering in Hawthorn, which shows the same trends as Table 14 below (among the students persevering, for instance, .41 of the girls from the best educated families end up with an excellent record, and against .23 of the men). One striking difference, however: in Hawthorn the men whose families have some experience of college do almost as well as the daughters of college graduates (.36 make an excellent record).[1]

## TABLE 14

### OUTCOME IN TERMS OF QUALITY OF ACADEMIC WORK DONE IN COLLEGE BY PARENTS' EDUCATION AND SEX

(in percentage)

| | Neither Parent HS Graduate | | Parent HS Graduate | | Some College Parent or Sib | | Parent College Graduate | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Excellent record | .17 | .15<br>.19 | .16 | .15<br>.17 | .17 | .19<br>.13 | .26 | .20<br>.36 | .19 | .17<br>.20 |
| Ordinary record | .39 | .48<br>.30 | .47 | .48<br>.46 | .42 | .38<br>.48 | .40 | .48<br>.29 | .43 | .45<br>.39 |
| Poor record | .04 | .08<br>00 | .11 | .12<br>.10 | .09 | .15<br>00 | .13 | .13<br>.14 | .10 | .12<br>.06 |
| Left City (HPA>C) | .11 | .11<br>.11 | .09 | .06<br>.12 | .09 | .09<br>.10 | .04 | .03<br>.07 | .08 | .07<br>.10 |
| Dropped out (HPA≤C) | .30 | .19<br>.41 | .17 | .19<br>.15 | .22 | .19<br>.26 | .16 | .18<br>.14 | .20 | .19<br>.23 |
| N = | 54 | 27<br>27 | 93 | 52<br>41 | 78 | 47<br>31 | 68 | 40<br>28 | 293 | 166<br>127 |

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[1] This suggests that the unusually high proportion (see p.65) of men with this kind of family background who transferred out of Hawthorn must have been those less capable of handling the work well.

Of course, these findings must not make us forget that more than half of the women from the least educated background give up college; among those who persevere in Hawthorn .45 drop out with failing grades, .18 leave for some other reason. Still, of those who remain, as many achieve an excellent performance as make an ordinary record. This suggests that Hawthorn places a hard task in front of its least privileged students, but not an impossible one. The performance of the girls from well educated background (whom we have found to be relatively poorly prepared for college) reinforces this conclusion.

Certainly in Hawthorn, as in any college, and maybe more than in many other colleges, some students fall by the wayside who could have been helped to benefit from a full course of studies. Still Hawthorn is not unduly geared to its best equipped students. As we shall find students repeating in our next chapter, it truly "is not an honors college".

Let us succinctly pull together the major findings of this chapter. We have found that it was both convenient and legitimate to select as our least privileged students those neither of whose parents had finished high school.

We discovered that as they came into Hawthorn these students were not interested primarily in practical goals, as many writers assume they are.[1] But we found them disadvantaged in many other ways. They, especially the women, tend to come from mediocre or poor high schools. The women also tend to do poorly on their entrance tests. But these same women are not interested in "social" goals as the stereotype would have it; but they do tend to select professional curricula.

Once in Hawthorn these men and women from a poorly educated background have very different careers. The girls often start poorly, the men practically never. Many of the girls drop out of City University, and very few persevere in Hawthorn. The women's approach to their curriculum is almost entirely instrumental (which seems to be a reason why many of them leave Hawthorn). Few of the women are ready to graduate after four years, and only a few more finish by the following year. None of these hardships, none of this narrowness of perspective, holds for the men of the same poor educational background. Yet, a slightly higher proportion of women than of men achieve an excellent academic record. And Hawthorn seems a pariicularly congenial place for the very few women who dare to embark on a "liberal" course.

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[1] The men in particular seem to eschew practical goals at entrance, except in connection with intellectual goals, which they value highly.

The story of the men is pretty much a story of success in spite of their poor educational background. The story of the women is pretty much a story of at least partial failure, due to their background, no doubt, but also--mysteriously--to their sex. These handicaps are overcome only by a few, but then they are overcome in grand style. Clearly we need to consider the history of those disadvantaged students in greater detail to draw from it a better understanding, and a sense for possible improvements. This will be done in the next chapter.

# CHAPTER III

Throughout this study we are interested in the quality of the experience offered by Hawthorn to its 1959 entrants. For that purpose, we have first sketched the main aspects of their career. Then we have focussed on the students from poorly educated families. In both cases we have relied on two kinds of documents: answers given by students to a questionnaire at the time they entered Hawthorn; and official records kept by the University (courses taken, grades received, curriculum, date of graduation, etc.). Both kinds of data have much the same quality - they are "facts" on record, they lend themselves to unambiguous categorization: an A is clearly different from a C, a pre-medical curriculum is clearly different from a pre-business curriculum; either a student stays in college or he transfers or he drops out, etc. Such "facts" then are readily distributed among mutually exclusive categories; tables can be presented and scrutinized for meaning.

The difficulty starts when we ask: What _is_ the meaning of the facts? Can we assume that the student who graduates on time has taken his studies more seriously than the one who graduates late? Can we assume that the student who transfered from Hawthorn to another college has done so because he found Hawthorn too difficult? Can we assume that the student who drops out has given up intellectual ambitions and interests? The shortcoming of "facts" on records is that they are too isolated from the rest of the student's behavior to be unambiguous. They seem to be solid, tangible indicators, by means of which the elusive quality of experience can be reached, yet, if one looks beyond their obvious practical administrative significance, they leave one with many more questions than answers.[1]

For instance, we ourselves have used the criterion of the number of A's received by a student as an indicator of the general intellectual quality of his achievement in college. We _presume_ that a student who gets an A has understood the content of the course, that he has done a good deal of work, that he has had ideas of his own on the topic, that he has learned something from the course about intellectual life in general. But suppose that a student comes and tells us:

> "I came out of Hawthorn (at the end of the first semester) with two A's, and (yet) I did absolutely nothing! Really, it's fantastic!! And yet I did see some kids who

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[1] The reader will remember that the previous chapters have indeed been devoted in large part to raising questions suggested by the "facts".

> came out with C's, D's, and E's, and I felt kind of sorry for them because I felt that they were trying to make too much out of the course matter - trying to make it more difficult than it really was...." (Student B1)

We have to recognize that this observation is true too. Sometimes "too much" work, "too much" involvement, "too much" questioning, handicaps the student who becomes incapable of a straight, clear, objective, elegant answer - the kind of answer which satisfies a professor so deeply that he gives it an A.

Such reflection does not suffice to invalidate the use of the number of A's as an indicator. It suggests, however, that in addition to using this indicator a serious examination be made of evidence which refers more directly to the student's understanding of and involvement in the intellectual life. This is why, in this chapter, we shall turn now to material from long interviews gathered toward the end of the fourth year of Hawthorn from all students still in Hawthorn and from a sample of those who had left.[1]

The interview questions were prepared[2] to get as much information as possible on the students' state of mind after four years, and to give them a chance to reflect on what had happened to them during that time. They were asked to evaluate several aspects of the college, on the basis of their own experience. They were asked how they now related to their parents, and in particular what impact the college had had on this relationship. They were asked about their plans for the future. They were asked about their relationships to the faculty, and to fellow students. They were asked what had happened to their roots into the past, such as ethnic background and religion.[3]

By and large, the interviewers gave each student a chance to answer in detail and at length the questions which appealed to him, and to be brief, purely "factual" in answer to the questions which did not seem relevant to him. Thus, here and there in the text of an interview, one perceives the student coming through with his own opinions, his reflections, his vivid memories of some important event in his college life.[4] This is precisely what we need to complement the evidence provided by the "indicators" mentioned earlier.

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[1] It is from one of these last that the quotation above, on the easy A's, is taken.

[2] Principally by Dr. C.Kaye, Dr. M.Sharaff and Dr. S.W.Cassidy.

[3] Many of these questions had already been raised toward the end of the first year of Hawthorn. When no 1963 interview is available, I will use data from the 1960 interview, as partial evidence.

[4] At the beginning the interviewers of the students still in

The data gathered in the interview were used and will be presented in a very different way than the facts on record which we have examined so far. Up to now we have been concerned with ascertaining what were the best cutting points to set up categories into which the information we had should be distributed, and cross-tabulating our data to check the visible impact of some selected variables. Now I am searching for patterns. From the interviews I want to get a sense of how the student defined his situation in college, of the choices he saw himself making, of the nature and rhythm of his development as he perceived it. In other words, I want to get from the student himself an indication of the variables that existed for him, that were important to him, whether he tells us so directly or simply hints at them or takes them for granted.

It follows from this principle that I have not taken the interviews question by question, coding each one in turn so as to report how the opinions or experiences of the class were distributed. Such an approach would have brought us back to the style and reasoning of the previous chapters. Instead, I decided to consider each interview as a whole, reading and rereading it until I became sensitive to the main themes which it contained. I found that it was possible to reconstruct the main traits of a student's case, to tell the main lines of the unique history of his experience in college. I also found that I could easily illustrate and/or substantiate my interpretation by selecting the most telling of his answers.[1]

But the search for patterns could not proceed merely by moving from one case to the next. The capacity of the researcher's mind to perceive the unique quality of a case diminishes as he tries to repeat this feat over and over. Simultaneously the data lose much of their power to resist the researcher's preconceptions and pet ideas. I found a simple solution to this double problem. I would look at small sets of interviews; those sets would be homogeneous in some crucial ways. I would then search each set for the common traits - common experiences, common choices, common judgements. Each interview, rather than exhausting my capacity

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Hawthorn after four years were unevenly prepared for the difficult job. Those who were less able to probe at the right time, to transcribe the answers of the student in his own words or almost so, and those less willing carefully to edit their interviews, were weeded out rapidly. There remained an excellent team, under the management of Finvola Drury, whose genuine interest in the students made the whole process of answering endless questions not only palatable but even worthwhile. Interviewing students who had left Hawthorn was undertaken entirely by a single Hawthorn student unusually trained and gifted for this kind of work; a young man whose quiet patience and genuine interest in the students whom he questioned produced material of a rare quality.

[1] In the following pages, the reader will find many quotations

for understanding, would provide me with new angles, new hunches, for examining the others in the same set. As I found the common traits, the pattern characteristic of the whole set, I would also note striking differences, and thus establish sub-patterns, as it were, within the set.

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What were the sets to be? Since our main concern has been consistently with the student from poorly educated families, this dimension would continue to be the basic one. I thought that it would be usefully complemented by a dimension which would indicate the student's preparedness for college. In the previous chapter, we have used two such indicators: quality of high school and performance on entrance tests. Which of the two should I now choose?

To a sociologist the quality of high school is the more attractive of the two. A student's environment over several years is bound to have an important impact on him. In contrast, a series of tests made up of multiple choice questions, taken in a matter of hours appears rather slender and arbitrary. On the other hand I felt that our classification of high schools needed further refinement. We had used several indices carefully, and consulted several knowledgeable friends.[1] Still, we felt handicapped by our lack of first hand knowledge of Detroit's secondary school system. In addition the saying went that City University got the good students from the poor schools and the poor students from the good schools. If this were at all true, selecting the quality of high school as the indicator of preparedness to college would be largely self-defeating. Finally, it is not clear to which extent and in which ways high school and college are continuous rather than discontinuous social experiences. Both students and professors in college insist on the latter; would this very fact not lessen considerably the impact of "high school as an environment" on the student's definition of his college and his response to its efforts?

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from the interviews. He can be assured that none of them is taken out of context. He should, however, be warned that the interviews of students still in Hawthorn were not tape recorded, hence the statements quoted from them do not have the spontaneity and vivaciousness of the quotations from the interviews of the students who left Hawthorn. While the form is less attractive, more terse, I have no reason to believe that the substance has suffered in the inevitable reconstruction of a statement which takes place as the interviewer writes down what he has just heard.

[1] In particular Richard Schell, Hawthorn Adviser, Jeannette Coral, substitute math teacher; Russell Broadhead from the College of Education who places young teachers in local high schools; and others.

All these considerations made the test scores the more tempting - here was a reliable and standardized measuring rod; something which got at the student's own resources. We had already decided upon simple categories (all scores above average, all scores below average, some scores above and some below) the rationale for which could be readily kept in mind.[1] Not that we considered this rationale entirely foolproof. One of the assumptions it makes may well be basically false, i.e. that the "abilities" measured by each test are factors equally relevant to the intellectual life, that there are not several styles of learning and thinking, each relying on entirely different aptitudes. We all know that some people's intellectual life is sustained by curiosity, a passion for variety; others' by a sense that there is "something" that underlies everything; others' by a need for order; others' by a desire to find and solve problems. We know that the keen observer and the reflective type, the voracious reader and the man of a single problem, the sharp logician and the man who listens to his heart, each has his own way to pursue knowledge, and each has his own difficulties. Still it seemed "reasonable" enough to draw the line at the average for each test score and to decree that to fall below it indicated some handicap.

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I ended up choosing the following sets:

Set One: The vanguard of the underprivileged: students from poorly educated background, whose scores were above average for all their entrance tests. Would their skills earn them a home in the unfamiliar precinct of academe? how early and how? and with which effects on their self-definition, their outlook on life, their career?

Set Two: The rank and file of the underprivileged: students from poorly educated background, whose entrance scores were uneven. Would they develop intellectually? in which directions and at what cost? What would prove to be their main handicaps, what their main assets?

Set Three: The stragglers of the underprivileged: students who have the double disadvantage of a poorly educated family and of low entrance scores. Would college be a trial beyond their strength to endure? Would it be a series of unrewarding chores? Would it help them develop, even a little, or would it hurt them badly?

Set Four: The privileged stragglers: students from well educated families whose entrance scores were all below average.[1] Caught between parents' expectations that their children would follow in their footsteps and their own lack of the talents necessary for success, how would these students come to orient themselves? How would they feel with regard to academe? How would they work out a definition of themselves? How would they set their own standards?

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[1] Cf. p. 54 (Chapter II)

Below is a summary of the distribution of cases among the four sets, and of the interviews available:

Table: 1

DISTRIBUTION OF 1959 ENTRANTS AMONG THE FOUR SELECTED SETS BY OUTCOME

|  | Stayed in Hawthorn for Four Years | Transferred to Other College | Left College (HPA $>$ C) | Dropped Out (HPA $\leq$ C) | Total Number of Students |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Set One | 4 | 2 | 1 | - | 7 |
| Set Two | 8 | 11 | 3 | 5 | 27 |
| Set Three | 5 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 16 |
| Set Four | 6 | 1 | - | 1 | 8 |

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[1] It was as I reflected on the difficult scholastic itinerary of Set Three that I came to consider the peculiar problems of this other small set, more privileged in appearance, but actually faced with a perhaps even more hopeless task. I hope that this additional study will enhance the rest of the work. It will acquaint us with the impact of Hawthorn on students from an educated background. In point of fact, if I find important differences between the patterns in Set Three and Set Four (equally low scores from the two extremes in family background), I shall be able to be much more explicit on the modes of influence of parents' education on their children's experience in college.

## SET I

## STUDENTS FROM POORLY EDUCATED BACKGROUNDS WITH HIGH ENTRANCE SCORES

The following table gives an idea of the range in background and in talent and preparation for college, among the "vanguard of the under-privileged." As for their ambitions, the three students with highest entrance scores planned to be secondary school teachers (including two men, a rare occurence). One man and one woman were preparing for medical school, one man for business school. The one man in the "general" program indicated scientific interest.[1]

TABLE: 2 SOME DATA ON STUDENTS IN SET ONE

| St | TCT[a] | Verbal Ability[b] | Quant. Ability[c] | Vocab-ulary[d] | Qual. of HS | Father Educ. | Mother Educ. | Father Occup. | Mother Occup. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| $A_1$ | 41 | 71+ | 55 | 47 | 3 | some HS | some HS | -- | office work |
| $B_1$ | 38 | 59 | 56 | 54 | 2 | some HS | some HS | DSR | checker |
| $C_1$ | 38 | 69+ | 54 | 46 | 1 | gram.sc | gram.sc | mch.set. | -- |
| $D_1$ | 37 | 58 | 60+ | 49 | 1 | some HS | some HS | painter | -- |
| $E_1$ | 49+ | 55 | 38 | 54 | 3 | gram.sc | some HS | baker | -- |
| $F_1$ | 34 | 66 | 44 | 46 | 3 | gram.sc | gram.sc | tool&die | seamstress |
| $G_1$ | 40 | 54 | 39 | 43 | 1 | some HS | gram.sc | tool eng. | -- |

a) "Test of Critical Thinking." Mean score of 1959 Hawthorn entrants=34; standard deviation =7.

b) Mean score = 50; standard deviation = 9.

c) Mean score = 38; standard deviation = 10.

d) Mean score = 43; standard deviation = 7.

+ indicates outstanding score (2 standard deviations above mean, or more.)

The students are ranked in terms of their total score on entrance tests.

The high school ratings are: 1=excellent,2=good,3=mediocre;4=poor.

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[1] Additional data of interest (including date of interview used):

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| $A_1$ | (1963) | stayed in Hawthorn | graduated on time | excellent record (A) |
| $B_1$ | (1963) | transfered early | slowed down | ordinary record (B-) |
| $C_1$ | (1963) | stayed in Hawthorn | graduated on time | excellent record (A-) |
| $D_1$ | (1963) | stayed in Hawthorn | graduated on time | excellent record (B) |
| $E_1$ | (1963) | stayed in Hawthorn | left | ordinary record (B-) |
| $F_1$ | (1960) | transfered early | graduated on time | ordinary record (C+) |
| $G_1$ | (1963) | stayed in Hawthorn | slowed down | ordinary record (C+) |

### They generally succeed

At the end of the first semester, student B1 dropped out of her Hawthorn program (in spite of- or, as we shall see, because of her getting A's in her two Hawthorn courses). Student G1 left school altogether. At the end of the first year, student F1 transferred to the college of Liberal Arts after getting a B- average in Hawthorn courses. At the end of the following year student E1, having first abandoned her idea of a medical career, dropped out of school with a B- average. Meanwhile students A1, C1 and D1 were doing excellent work. They had redefined their ambitions upward and were now planning to teach at the college level. Student G1 had returned, but was cutting out a program for himself entirely according to his tastes, thus showing that Hawthorn was not, for him, a place from which he would ever graduate.

After four years, three men in this set graduated from Hawthorn, two of them with honors. All three elected to pursue graduate studies at the universities of their choice. One man graduated from Liberal Arts with a major in journalism. One woman, despite becoming married, was about halfway to a degree in the school of education.[1] One man and one woman had quit school, but not the intellectual life.[2]

Thus, the overall story told by the indicators is primarily one of remarkable academic success, considering the students' backgrounds. Not only did most of the students in this set graduate, not only did several of them accumulate an unusual amount of A's, but in addition all save one made "liberal" choices in handling their curriculum. Moreover, as the degree of success was not related to the quality of their high school, it seems to have depended rather on the talent and character of each individual. One could extrapolate from these facts and imagine the experience of the students of Set I in college as an easy, steady, rewarding progress on all fronts. Well equipped as they were, they should have felt confident that they would succeed. At the same time, not having parents or siblings to force on them alien views of college goals and ways, they should have been unusually receptive to the faculty's definitions and goals. Being able to understand the faculty members, they should have been singled out for intellectual friendship with them, thus acquiring models and inspiration. They should thus be in a good position to act as leaders towards other students, being interpretors of the faculty to them. They could be expected to change their own career goals early in college, and rather drastically, as they discovered the world of intellectual achievement and enjoyment from the inside...

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[1] The number of credit hours of courses for which students in this group of seven received A's is another yardstick of scholastic success. Of the Hawthorn graduates, one has received 68 credit hours of A's in Hawthorn and 75 in Liberal Arts, out of a total of 90 in each. Another has received 62 credit hours of A's in Hawthorn and 57 in Liberal Arts. The third has received 28 in Hawthorn and 20 in Liberal Arts. The Liberal Arts graduate has received no A in Hawthorn, but 23 credit hours of A's in Liberal Arts.

The Hawthorn slow-downs and drop-outs have received some A's in Hawthorn courses (15 and 12 credit hours respectively). The Liberal Arts slowdown has received 16 credit hours of A's besides her initial 12 at Hawthorn.

[2] See, for instance, the statement by student $G_1$ on p. 21.

No matter how reasonable this hypothetical reconstruction may seem, it is invalidated by the statements made by the students in their interviews. Students in Set I changed their orientation but little. They did not assume leadership. Contrary to what most other students did, they did not attach themselves early to a faculty member. It took them time to assimilate the "idea of Hawthorn" as a blueprint for their higher education. They did not quite feel comfortable in Hawthorn from the first. In other words, "superior ability," as revealed by test scores, did not insure that a student be immediately in a position to take a hold of anything and everything that would fully satisfy his needs; nor did it thrust the student effortlessly into the mainstream of the process of learning.

Some want to "master" their subject matter

Let us look in detail at the evidence provided by six interviews taken at the end of four years, supplemented by one interview taken at the end of the first year. When asked where he did his best work, student D1 answers:

> "For the first two years, in Liberal Arts; for the last two, in Hawthorn. In the first two years I took factual courses in L.A. I needed this at the time. These courses fill in the little details that give you the full picture. They are necessary to pick up facts which you need for a good education... Then, the last two years in Hawthorn, I followed up the ideas I had developed." (D1)

Student C1 refers to a similar choice when he says:

> "Many students are involved in their major field of study. They forget about Hawthorn. I was this way in the middle two years." (C1)

Student F1 expressed the very opposite of intellectual enthusiasm at the end of his freashman year, when he was about to transfer into Liberal Arts:

> (Whom would you encourage to come to Hawthorn?) "Someone who has enough time and money to be an idle dreamer. The courses demand a lot of time and they don't lead to anything, at least not for me. I wish I had gone straight to a regular university to begin with." (F1, 1960)

But the most convincing presentation of an attitude which I would not have anticipated among gifted students is given by student B1 (who transferred out of Hawthorn at the end of the first semester):

> "I am going to school in order to learn something... Even when I was a freshman I thought that I was going to college to learn something and I sacrificed an awful lot to get to college... I figured that if I was putting my money into this thing I better come out with something pretty darn good... I was completely dissatisfied with the methods, the materials and the courses (at Hawthorn). I don't think I learned anything. I couldn't tell you a single thing that I learned from the classes.
>
> I think one of the ideas of Hawthorn was the thought that if you give the kids the lead, they will follow up what their interest is. To me this is a bunch of nonsense because it takes a superior kind of a person to do that thing. I had an A- grade level in high school[1] and I was no dummy and certain things that interested me I would follow up, but generally I wouldn't unless I was pressured. And I think most of the kids are this way. That's why this kind of a program might be good for a master or PhD student of a certain character, but not just the general run of students. I certainly didn't profit from Hawthorn because I didn't follow up anything.
>
> The only kind of education I had had up to then was when they gave you the subject matter and told you to learn it. As I said, I found this completely lacking (at Hawthorn). I feel I take far more out of a course if I have mastered the subject matter; and I really feel like I've come a long way in mastering a hell of a lot of subject matter too.[2] I've gone through a lot of courses. I can't say that I've mastered one bit of subject matter in one area from Hawthorn." (B1)

This student goes on to explain that she skipped discussion classes because they were not "necessary to master the course." She adds:

> "I did respect the social studies teacher. I felt sorry for him because I didn't think that he had good enough subject matter. He had a far greater ability than he was able to display." (B1)

Generally, she says:

> "There was a great deal of uncertainty among the students, among the instructors. They didn't know where they were going, they really didn't know what they were doing. And

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[1] A "good" high school.

[2] from other colleges than Hawthorn.

> as far as the courses went, especially social science, we didn't know what in the devil we were supposed to be learning because we weren't frankly learning much of anything." (B1)

Note the important theme of "subject matter", the need to have "something to learn", to see oneself learning something. The desire expressed by student D1 to "fill in the facts" first, the preference for one's specialty rather than for a more general approach mentioned by student C1, seems to stem from the same source. Student A1's interview does not provide concurring comments, but his behavior throughout college- choice of courses, main interests, association with faculty- indicates that he concentrated on his specialty throughout his four years.

Could it be that doing too well in high school, as it were, has spoiled the gifted students by encouraging them to rely on the same methods in college they successfully used earlier? Could it be that, in the absence of family definitions of college, the image of college as an advanced high school guides the behavior of students in this category? This hypothesis seems somewhat substantiated by the fact that all the students we have cited so far mentioned, as they entered college, that they thought they had learned a great deal in high school.

## Some are excited by the novelty of college life

The two students who did not feel that they had learned much in high school reacted very differently to their first contacts with college. Student E1 is most willing to recall those days:

> "I didn't get any reading done while I was going to Hawthorn. The social group that I was in was always socializing, you know. I didn't study much at all. I partied too much to learn anything while I was there. Whenever there was a semester break or the summer vacation or something, I'd try to read...it was generally stimulating class materials, and some of the discussions at the Center (were) too."
>
> "It's hard to remember what expectations I had. I didn't have too many. I didn't have the vaguest idea what college was going to be."
> "I really liked the first semester. I was always having fun; I was talking in my sleep, which was an indication of how excited I was all the time. I was just super-excited...it was totally different from high school.[1] (High school) wasn't at all stimulating- I slept most the time through classes. It was a very provincial atmosphere, most of the students just wanted to drive around, to go drive-ins at night, no interest in art, nothing really intellectual." (E1)

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[1] An "indifferent"high school

Student G1, who was just as involved in social life at Hawthorn as E1 during the first semester, in his interview four years later deplores how much things have changed:

> "The community is non-existent at this point. Most of the students have been drawn into the bigger community at City, or else have left here. I still see many of the same people but you can't maintain that the community is still here." (G1)

It is as if this other kind of gifted students, instead of relying on their tested way of going successfully through high school, had been willing to make college an entirely new experience. But they could not generate this new spirit alone. It had to be a collective enterprise. They had to trust other students with a similar outlook to bring it about for them and to maintain it with them. Hence, their attraction to the center, the myth of the community, the "super-excitement", the sense of discovery. The contrast between the two sub-groups in this set is not total, however. Solid student C1, who mentioned concentrating on his own specialty during the two middle years, gives a sense of having been reached to a considerable extent by this fever of discovery.

> "Hawthorn is appealing to those who want more than straight facts. A lot comes out of Hawthorn that isn't in the textbooks... I have enjoyed the courses, especially social science and the discussion groups. I have had my mind stimulated. (I have developed) broader interests."
> In Hawthorn, professors open students' minds instead of jumping to conclusions.
> Social science has not altered my thinking, but awakened it.
> I have realized that there are social actions, and societies, and reasons for it. It gave me means for analysis."
> (C1, interview at end of first year)

## What happens to their original plans

Yet all this awakening did not throw C1 off balance. He continued in his favorite field, methodically pursuing what had been his original goal when he entered college. Meanwhile, students E1 and G1 were jolted from their intended path quite violently. G1 speaks of his own experience when he says that he would give the following advice to a freshman about to enter Hawthorn:

> "Go some place else...if he wants to be something society wants, doctor, engineer and even philosopher, he'll probably lose that here. Hawthorn does make you aware of certain problems you're not aware of until you come here." (G1)

It seems to me that the important phrase here, in view of our evidence, is, "if he wants to be something society wants", - instead of what is implicit in Hawthorn, i.e.; wanting to be something he really wants, something he already knows he is. Notice that the four students in Set I, who were planning to go into teaching, persevered in seeing themselves in that role. But the other three students who wanted to go into some other profession completely changed their mind. It is as if the students who come out of high school with concrete ideas, based on experience, of what they are going to be, don't let the flurry of excitement distract them from their goal. While the students who come to college as a magical gateway to social success or with the dream of serving mankind end up getting their main cues from the "community".

Student F1, though marginal to the community, confirmed this interpretation when he said:

> "I originally intended to go to Med. school, but I'm not too sure about it ."
> (Whom he models himself after.) "I don't know. I think it's one of my biggest problems. I have too much imagination. I fashion myself after anyone I like and can't really make up my mind what I really want to be." (F1, 1960)

Thus it looks as if the gifted student's adjustment to college depended on his attitude in high school, but also on his sense of identity, his vision of his future. The more he knows who he is, and where he is going, the more he proceeds briskly without getting side-tracked by the discovery of those "problems" of which student G1 speaks. This does not mean to say that such students are rigid.[1] As student D1 puts it:

> "When I came, I was certain who I was. By the middle of my sophomore year the picture was fogged over. Now I'm certain." (D1)

The role of the family

Another characteristic that our four unperturbed students have in common is that their family gives them considerable moral support.[2] Here are some of the students' statements on what their family thinks about college in general or about Hawthorn:

> "My mother is extreme in (her) approval of it." (A1)

> Note that this student says elsewhere:

> "My mother understands me better than other people." (A1)

> "My father feels that my education is valuable now and will be in the future. My mother concerns herself less than my father.

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[1] Such a student does discover problems; but he is not thrown off by them. He takes them in his stride, mulls them over, may resolve them later.

[2] I am referring here to A1, B1, and C1, who entered the secondary education program; and to D1 who entered the general curriculum.

but her feeling is almost identical."
(This student too feels understood by his parents. Their expectations of him, as he sees them are:) "To put forth as much effort as I'm capable of on anything I undertake. They feel my capacities are fairly great so they expect consistently high achievement. They don't constantly exhort me to greater efforts. They leave me free to handle my own affairs. They also expect maturity in all spheres."
(C1)

"My dad is very interested in education and in my education in particular, and he talked to me about education from the time I was old enough to hear, I think, how important education is and a good education. And I think one of the reasons I did drop out of Hawthorn was that through him and through my own experiences I had the feeling that you had to work to get an education. I didn't see where I was learning anything in Hawthorn and, really, neither did he. He couldn't believe that he had a daughter in college who never studied and came home with A's. It just completely floored him because he was worried sick I was going to flunk out. When I did come home with A's in both my Hawthorn classes, he agreed that it would be better if I hustled myself into Liberal Arts.[1]

My father had been a brilliant student in school and he had dropped out in his 12B just before graduation because the family needed money. If he had been instructed by his father, or been advised by any adult who would take an interest, that he ought to go on to college, he would have. And I think he would have been extremely successful. As it was, the fact that he didn't finish his education later turned out to be a detriment to him because it worked on his conscience. He was afraid that he didn't have what it took because he didn't have the education. And he's felt that, not just getting a degree but learning something is of extremely great importance. That's why he always stressed learning." (B1)

Here we have two different kinds of attitudes on the part of parents. One which can be readily interpreted as approval and support, encouraging the student to make his own choices and to pursue his own interests to the best of his ability; the other which may be interpreted as intervention and indoctrination, the parent going to school vicariously with his child, being a partner in all his reactions, all his decisions. As might be expected, the children of supportive parents perservere in Hawthorn; the child of the interfering parent transfers out of Hawthorn, but pursues his college career.

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[1] Student B1 is the one quoted at the beginning of this chapter.

In sharp contrast, here are the reactions of the parents of the two students overcome by the impact of Hawthorn:

> "My father thinks it's a laugh. He thinks I spent the last few years trying to buy middle class, and if I'd quit worrying about a white collar job I'd be better off."
> My mother is anti-intellectual. She has had a fourth-grade education and distrusts educated people immensely. She can like an educated person but she is on the defensive. She thinks my education is non-existent and that I've got friends here and that's why I'm here; but at the same time she'll tell people I'm at college when they ask where I am." (G1)

> "My parents have no experience with college, you know, what it's supposed to be or what it is. They didn't want me to go to school in the first place. They thought I should get a job for a while and buy myself some clothes and a car and then get married...and then when they finally thought it would be a good idea for me to go to college, they wanted me to stay at home. They were disappointed that I didn't stay home when I was going to school. They weren't terrifically happy or displeased with my grades, and that was their main interest actually.
> My parents have pretty conventional ambitions- to get comfortable materially. And they're not involved in any political, religious or any other activity of that kind. They just associate with the relatives and their friends and, you know, work and make money." (E1)

The parents' attitude displayed in these two interviews may give us a cue to their children's behavior in their student role. These parents do not care for education. They probably consider going to school as a part of the long process of growing up, a part which mainly interferes with becoming self-supporting. The world of teachers is closed to them while the world of professionals, paradoxically, must seem closer, more real.[1] Still when their children want to become professionals, this appears a strange idea to the parents; why not just get a job and make money? Gifted children coming from such a background and entering a college such as Hawthorn cannot but be pushed off balance. Their old, familiar world and the new world of college cannot both be real at once. No wonder then that they look for a"community" with fellow students. [1] As student G1 puts it, in terms of the problem of a whole generation:

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[1] As we mentioned before, these two students declare an interest in business and medicine, while the other students planned to become teachers.

> "Without a community most other social institutions would break up, like family and relationships between man and woman. People have to have something larger than themselves to relate to. When a man has to ask himself, "Yes, but why!" before committing himself to a social act, he's in trouble... I came out of a community, or was thrown out, so I know what I'm missing." (G1)

The student whose parents show a moderate amount of interest in his studies, but also a considerable amount of confidence in his judgment, is placed in a very different position. Though they cannot and will not give helpful advice in academic matters or in career choice, these parents show sympathy and understanding. They can also express high expectations. We have already seen this clearly expressed by student C1. The same message is conveyed by student D1:

> "I suppose my father feels I've gotten a good education and a unique opportunity, although he is a bit concerned with its being a little too general....my mother is leery of anything she doesn't think is useful. She is a very practical peasant- very practical.
> "(they expect me) to be some kind of professional man or while collar worker, or teacher. To be successful in whatever field I go into. To deliberate and make a wise choice in whatever I do." (D1)

Notice that, while the student underlines the practical concerns of his parents, the tone of his statement indicates that they are not debunking his efforts along academic lines. It is not surprising that such students expect to be high school teachers, which makes sense both to them in terms of their successful high school experience, and to their parents in terms of respectability and availability of jobs.

## They have already questioned beliefs and values

However striking the fit between the student's approach to college and his parents' positions, it should not make us forget other important characteristics which all or most of the students in Set I hold in common. First they have not been sheltered as many other college entrants must have been. Theirs is a less homogenized life. They have done some thinking on their own. For example, most of them mention having questioned or abandoned the religion of their parents before entering college:[1]

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[1] Student F1, the third "unsettled" student, who also started in the pre-medical program, reported in his 1960 interview, that his parents tended to see college"mainly as a way to get a better job." He was then thinking of "majoring in math and joining the army. His subsequent career in Liberal Arts led him into journalism. He did not get involved in the community.

> "When I came here I was kind of agnostic. I didn't think God's existence could be proved or disproved and I didn't think it was harmful to believe or not believe." (D1)

> "I was looking for a religion about the time when I started Hawthorn. I had already left my---- the church that my family was in...." (E1)

> "When I entered school I was not religious at all." (B1)

We shall see later that these students became more religious as they went through school. Those who were religious as they entered had also done a great deal of probing on their own:

> "Hawthorn has made me more aware of the relativity of things. But I think I'd always tended to view things in this perspective." (A1)

> "(Hawthorn's influence) largely depends on the background. The prevailing atmosphere is such that one might feel uprooted. There's a great deal of independence and many liberal attitudes. It conceivably could come as a shock to a student... I have not experienced this shock, I've not been uprooted. I always wanted freedom. My background is consistent with this; I was raised in a liberal tradition." (C1)

Student C1 puts it quite well; what could be a shock for many a freshman was generally not a shock at all for the gifted student from a poorly educated background. Quite to the contrary; he felt spiritually at ease in the questioning "liberal" atmosphere.

### Their individualistic approach to growth

Another trait all these students seem to hold in common is a sense of reserve, a need for privacy, a desire to see even the most meaningful interactions remain within bounds:

> (What would lower a person's standing in your group?) "If someone started asking too many personal questions. It's a tight group, very personal. If someone did that, he would be invading personal privacy too much, it would explode the group." (D1)

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[1] Student F1 mentions that he stopped going to church when he was eleven.

(on the question of whether an intellectual community exists)
"It's always a little artificial to think of a 'community' in a large urban setting, but within these limits there is an ēlan, an exchange of ideas. A kind of community has been created, certainly as much as possible. Maybe I should say as much as desirable." (A1)

Interestingly, those students who plunged head on into the community to a much greater degree than student A1 would feel desirable tend to concur with his estimate, after the fact:

"The people were getting too involved. Our group was getting too involved with each other. We were getting too cliquish and inner-directed, too much directed toward the group and not enough outside the group." (E1)

It is as if, down deep, those students had a very strong sense that each individual must keep relying on his own resources, take his own bearings, make his own decisions. Life is lived by individuals, not by groups, no matter how exciting group life may be.

Even the close contact in small discussions, which is appreciated for its educational value, may be seen as a source of discomfort:

"I did not feel comfortable in Hawthorn until my senior year. I'm not sure why. I guess I have three years' experience. I have more knowledge now. I can discuss better." (D1)

"Hawthorn classes weren't really comfortable, you know, the good ones. Because they were *so stimulating* and you had to face yourself." (E1)

[illegible] students seem to sense that one does not escape from facing oneself. The pleasure of social intercourse is no substitute for it. Even those who throw caution overboard and get involved intensely with others have a feeling that they are engaging in divertisement. They do not see themselves as broadening their horizons, incorporating new ways of being, letting themselves be transmuted into a new kind of being.

All students in this set exhibit a striking sense of the continuity in their development as they answer all questions which probe into changes in values, influence, orientation. Even student D1, who most readily accepts the idea that he underwent considerable change, emphasizes the underlying continuity in his evolution:

"I've gone through two complete personality and value changes. But the roots of what I am now were there in my two other selves. Changes were continuous though there were points when you could pick out the other two me's." (D1)

> "I don't think I have had any changes in my values, or ethics, but there's been a development or reinforcement of values I already held. My beliefs in freedom in all spheres have been reinforced."
> "Hawthorn has helped me (know who I am) in the sense that I've developed intellectually and my values have developed in a consistent way. I'm not sure that Hawthorn did this, or whether it's just that I've had four more years of living. Hawthorn, of course, would be a contributing factor." (C1)

"Consistency" is one of the favorite ways in which these students express the feeling of continuity. They have remained the same beings. Other students will speak of self-discovery, of finding out about their potential, of important reorientation of ther aspirations. But these students do not.

What they got from Hawthorn

Those sure-footed students are far from presenting a pedestrian image of Hawthorn or of themselves. Those who stayed in Hawthorn came to perceive and to invorporate some of the thrust which directs their college. Earlier we saw student A1 speak of an "élan"as a characteristic of the Hawthorn atmosphere. Both he and student D1 speak of the faculty members as "adventurous" (a rare word in the interviews), meaning that faculty members were willing to "take up new problems", but also that they were willing to invent a new kind of student-faculty relationships. Student G1 uses colorful terms to say the same thing:

> (What kind of person gets on the faculty in Hawthorn?) "The type of guy who probably almost got kicked out of graduate school because he was too smart. People who are willing to make changes but who are willing to work within a structure." (G1)

The fact that these values have been incorporated by the students is manifested when they come to deplore the fact that the idea of Hawthorn is not lived up to as it should be either by the students or by the faculty members themselves:

> "The success of Hawthorn is generally misunderstood by most of the students. The standards that have been set in terms of the original objectives are much different than what the student recognizes." (A1)

Student D1 mentions as achievements in Hawthorn such things as:

> "Personal contact with the faculty regarding courses; a chance to express gripes with no fear; to be able to criticize the faculty for their failure; to be able to show enthusiasm regarding the faculty's latest idea..." (D1)

He then goes on to express his dismay at several occasions when the faculty did not live up to its own standards and

> "failed to be fair with the students; lied to the students; mistook students who won elections for student leaders; attempted to impose grades on the students (in senior colloquium);..... failed to give power to the students (on the question of where the student center ought to be, and in a few other occasions)." (D1)

Such charges do not smack of impatience or of incapacity to tolerate authority. Rather they indicate that the student has taken Hawthorn seriously as a bold effort to make sense in higher education. He expects others to be at least as consistent as he is committed to being.

### Their intellectual fiber

This sketch of students who performed very well on entrance tests, and who come from poorly educated families, has to be completed by conveying some of their intellectual liveliness. Time and again they show how much they value creativeness, imagination, new ideas. They tend to express the problems they face in intellectual terms, and to indicate intellectual solutions for them. They are among the few students who think that the study of Hawthorn, of which the interviews are a part, can contribute to the improvement of the college. Sometimes their preferences come through as they criticize what they do not approve of. Here are some examples of their comments:

> (What would lower a person's status in your group?) "The tendency to respond in sterotypes."
> (student's own contribution to the problems of his generation) "Just about everyone I know has a feeling of personal impotence in relation to two main areas: religious commitment, and 'keeping up with the Russians'. I can have some meaning in relation to this. I am interested in defense studies; the development of a kind of calculus in the field of foreign policy, and developing alternatives...." (A1)

> "Hawthorn is always changing and in flux, and that is good."
> (re: the goals of the faculty) "They want the students to emerge as reasonably well-rounded people with a broad background as a complement to their major fields. They want to instill an attitude toward education of continuing the rest of their lives. They give you an inquiring mind by giving you an independent attitude. They encourage graduate school if the student seems inclined."
> (re: the advantages of the senior colloquium) "I had a chance to get together and discuss basic problems with other students. We got better acquainted intellectually and perhaps established a lasting relationship. It brought to light subjects not discussed intensively before. I read

> books I'd intended to read. It gave me a chance to write about my own philosophy." (C1)

> (What would raise a person's status in your group?) "Coming up with something new and original; something very creative. Ideas, works of art, interpretations, explanations." (Why he wants to become a teacher) "Not for material but intellectual rewards. Developing new ideas. Leading students. Contributing something significant to the world... I want to investigate the problems (of my generation), to discuss these problems with others. I will write some non-fiction regarding these problems." (D1)

The preceding quotations are from three highly successful Hawthorn students. What of student G1 who was not academically successful? He criticizes conventional education as "stifling to the imagination," hence basically inimical to real learning. He sees the faculty as "getting terribly upset at a person's not using his intellectual capacity," He can sympathize with them, but he has plans of his own. He wants to write, not from any "ulterior motive" but to be in real touch with people's minds; "an honest form of manipulation" as he sees it. Still another unsuccessful student recalls vividly some of her early intellectual discoveries:

> "It seemed to me the way a course would go, especially in the natural sciences, would be to just pile up and pile up almost all kinds of informations and questions and laws and theories that you couldn't unify at all until the end of the semester. And all of a sudden it dawned on you, you know; all of a sudden this was unified and you felt like you had learned something. I don't know if this was conscious on their part, but it happened again and again." (E1)

In its variety, the composite image of the intellectual involvement of the students who stayed in Hawthorn contrasts rather sharply with the sheer curiosity exhibited by the student who transferred out of Hawthorn as soon as she could.[1] Of the time when she had to stay away from college she says:

> "I felt like my mind was stagnating. That's really what drove me back to school, though I was earning pretty good wages and

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[1] We do not have a 1963 interview for the other student who transferred out of Hawthorn. His 1960 interview did not augur well of subsequent intellectual developement:

> (What have you found new in college in regard to high school?) "I haven't found anything new. It's just more reading and the material is a little more complex. But there haven't been any radical situations to be met." (F1, 1960)

> I had money to spend. But I just felt like my mind was rotting right in my head." (B1)

One gets the feeling that this student needs constant stimulation coming from the outside.[1] It is as if she had not yet internalized the process of intellectual search and expression. The other students appear more capable of thinking on their own.

A final note on the range of thinking that is done by the students who sayted in Hawthorn. We have seen that they speak of "their philosophy," of "a kind of calculus," of "new ideas". I would like to point out[2] that these students are strikingly attracted by the kind of thinking where the "rational" and the "non-rational" get linked and related to each other. We have seen that many of them came to college already alienated from what had been their religion. Several of them take advantage of college to give considerable thought to religious questions- as well as to questions about art, and about other experiences. Student A1 says that he feels he really understood "when sharing something that appeals to the emotions and feelings: an artistic experience." He also credits his college education for making him more aware of "how tentative our knowledge is and how little we actually know." Student G1 says that, "It's one of the things you get out of Hawthorn, that there's more to life than just the rational world." Asked when he feels really understood by others, student D1 answers:

> "Hm...when I begin to react to ideas, events, phenomena, in kind of a mystical judaic tradition. (For instance) when someone asks me "What is true?"-- that's when I start playing these games and that's when I feel my friends understand me." (D1)

We should not be misled by the expression "playing these games." The student does not speak of role playing here, nor of playing tricks, but rather of a personal exercise whereby he rediscovers his own religious and cultural tradition, thanks to his intellectual sophistication, not in spite of it. He explains this when asked about religious uprooting:

> "God's existence. When I came here I was kind of an agnostic. I didn't think it could be proved or disproved and didn't think it was harmful to believe or not to believe. Now I'm aware

---

[1] Asked about her favorite readings, she says:
"I try to read as much as I can, I've always enjoyed reading. We subscribe to Time and I devour it cover to cover. I read novels, I read political books, I read just about anything you can name....my family always was a family of readers." (B1)

[2] On the basis of evidence of the overall interests these students expressed in the interviews.

> that a belief in God explains certain vast areas of man's experience. I would list three things:
>
> 1) the question of the soul
> 2) the question of morality
> 3) the question of man's existence.
>
> The ideas I was exposed to provided alternative explanations to these problems and then I could formulate my own opinions." (D1)

A little later this same student shows considerable religious insight in reflecting on the religious crises of his fellow students:

> "Some students at Hawthorn form a comunity where God does not play a role, though he is discussed. I think this is how they are less religious now than they were or will be." (D1)

Summary for Set I

I can now answer our original questions about this set of students. They do find a home in academe, though they have to do it on their own, as they get little direct help from (and can be misled by) both their family and their high school experience, and seek little help from instructors. It takes them time to find the mainstream of intellectual collegial life; they may be side-tracked at first into an extensive study of "facts" or into intense participation in the student milieu. But they come out of Hawthorn knowing who they are, having deepened their interests and raised their sights, ready to get involved creatively in the problems of the world around them.

One may wonder how the less gifted students will be found to differ from this first set. Will their lesser ability have made them more awkward in their approach to college, less apt still to perceive what Hawthorn had to offer? or will their weaker self- confidence have made them more open to the influence of the faculty, more sensitive to the cues of all kinds which the Hawthorn experiment provided?

## SET II

## STUDENTS FROM POORLY EDUCATED BACKGROUND WITH UNEVEN ENTRANCE SCORES

All the students in this large set have in common the double drawback of an uneven capacity to perform academically, and of a family far removed from the academic world. Table 3 conveys their story in some detail. Their parents' education and occupation closely resemble those of students in Set I. The quality of high school attemded, however, is generally lower.[1]

As for their professional goals, none planned to get into a profession: medicine (two men, one of whom entered medical school, and one woman who did not); engineering (three men, none of whom persisted); business (one man, who made it); law (two men, none of whom made it). Seven planned to get into education (five women considered grade school teaching, three of them made it; one man and one woman thought of secondary school teaching, they have not made it yet).

[1] Additional data of interest (including date of interview used)

| ST | DATE OF INTERVIEW | RELATION TO HAWTHORN | OUTCOME | QUALITY OF PERFORMANCE | SUB CHAPTER |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A2 | (1963) | stayed | slowed down | ordinary (C) | C |
| B2 | (1963) | stayed | graduated early | ordinary (B) | C |
| C2 | (1960) | stayed | left early | ordinary (B) | |
| D2 | (1963) | transferred early | slowed down | poor (C-) | C |
| E2 | (1963) | trasferred early | grad. on time | ordinary (B) | B |
| F2 | (1963) | stayed | grad. on time | ordinary (B-) | B |
| G2 | (1963) | transferred late | graduated late | ordinary (C+) | B |
| H2-1 | (1963) | transferred early | slowed down | ordinary (C+) | C |
| H2 | (1960) | stayed | slowed down | ordinary (B+) | |
| I2 | (1963) | stayed | graduated late | ordinary (C+) | B |
| J2 | (1960) | stayed | drop out early | poor record (C-) | A |
| K2 | (1963) | transferred late | graduated late | excellent (A-) | B |
| L2 | ( -- ) | transferred early | drop out early | poor record (C-) | A |
| M2 | (1960) | transferred late | slowed down | excellent (B) | C |
| N2 | (1960) | stayed | slowed down | poor (C-) | C |
| O2 | (1963) | stayed | grad. on time | excellent (B+) | B |
| P2 | (1963) | stayed | left early | ordinary (C) | |
| Q2 | ( --) | stayed | left early | ordinary (C+) | |
| R2 | (1960) | stayed | drop out early | poor (D) | A |
| S2 | (1963) | stayed | slowed down | poor (C-) | C |
| T2 | (1960) | transferred early | slowed down | ordinary (C) | C |
| U2 | (1963) | stayed | graduated late | ordinary (B) | B |
| V2 | (1963) | transferred late | drop out late | poor (C-) | A |
| W2 | (1963) | transferred late | grad. on time | excellent (B+) | B |
| X2 | (1963) | transferred late | slowed down | ordinary (B-) | C |
| Y2 | (1963) | transferred early | graduated late | ordinary (C+) | B |
| Z2 | ( —) | transferred early | slowed down | ordinary (C+) | C |

TABLE 3: SOME DATA ON STUDENTS IN SET TWO

| ST | TCT[a] | VERBAL.[b] ABILITY | QUANT.[c] ABILITY | VOCABULARY[d] | QUAL. OF HS | FATHER'S EDUCATION | MOTHER'S EDUCATION | FATHER'S OCCUPATION | MOTHER'S OCCUPATION |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A2 | 30 | 52 | 53+ | 54+ | 4 | gram. scl. | some HS | foreman | ---- |
| B2 | 41 | 59+ | 44 | 40 | 1 | some HS | gram. scl. | post. clerk | ---- |
| C2 | 38 | 58 | 34 | 51+ | 3 | gram. scl. | some HS | ---- | ? |
| D2 | 37 | 57 | 50+ | 36- | 3 | some HS | some HS | laborer | ---- |
| E2 | 39 | 63+ | 33 | 43 | 1 | some HS | gram. scl. | tool set. | ---- |
| F2 | 39 | 55 | 46 | 38 | 2 | gram. scl. | gram. scl. | salesman | ---- |
| G2 | 32 | 54 | 36 | 54+ | 3 | some HS | some HS | truck dr. | secretary |
| H2-1 | 32 | 58 | 38 | 46 | 1 | some HS | some HS | job setter | soldering |
| H2 | 35 | 54 | 43 | 42 | 2 | some HS[e] | some HS[e] | retired[e] | ---- |
| I2 | 28 | 53 | 41 | 52+ | 1 | some HS | some HS | laborer | ---- |
| J2 | 32 | 52 | 54+ | 35- | 3 | some HS | some HS | finisher[g] | self emp. |
| K2 | 38 | 57 | 37 | 38 | 4 | some HS | some HS | foreman | ---- |
| L2 | 38 | 50 | 44 | 35- | 3 | some HS | gram. scl. | cut. grind. | off. maint. |
| M2 | 32 | 52 | 38 | 44 | 3 | some HS | some HS | purch. dept. | ---- |
| N2 | 32 | 52 | 27- | 53+ | 2 | some HS | some HS | laborer | ---- |
| O2 | 30 | 50 | 40 | 43 | 2 | some HS[f] | some HS[f] | bartentder[f] | ---- |
| P2 | 36 | 50 | 43 | 33- | 2 | some HS | some HS | power eng. | ---- |
| Q2 | 26- | 57 | 43 | 34- | 4 | gram. scl. | gram. scl. | press oper. | caterer |
| R2 | 35 | 55 | 37 | 33- | 2 | some HS | gram. scl. | tool & die | ---- |
| S2 | 30 | 47 | 35 | 45 | 2 | some HS | some HS | ---- | floor lady |
| T2 | 30 | 39 | 41 | 46 | 2 | some HS | some HS | manager[h] | ---- |
| U2 | 36 | 51 | 26- | 39 | 3 | gram. scl. | some HS | foreman | ---- |
| V2 | 38 | 54 | 20- | 39 | 2 | some HS | gram. scl. | inspector | ---- |
| W2 | 29 | 44 | 24- | 51+ | 3 | some HS | some HS | cut. grind. | ---- |
| X2 | 34 | 45 | 29 | 38 | 3 | gram. scl. | some HS | roof & tin | grinder |
| Y2 | 27- | 53 | 24- | 39 | 2 | some HS | some HS | supervisor | ---- |
| Z2 | 25- | 36- | 38 | 43 | 3 | some HS | gram. scl. | welder | ---- |

a) mean score 1959 Hawthorn entrants = 34; standard deviation = 7

b) mean score = 50; standard deviation = 9

c) mean score = 38; standard deviation = 10

d) mean score = 43; standard deviation = 7

e) This student is married to a businessman.

f) This student is married to a physicist with a graduate degree.

g) stainless steel finisher

h) meat department manager

+ indicates a good score (1 standard deviation above the mean or better.)

- indicates a poor score (1 standard deviation below the mean or worse.)

Five declared an early major ( one man in physics, one woman in chemistry, neither of whom persisted; one woman in English, who changed to journalism; one man in history, who is still at it; one woman in psychology, who persisted but had to leave college in her senior year). Finally, a relatively large number -- four men and two women -- joined the general program from the start, declaring no major. This seems to reflect uncertainty about their orientation more than an interest in "general education" per se.

They search for their proper orientation

Clearly most students in this set needed to orient or reorient themselves. While the high performers (Set I) tended to follow their set course, changing relatively minor details of it, the "medium" performers made considerable changes in their career choices.[1] Engineer turned to the theater, History major turned to English, physics major turned to anthropology, would-be grade school teacher turned to mass communications - these were the most outstanding changes in this set. Other changes were more attempts at finding one's exact place within a given area: pre-med tried to become biology teacher, or pharmacist. English major turned to journalism, pre-law turned to accounting. If one adds to this flurry of exploration the efforts of the students in the "general" program each to find his own vocation, one gets a picture of intense searching, which contrasts with the calm assurance of the students typical of Set I. In the midst of the brouhaha, however, an important island of stability remains: the women in the primary education program.

It is not surprising that students in need of defining or redefining their intentions whould feel the impact of the faculty early. In contrast to the students in Set I, those in Set II tend to cite as their most meaningful instructor one whom they had during their first semester (8 students do so out of the 15 who were asked this question in 1963.[1] We might infer that students whose test scores are higher tend to be more self-assured, they rely on themselves to make their way through college. The students who are less sure about their goals, their capacities, their interests, tend to rely more heavily on the faculty and welcome an instructor's early intervention in their life.

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[1] This might suggest that students E1, F1, and G1 whose scores were less high than the others' in Set 1, and who changed from medicine to journalism or to anthropology, and from business to writing, would be better placed with the "medium" performers of Set II.

What happened to this group after four years? Of the twenty-seven students in this set, ten can be called successful in that they graduated (five from Hawthorn, five from other colleges in City). Four dropped out, with below C averages, either from Hawthorn (two) or from Liberal Arts (two). The rest, that is thirteen students (seven in Hawthorn, six in other colleges) are slowdowns, or late drop outs who might still come back to school; their academic future is in doubt.[2] In the next pages we shall study these three subsets in detail.

## A. THE "FAILURES"

Let us consider the four failures first. The two men came from "mediocre" high schools; the two women from good schools. The men started in the general program and in engineering; the women in chemistry and pre-elementary education. All did poorly in their first year. The men dropped out early (first or second year). The women

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[1] Of the other seven, one selected an instructor he had during the second semester, two an instructor they had in the third semester (these are the two students with the highest overall scores in this set; they could be seen as continuing in a milder form the pattern detected among the students in Set I.), Only one student selected an instructor she had later (6th semester). One student mentioned the academic advisor, whose contact was also early; another student the dean of the college. Finally one student selected as his most meaningful instructor a faculty member from the College of Education.

[2] When success is measured in terms of number of credit hours of A's earned during their stay in college, students in Set II are distributed as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| No A's in all | 8 students |
| Token number of A's outside Hawthorn only (less than 10 cr. hrs.) | 6 students |
| Token number of A's in Hawthorn courses only | 2 students |
| 10 to 50 credit hours of A's in Hawthorn & elsewhere | 4 students |
| 10 to 50 credit hours of A's outside Hawthorn only | 1 student |
| 10 to 50 credit hours of A's in Hawthorn only | 2 students |
| More than 50 credit hours of A's | 4 students |

The women kept going longer, trying various pathways. We shall study in detail the account given of herself by Student V2, the only one interviewed in 1963.

Starting with poor test scores (especially in quantitative ability) she changed from elementary education to secondary school history; then to a history major, finally to a major in mass communication--managing to improve her early record little by little but never enough to keep off probation for more than two semesters. She dropped out during her senior year and had only vague plans to come back. Yet a far from dismal picture is conveyed by her interview. True, she did not get much support from her family:

> "I think they feel that college is the road to success, to my welfare and prestige. And if you don't get it, or if that's not what you're looking for, then they feel bad about it and they don't understand why. . . . they feel that they've given (quite a ) bit toward college . . . and if you don't pick up prestige, they feel bad about it.
>
> (Do you agree or disagree?) Well, I don't believe it's the road to prestige and wealth and there are a lot of interesting things in life, a lot of things to get out of life, and I don't think it's prestige and all."

And again:

> "They didn't like me going into mass communications. They always felt that teaching was the supreme role of every girl. When I was in pre-teaching, I only took about one course in it, and they felt kind of bad about that." (V2)

She liked the research in social science:

> "It was interesting getting out and working with a subject instead of just studying it... I understood what these studies were all about much more by working with them and seeing what goes into a research project, or a study of children, or the elections, or something like this..." (In contrast she was disappointed with many of her classes in mass communication): "The classes are not as stimulating and sometimes I get a little mad because a class like Speech Criticism is not really criticism at all. It isn't criticism as we had discussed in Hawthorn, and that I do miss." (V2)

---

These last four particularly successful students include one graduate from the School of Education (54 hours of A's, all outside Hawthorn), one graduate from the School of Business (30 hours of A's in Hawthorn, 73 elsewhere), one graduate from Hawthorn (23 hours of A's in Hawthorn, 36 elsewhere), one slowdown in the School of Education (6 hours of A's in Hawthorn, 56 elsewhere).

**She is quite alive intellectually**

She goes on to say:

> "Even now that I'm not in school I remember books and authors that were suggested. Oh, maybe we had read one book and I decided that it was a good book; I'll read a few more. I think it opens a lot of doors or presents a lot of doors to you to open."[1]
>
> (What has been the most personally meaningful book that you've ever read?) "Gee. That's a toughie. I got very much out of Sons and Lovers because I could fill in the analogies from the author. The book is mainly about the author and his experience. And Lawrence coming from a working background and I felt myself coming from a shop working background...And his struggles. I think I got very much out of the book." (V2)

Even her weakest subject, Natural Science, is still alive in her mind:

> "It was a little beyond me. But I still found some parts interesting, and even now I think about it and understand a little more: you know, after you leave something like that and think about it after a while." (V2)

The theme of having to take one's time, and even having to remove oneself from the experience for a while, comes back often in the interview:

> "I really didn't know much what to expect. Since I've left it, I have more appreciation for it...When I was in it, I really couldn't see what was around me." (V2)

She does not have much respect for people who "zip right through:"

> "Some people know exactly what they're going to get out of their course, and what grade they're going to get, and they're not working for anything but to get the knowledge necessary for their career." (V2)

This case might help us understand a little better so many other cases classified as "slow-downs" or "drop-outs." It might be that the students who appear to be marking time, or even who withdraw, are giving themselves a chance to "really" get into the heart of the matter. It is very interesting to see this student use the very term "drop-out" in her own way which is very different from the official one:

> "Sometimes college is the road to knowledge. It can be. But sometimes you get a class and you're sure this isn't it. You have missed the boat somewhere. That's when you drop out intellectually." (V2)

---

[1] Notice how different this student's reaction is from that of student B1 (p.99) who felt "her mind rotting in her head" when she was away from the stimulation of school.

It seems fitting to conclude this rapid profile of a "failure" among students of uneven talent, coming from a poorly educated background, by three short quotations which situate the student, and give a good sense of her judgement:

> (on her parents' opinion of Monteith) "They thought it was a little weird. I guess they didn't expect the material that I was bringing home to be presented in class. Sometimes like we'd have a movie and they didn't see where a movie came in (laughs) college education. But they thought it was pretty nice."
>
> (on a more brilliant friend, whom she considers the "Hawthorn type") "She can go on her own all quarter long, not even coming to class, not really doing much of anything, but yet she absorbs the material, she works on her own, she'll do research on her own, and she really learns the material."
>
> (on her first semester teacher) "She's so brilliant and she's really an inspiration, and you see her working hard. The analysis she gave, and things like this,... . it was an inspiration." (V2)

The interview seems to leave no doubt now that the student identifies with the inspiring teacher and the independent student, not with her parents. She is aware of her own limitations, but she is not crushed by these models. Her assessment of her experiences makes it questionable to dismiss her as a "failure,"--and possibly many others.[1]

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[1] We have the 1960 interviews of two other "failures." They too reflect the nascent willingness on the part of the students to get intellectually involved:

(If you had known the content of the Natural Science course, would you have taken it?) "I don't think it was that important. It was just "conversation material." Although it did produce new ideas--come to think of it, it was important. Not the content but the ideas." ($R_2$, 1960)

. . . and their parents' narrow perspectives:

"They want me to get a job and get good grades at the same time. I don't feel I should get a job to make or save money. They think I'm going to college for the sole purpose of making money when I get out and living happily with all this money. Mine may be the same but I'm thinking of the job I'll get to make money. And it's an interesting social experience. My mother wants me to go to dental school. I don't want to." ($J_2$, 1960)

"My parents want me to work. If I can't find a job, I can't come back to school, that's all." ($R_2$, 1960)

But these students do not seem to have applied themselves whole heartedly, to have clearly dissociated themselves from their parents' position. At any rate they did not stay in Hawthorn long enough for their intellectual interest to bear fruit as in the case of student $V_2$.

## B. THE SUCCESSES - THE GRADUATES

These ten successful students (five who stayed in Hawthorn, five who transferred, generally late, to another college in City) all started well; only one had a grade average lower than B- in his Hawthorn courses during the first year. But the reward of all their efforts came only at the end of a long period of trial for all of them. As student E2 puts it:

> "I don't think I had a sufficient background going into Natural Science to understand everything they were trying to present... I enjoyed the part on heredity. But the math, gee, that was way over my head at first term, and anything on physics... so I felt like I was flunking the course every time I was going through it. I'd be worried all the way to the end of the course, and then I'd pull a B. You know, it's not very reassuring.... I didn't like being left out on a string until the last moment." (E2)

### They felt "lost"

There is a great feeling of uncertainty present in what most of the students say. It is as if they had been strangers wandering in an unknown land, with all the frustration, even the sense of absurdity that the situation implies. Of the book he found most meaningful, The Stranger by Camus, student Y2 says:

> " I think he describes the particular position that I'm in. He's describing the individual as being in an absurd position. When I was done with this book I had the feeling that, dammit, he's just described me." (Y2)

This feeling is expressed in less general terms, more directly related to various facets of everyday student life, by many other successful students:

> "They never told us how long to make a paper..." (02)

> "One of the basic problems was this turnover from our old system of teaching to this new Hawthorn style where the students are given lots of leeway and not too much help from the instructor...." (I2)

> (in giving advice to a freshman now) "I would tell him to be prepared to do a lot of thinking on his own, to come into a course which has no apparent direction; to look back at where he's been more

> than where's he's going. And to be prepared to do more than is expected of him." (W2)
>
> "I like limits and I like bounds, and I like to know what's expected of me." (and again, re: participation in discussions) "I think I'm afraid of committing myself; and there are other people like me." (E2)
>
> "I felt confused or discouraged a lot, trying to get the work done. I felt this at City too. I'd have found this any place. I found it difficult to get all the readings done. I found it hard to get ideas for papers, to limit my topics so I could write on them." (K2)
>
> "The initial problem was getting the nerve to go to the center and meet people..." (F2)

They cannot rely on their past experience; they are entering a new country without a map, without a knowledge of effective survival devices, without an accurate sense of whether they are doing the right or wrong thing. A striking instance:

> "I put a lot into English in high school. But when I went into Hawthorn and we got like "read Plato" right away....it didn't click. It was funny, just coming in like that. And it was hard to know what was expected right off. Like we had to do- I did a paper on ethics, and I swear it must have been the worst paper I've done in college. I mean, I got by and everything, but I really didn't know what was expected on it. Looking back on it now, I know it was really bad, that I felt a lack of guidance in what I was to do. It was kind of hard.
> (Did you feel this all the way through Hawthorn?)
> "Well, by my third semester, I was pretty used to it. But I really still felt a lack.... also, I was feeling my way very carefully." (E2)

It is as if the desire to adjust to the new situation were so powerful that it left room for little else. Student E2, coming from an excellent high school, was not able to enjoy the experience of reading Plato (The Apology of Socrates) and to let this reading guide her in her further steps in college. It is as if a paralysis of the spirit had hit these students who could not think of anything

thing but finding out was was expected of them.[1]

### Instructors, not fellow students were of help

Somehow it looks as if, for those students, the teacher became crucial not as an authority figure, not as the one who spelled out what was expected, but as a reassuring presence, a person with whom to pursue a dialogue, a guide to the blind, as it were. This is suggested by comments on discussion groups:

> "The discussions accomplished their aims: to give many approaches to a problem, to get the students to analyze and develop their views, and to provide the atmosphere to foster this." (W2)
>
> "I think small discussion groups worked out very well, usually. It was a new and refreshing experience for the student- although sometimes it left you in a quandary."
> (speaking of a first semester discussion in Social

---

[1] A slow-down from a "mediocre" high school, who stayed in Hawthorn for 5 semesters, offers an interesting theory on the special problems encountered by students who did well in high school, and comments on their need to be in close, reassuring contact with the faculty:

> "I believe the reason that so many C and low B students from high school do as well as they do in the university outside Hawthorn is they never did have the experience of being particularly close to their instructors or receiving a special amount of attention. Consequently when they get to the university they're not missing anything.....(but) I was class president of my class and I thought I had the world by a string and then I came here and I found myself at the bottom of the ladder. And I definitely missed the attention and the- to some extent- the respect I received in high school. I spent more time, not worrying about it, but thinking about this than actually trying to attain....(unfinished). A student who is used to the higher strata in high school and comes to the university outside of Hawthorn, finds himself in an entirely new environment all over again. In many cases it's difficult to adjust. For instance, I aligned myself with another class president in Liberal Arts. He fell by the wayside a year before I did. And he was president of the National Honors Socciety in high school. It's difficult to go from the top to the bottom again. ..." (D2)

> Science) "We had interesting material and in my mind it seemed as if this was the first opportunity where students were really allowed to discuss the material. The instructor closed the gap between the student and teacher and allowed this free discussion." (I2)

While the faculty could be reassuring, fellow students from more sophisticated background must have been seen as a threat. One can feel the resentment in the comments by successful students in Set II when they speak of the "pseudo intellectuals" (presumably students more familiar with the words, standards, and concerns of academe):

> "They tend to feel that they've got the answers. I never had this feeling in Hawthorn. Hawthorn emphasized that it (Hawthorn) is not for the superior student; but that group spread it around that no, this isn't true. I didn't particularly care for them, because I thought that they thought that they knew it all. And this was the group that was concerned with the grades they received. If they got an A, it was tremendous... " (Y2)

> "I found in many classes the problem of actual communication with other students. I feel a part of Hawthorn and what they're trying to do, but I have not reacted the same as some people have. In senior colloquium we couldn't even communicate with each other. You'd have to explain what you meant by 'hello'. Realism was lacking....." (U2)

An early interview reveals these students' sense of being foreigners in academe:

> (How would you describe the atmosphere at the Hawthorn Center?) "Horrible! It was suppposed to be intellectual. To me all the kids at the student center are snobs. I won't go there unless it's necessary." (1960 interview, W2)

This is a surprising reaction to fellow students since much of the evidence we have indicates that students from low education background have made friends with a wide range of students from different backgrounds. It might be that a person like student W2 can recognize another individual and be recognized by him as a likeable and interesting human being irrespective of background, but that the impact of a group of students from another background is more than he can take (notice the use of the strong word "alien" in the quotation above.)

## The successful students who transferred valued work above all

Five students left Hawthorn after a rather long exposure to it. Work seems to be the supreme value for all of them, whether they actually were very hard workers (K2, E2) or thought they should be because in work lay salvation (Y2, W2).[1] Here we find again a student scandalized by receiving a good grade without having worked hard enough for it,[2] and trying to understand why:

> "I felt the instructors were bending over backwards, that they were afraid to flunk us, or afraid to really hit us hard with grades because they wanted to see the program accomplish its purpose. At least they could go to the Ford Foundation and say, 'Look, the students are doing a good job.'." (Y2)

This student is truly intrigued by what has happened to him; why on earth was he given those two B's? Expecting only pressure from the faculty, he can only conclude that they must be under pressure themselves from the powerful, financing Ford Foundation. His viewpoint is amplified by Student W2:

> "I would want Hawthorn to demand more of a student. In many courses you can get through with a minimum of work... when they get the senior from high school they should give him more guidance toward independence.... Perhaps I'm a person who likes to have things presented to me in a neat package. Hawthorn threw me in the beginning...often an instructor would confess partial ignorance of his subject, since they were aiming for a broad approach." (W2, 1963)

In an interview at the end of his first year the same student was even more critical:

> "There is no organization. They set a date to have the analysis (i.e.: part of the research project) be sent in.

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[1] Student G2 was so unwilling to say anything about her experience in Hawthorn that it was impossible to use her 1963 interview. In 1960 she complained about changes in deadlines, as did student W2. Her criterion for the success of Hawthorn was that its graduates "could do their occupation well when they go out into the world." (G2, 1960)

[2] This shock has already been eloquently expressed by Student B1, another transfer student (p. 91 ). It seems as if receiving good grades without doing enough of what they defined as work had been a kind of traumatic experience for some of the students from poorly educated background.

> Most kids didn't, so the date was set back....
> The kids were sloppy and showed no initiative...
> It's a waste of Mr. Ford's money. Some charitable organization would have profited more.
> It's a waste of my father's money too.
> (I do my best work in other than Hawthorn courses):
> more was demanded of you, on strict schedule.
> There was more competition, which inspired me more." (W2, 1960)

College is seen by this student as a place where a certain quantity of work, the more the better, has to be done. This work can be accomplished only if a clear production plan is prepared by the management, and followed to the letter by the workers. For good measure, competition provides an additional incentive. Is this student all too aware of the fact that her own good intentions are woefully inadequate to sustain the effort required to master the difficulties inherent in serious studying? Probably so. But it also may be that she felt that Hawthorn was producing and promoting anomie, hence threatening the whole social order.

Student K2, who worked hard, thinks that the faculty was expecting too much, and had to learn how to "trim down the work load". He explains how he likes to work:

> "I like to have a pretty clear definition, so that I can go on and plan what has to be done...
> I like a teacher that makes the point very clear, because the more you are exposed to, the more you can explore things yourself and understand and remember it better.
> I"d have the lecturers stick more to the books they've assigned, lecture us on those." (K2)

For this student, only inasmuch as the teacher teaches, giving a clear presentation of the material, covering it thoroughly, illustrating it when necessary, can the student apply himslef systematically, follow in the instructor's footsteps, and truly assimilate the material. While very different in its tone, this statement does not differ from that of the preceding student in its assumptions on how education is obtained. In both cases education is essentially a product of hard, docile work.

Student E2 takes us further into the experience of the student who worked hard:

> "I was devoting more time to Hawthorn than I was to my other courses. Once I got into one of these papers, I just couldn't get out of it. You either had to write everything and do it well or not bother doing it at all."
> (E2)

## They staked no claim to the intellectual life

Another characteristic of the students who transferred out of Hawthorn is their claim not to be intellectuals. In speaking of her goals in entering college E2 says:

> "Oh, I wanted to teach. And it wasn't a big thing like--- 'I want to get more education' you know, or "I want to seek out more knowledge'. It was more that I wanted to teach, and I was going to college (for that purpose)." (E2)

Student W2 says of college:

> "It forces new ideas on you." (W2)

When asked whether her college experience has changed her relationship with her parents she says:

> "I don't think it has changed to any marked degree. I've never had any trouble with my parents. They're understanding, but I think they'll be glad as I am when I'm out (of college)". (W2)

On Hawthorn's success in creating an intellectual community, K2 comments:

> "The intellectual community is a big flop ..... actually I don't feel particularly intellectual. I have done well in school but I'm aware of my own weakness. A lot of students are like myself; they are here (Hawthorn) for the general courses, then out. Actually, I don't know what intellectual means, how would they define it? (and you?) I think it's someone who is an expert in his field, yet bored, and can learn from experience. I'm too aware of my weaknesses to feel I'm in an intellectual community. If you mean something like the fact that people learn and discuss intellectual things, then that exists here." (K2)

Y2 is the one who comes closest to academic interests. However his ambitions are rather limited to his own specialty. He admits that the Hawthorn courses gave him some insights "that he didn't even think existed", but primarily wanted to learn history, and so he left Hawthorn after 3 semesters to do just that.

Note that in all these cases we are speaking here of the absence of the intellectual's characteristic self-definition: the student is not attracted primarily by knowledge for its own sake; or he is not eager to be in a situation where he can learn ever more; or he is not willing to shoulder the responsibility of making sense broadly along abstract lines; or he is not pursuing general insights. This does not mean that these students have not developed intellectually during college; they have, to a very large degree, as we shall see later.

## The successful Hawthorn students were intellectually alert

The five students who stayed in Hawthorn until graduation, in contrast to the five who transferred, place little emphasis on work. Their way of coping with new situations was to make them relevant to their self-concept. Student F2 gives a very good instance of this kind of experience when he describes what happened to him in a Hawthorn seminar he took in his 4th semester:

> "We studied all the things that go into a person's perception, physical, emotional, and mental. Then we had to develop a theory of communication of our own. I learned more in a few seminars than in many other courses. It was applicable. My interest was high. I saw a direct relation between what I was doing and where I was going." (F2)

True, most of these students make it clear in their interview that they came to college with broad intellectual interests, and were ready to learn things that no course could teach:

> (asked about the development in his values while at Hawthorn) "It changed my ideas about science. I discovered it isn't as powerful a tool as I thought it was before I entered Hawthorn. Many theories have been instinctively derived which may seem to work out in practice but are not the only theories which may work out. The authority of the scientific theory depends on how successful it is, plus other irrational factors."[1] (even more clearly, concerning the problem of the student's generation) "Discovering what sort of a basis we can set down to live by. It's insoluble, but striving to solve it is salvation. It's the nature of man to strive for insoluble problems. It drives him on, gives him hope." (B2)

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[1] It is interesting to compare this 1963 statement with an answer given in 1960 about the impact of the Natural Science course:

> "Before I came in, I thought science was the real world and any further study of science would help one understand the true world. If science is based on the use of conceptual schemes that lead to deductions rather than facts, how can I be sure what is the real world?" (B2, 1960)

This student often refers to his high school experience, sometimes pointing out that some of the ideas he later refined in college originated earlier, sometimes deploring that his high school training was as inadequate as it was (though he came from an "excellent" school).

Student U2 says that she came to college with the desire to become an intellectual. More specifically, she "completely agreed with the idea that you could interrelate successfully the sciences and the arts," though she found out later that she could not truly understand science (her weak point in her entrance tests is in the area of quantitative ability), hence wouldn't be as "completely well-rounded as I idealistically had hoped to be."

An alternative to coming with real intellectual interests seems to be the need to break away from an overpowering pressure to conform at home. In the case of student I2, Hawthorn appears less an intellectual home, more as a haven of freedom:

> "It was a struggle. My struggle for independence and their struggle to keep me dependent. They tried to pass along their values and ideas to me and they wanted to see this result; and for myself I was trying to establish my own ideas. It's the same old story with everyone, I guess. Gee whiz!" (I2)

The last statement suggests that the student does not see himself as engaged in a unique battle with exceptionally unfair parents. He sees that there is a universal problem in becoming oneself, and finds Hawthorn helpful in this process of growing up. In this regard, he is close to the students cited earlier, who appeared quite at ease in the intellectual realm. Student I2 is still hesitant along those lines, derogatory toward his abilities and making fun of his intellectual ambitions:

> "(the faculty) fostered independent intellectual work but they over-estimated the level of maturity of the student. That, not too many could approach, including me. Nevertheless, I think it was a good thing to try..." (and later) "Well, I think of myself as more of an intellectual than I did before (laughing), bound for graduate school probably, but not yet." (I2)

They have become rather sophisticated

These Hawthorn graduates taken as a whole, show an unusual ease in speaking of themselves, and of the world around them, in rather sophisticated terms, with a good deal of discernment. A series of instances comes from Student F2:

> (re: what "success" means for Hawthorn) "It would be a success if it remains in a state of change and gives the student the feeling of change."
> (re: own role in doing something about the problems of his generation) "I want to teach, to wake people up to their responsibility, in an effort to understand themselves first and others second. I am an idealist, an idealistic pessimist. I am full of paradoxes. Some people say I am full of other things too."
> (his description of the "scientific enterprise") "Science is an objective study of some area of interest, technical, political, economic, social and an attempt to understand it. If I were a behaviorist I would say in order to predict and control, but I am not."
> (among the advantages of the Peace Corps) "The shock of another culture should enable me to learn more about my own. I am too close up now."
> (re: what kind of person comes to teach in Hawthorn) "Somebody who's looking for an opportunity to express what he feels and to teach the way he thinks teaching ought to be done. People are attracted here because they feel they have the freedom to try out their ideas. Therefore, you get all kinds of people."
> (re: the image of Hawthorn in the community) "It's different in different segments of the community. To uninformed people it is just vague. The more informed will note the opportunities, or else say it's no good, say it is too liberal for a world in which you have to work."
> (re: developments or modifications in his values and ideals) "I look at things differently. Accepting something is harder for me now... developing a rationale for what I do is harder. I'm aware of a lot more complications... (what do you mean?) Things are more complex both internally and externally. I understand myself better." (F2)

While unusually urbane and at ease in conversation, student F2 is quite ordinary in terms of academic success. A person from a scant educational background, with modest performance at entrance, can indeed become an educated human being.

3 OF 13

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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

## C. THE "PART-SUCCESSES" - THE SLOW-DOWNS AND THOSE WHO LEFT

There are thirteen students in this subset: four who transferred early (two interviewed in 1963, one in 1960 only); two who transferred late (one interviewed in 1963, one in 1960); four who stayed in Hawthorn (two interviewed in 1963, two in 1960); three who left Hawthorn and City early to continue their studies elsewhere (one interviewed in 1963, one in 1960).

### Those who transferred had moral concerns

One striking note in the interviews of the students who have transferred to Liberal Arts or Education and who have slowed down is their moral tone. It comes out clearest in the case of student H2:

> "There is a lot of people that need help in this world and through my training here I can help them. That will be gratifying to me and to them I hope. There are also many things that I take to be of great value that are in a state of decline- at least some people think so. I would like to help bring these values back into focus, such as the true spirit of Christianity." (H2)

This viewpoint may appear to be somewhat too general to be taken seriously; but it is confirmed by very specific reactions. For instance his reactions to the social science course in Hawthorn:

> "I thought that in some way they were violating personal secrets that shouldn't be delved into. I realize it's a rather naive attitude. I've changed it to some extent but not enough to accept that course. The observation sessions at Merrill Palmer: I felt guilty about observing these children when they didn't know they were being observed. Maybe they wouldn't even have cared, but I didn't like to sneak up on them... I realize that psychologists and psychiatrists probably make observations that are quite similar, and in their case it's a little different because they are trying to help individuals usually. Whereas in this case it was just a study on our part ...."
> (and again) "First I gained a loathing for the social sciences, but now I realize that they are important. But I wonder; I have my doubts as to whether people can control themselves well enough to handle the power they have in their hands. When we deal with the control of individuals, that to me is pretty sacred ground." (H2)

Here is a student from an excellent high school who is not particularly eager to adjust. He even says:

> "When I started out I had the impression that I was

> really going to go places, really show them how
> to do it."

He stayed only one semester in Hawthorn, could not stand the clash, dropped out of school a semester, came back later to the University, transferred to the College of Liberal Arts, and started to find his way.[1]

Student T2, who transferred early also and then slowed down, was sinterviewed in 1960 only. Her uneasiness had to do more with fellow students' attitudes; too much talking at the center, not enough studying; boy-girl relationships. She also was "dissatisfied with the Social Science Department."

The two students who stayed in Hawthorn longer, transferring only because their program took them to the College of Education, echo the moral preoccupations of the previous students. As Student H2, Student M2 said, at the end of her freshman year, that what she wanted out of life was to be able to work with people more, and do more for others." As Student T2, she did "get upset about world events and the attitudes of the students in the College." In contrast with those early transfers, however, she also found that what Hawthorn demanded was maturity, "thinking for myself."[2]

It is that, last theme which comes through most clearly in Student X2's interview:

> "(Hawthorn's success) cannot be gauged according to the grades the students receive. I think its success could be seen in terms of how well students at Hawthorn can learn on their own and filter ideas, and decide for themselves what they should believe and what things are important rather than accepting ideas and attitudes."
> (again, when asked for a definition of the 'scientific enterprise') "The first word I think of is truth. Striving for truth and understanding to benefit mankind."
> (again with regard to changes in her values) "I think the values I had were pretty weak, some of them. But the ones

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[1] After four years he says:
"I find it very enjoyable. It's like, college has opened up a whole new world to me, a new world of ideas and values- some of the values I've accepted and some I've rejected." (H2)

[2] She must have done this with considerable know-how, since she accumulated an excellent record, in terns of the number of A's she received.

> that were strong are still strong; but they're not strong for the same reasons." (X2)

One gets a sense of personal maturing, much more than of intellectual impact.[1] It is as if all the academic exercise had been channelled into the discovery, and the testing, of self. This is in great contrast with the emphasis on work found among the transfers from Hawthorn who graduated;[2] their testing of themselves consisted in their efficiency in turning out the expected product; hers is a test of motives, of purpose. It is something of a paradox that this student slow-down conveys a sense of deep-seated security so much more than did the successful ones. She can even admit to the presence of conflicting self-definitions (while the successful admit only a measure of laziness or disorganization on their part):

> (re: her present stage of self-knowledge) "Well, if you gave me a list of adjectives I think I could pick out the ones that applied.... I feel I'm more than one person, because some days I feel I want to be predictable, dependable, sort of average. I usually think of myself in terms of a teacher who does a good job and who always does the acceptable thing. But then other days I feel like I'd like to take what little money I have and go some place and work there for a while and go someplace else and sort of work my way around the world. Most often I think of myself as wanting to be a dependable teacher, but not absolutely dependable or predictable." (X2)

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The intellectual impact was felt, however. In her 1960 interview this student spelled out the intent of the Natural Science course in the following way:

"I think there are two basic purposes of the course; one is to, I am not sure, but I think to give you a taste of what these topics are about, or let you know what you should learn in order to learn something else; and the other is to show you as much as they can how it was a real struggle for scientific ideas to be accepted and for one to win out and influence the people, everybody." (X2, 1960)

On the other hand, Student C2 who left in her sophomore year after doind very well, especially in her Hawthorn courses echoes, in her 1960 interview, the irritation of the successful transfers at the lack of order and discipline:

(the atmosphere is one of) laissez-faire. It doesn't provide much incentive. It gives me the impression that everyone is putting on a front."

"I just get tired of it here. I had thought of transferring to both Liberal Arts and another College. I get tired of attitudes of faculty and students. It seems like they both say what they want to do but just don't do it. I might decide to transfer. I'd like to see what another college is like." (C2, 1960)

The last student in this category of slow-downs does not fit in the pattern of the others. He stayed in Hawthorn five semesters and left mainly because he failed a course in one of the Hawthorn sequences. How he managed to stay so long is intriguing, for during his whole first year he was working full time, supporting a favmily of five during his father's long period of unemployment. No wonder that he introduces himself as a C student who "gets by with as little as he can". He speaks vividly of his early experience:

> "When we got a reading list at the beginning of the semester, I would look at that and found myself spending more time adding up the pages I was going to have to read than I did doing the readings. In that sense, being on my own, I did far less than I should have. In my case it is a tremendous problem because I read at the rate of 15 to 20 pages an hour ... " (D2)

He points out the importance of the informal atmosphere, though he himself took advantage of it to work less than he should have:

> "You didn't have this feeling of the instructor being stupendous and beyond your reach. In that sense, a lot of the kids at Hawthorn mature more quickly and are not so likely to restrict their ideas and thoughts...in the rest of the university you refrain from asking questions." (D2)

This theme of "maturity" comes back often in the interview. But upon investigation one finds that it has relatively little content for this student. Student D2 came to school for practical reasons; he tried to get by with the minimum of effort. He enjoyed some of the intellectual by-products of his experience, but did not get involved enough to reorient himself. Thus he stands in contrast to all the students examined up to now. He could be seen as the image of what the graduates who transferred out of Hawthorn were afraid of becoming, a goof-off, a dilettante, a phoney, which explains somewhat their insistent demand for work and for direction from the faculty.

## Those who stayed in Hawthorn were involved in self-discovery

There is one case parallel to this last among the slow-downs who stayed in Hawthorn. This student demonstrates how one can resist becoming personally involved in self-knowledge and self-change. In an interview taken at the end of the first year, he declared that he liked the atmosphere (among students) and particularly appreciated the informality of a number of faculty members. But he resented being pushed by the social science course:

> "(They are trying) to make social scientists out of us, and I don't care for that. They've gone out on a limb, trying to go too deep into everything.. it's not my major." (N2, 1960)

He gives as external and distant a definition as possible even of the scientific enterprise: "science is an accumulation of facts-somethings completely proven."[1]

The other two Hawthorn slow-downs are the very opposite of this. They have taken advantage of their stay at school to find themselves. Both have radically redefined their professional interests, probably as a result of considerable probing into what would be worth spending one's life doing, and also of a thoughtful analysis of reality as it came to appear to them. This reconsideration was probably triggered by early failures in subject matters (science) for which they thought they were gifted. Finding this avenue blocked, they had to go through a painful process of reorientation.[2] Instead of letting a new definition of themselves come to them from the outside, they forged one of their own:

> (in answer to the question, What is the main problem of your generation?) "Alienation. The loss of something

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Just as the preceding student (D2) was untypical of those who transferred out of Hawthorn, this student is untypical of those who stayed. Rather, he clearly was a captive in Hawthorn. From his third semester on his honor point average was not high enough for him to be admissible to another college in City. It is not surprising that he did not share the sense of freedom which the other Hawthorn slow-downs proclaim.

One of those who left to go to another university, Student P2, went through the same process without making the same gains in self-knowledge and depth. In his 1960 interview, he listed as the special benefits of his Hawthorn education:
"Understanding of self, helping me mature."
But three years later he could just say:
"I think that I was broadened."

The other Hawthorn slow-down, Student H2, a married woman, does not seem to have undergone any change either in her professional interests or in her self-definition. She did not have to, having been quite successful from the start and not feeling the need to discover who she was.

> human in the relationships of some people is having far reaching consequences."
> (What can you do about it?) "I can become a student of it since I see this as affecting me so deeply."
> (Again, on the question of Hawthorn's success) "The students are made to realize the implications of their own experience as it reflects ideas of a universal nature." (A2)

This is not only a student becoming personally involved in his studies; nor even a student discovering himself, developing a vocabulary about himself, thanks to his studies. It is a student giving himself, his own living substance, to the process of knowing; not receiving awareness as a byproduct but seeking awareness; not the scholar nor the educated man, but the philosopher in the most exacting meaning of the term.[1] This does not come easily; Student A2 says that his main problem was:

> "..finding out what Hawthorn was and apllying it to me, what it meant to me." (A2)

And his next problem:

> "Relating to other Hawthorn students. Some are going through great changes, as I have gone through. It has an undesirable impact on some relationships." (A2)

In a few words, one gets a glimpse at a totally different kind of insecurity from the one other students were capable of detecting; the insecurity of living in a world where people are changing; where you can be hurt by a friend who has made a certain discovery a little ahead of you, or disappointed in a friend who is lagging behind; where you have to trust not only your own capacity to make the right choices, but everybody else's as well.

In the student's eyes, one way in which the crisis can be overcome is to "establish a good relationship with a faculty member." He resents almost violently the insructors who, because of their mannerisms, make it hard for the students to approach them:

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[1] The person who interviewed Student A2 was unfortunately one of the interviewers less skilled at eliciting an abundance of comments from the respondent. I have tried to read the interview with special care, so as to bring to life some of the meaning which lays hidden in the terse statements. The 1960 interview, on the other hand, is full of statements such as:

> "Hawthorn offers more than a university curriculum. They offer an overall perspective on knowledge. In chemistry we learn only the empirical results. Natural Science explains why man has developed the sciences."
> "For the first time I've seen that relations between people offer a unique way of looking at things." (A2, 1960)

> (how could the school be improved) "Drop certain faculty members. They're caught up in their world too much. They tend to project an elite world on the working class students. They tend to ignore other worlds. I would encourage more student-faculty relationships among all the divisions. Only the social science staff has really been involved with the students." (A2)

The other student in the same category is not as sharply critical nor as much of an individualist as Student A2. But in his own way he presents a similar picture:

> "Hawthorn was aiming at a good student-teacher relationship; almost a developing, group therapy type of learning; learning from what you and others say..."
> (definition of Hawthorn's success) "The ability to keep a small college atmosphere; to keep students from being lost. As far as well-rounded individuals, I think Hawthorn is successful if they are able to open doors for students to do their own rounding, to do their own thinking, reaching out in different fields."
> (re: how he would speak of Hawthorn to a freshman) "I could describe the pitfalls, tell him that Hawthorn is actually more work than LA, is more a school of the mind of the person. If the freshman seemed too immature to handle this sort of thing, I would warn him against coming into Hawthorn. Other than that what you get out of it depends on the student."
> (Hawthorn's image) "(For me) Hawthorn isn't a group of buildings, it is the people in it. Hawthorn is so loosely structured that whenever there is a group of people from Hawthorn then they are Hawthorn."
> (and later) "The usual image of a college would be the students walking across the campus with books, a tower in the background. I don't think this image would be right for Hawthorn. The image of Hawthorn moves." (S2)

After the philosopher, here is the mystic or maybe the artist. When one compares the statements above with the one in which the same student, S2[1], expressed his initial fright at the disappearance of authority, one realizes how much rebuilding and redefining has gone on in his case. And all this has not been in vain, for S2 adds:

> "I have found myself as an individual at Hawthorn, but as for what I am and where I want to be in life, that has been confused. That I am an individual and may actually get somewhere, Hawthorn has given me. I think I would have been lost in L.A." (S2)

We have come full turn, back to where we started with the theme of "being lost." But thanks to S2's experience, we now can take this word at more than face value; it is not only a matter finding it difficult to chart one's course in unknown terrain; not only a matter of not knowing where to turn for help or how to recognize one's own resources. It is also a matter, as it were, of life or death for the spirit; a matter even, of being born or not being born. Is it only by chance that the statements of Student S2 have so much of a religious resonance, as if the Hawthorn experience for him was akin to salvation?

To summarize then: we have seen that all students from low education background who perform unevenly on their entrance tests show considerable disorientation with regard to collge. Among the graduates, those who have stayed in Hawthorn seem to be attracted by the intellectual life itself, while those who have transferred to another college put great emphasis on the tangible evidence of the amount of work they have managed to extract from themselves. Among those who do not graduate, those who stayed in Hawthorn seem to have been caught in a reflective stance which is more important to them than academic success; while those who transfer out of Hawthorn are involved in the strenthening and the testing of their values.

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"My biggest problem was trying to be part of discussion groups. I was so used to (another kind of) student-teacher relationships. I had a subordinate attitude I had always assumed in high school....I seemed to block on the idea that the instructor was a discussion leader than a teacher. I always believed what was presented by an authority, the teachers. The idea of questioning what was said by the instructor was difficult- I still have this problem." (S2)

## D. THE ATTITUDE OF THE FAMILY

I had expected that parents who have not finished high school would be rather uninvolved in their children's studies. This is not always the case. Some students mention that, in their helplessness, they came to complain to their parents about what the college was doing to them. As Student E2 puts it:

> "My mother, I wonder what she thought. I should have asked her. I probably did a lot of complaining about: 'Gee, I don't know what they're trying to do.' And she has probably got this kind of view (of) something unsteady and fluctuating. But she knows I had some very good instructors. And I think that she would say that Hawthorn didn't hurt me. And I think she's very happy I've finished college...." (E2)

At least three girls mention having thus received sympathy from their parents and that in doing so they contributed to the confusion of their parents about the school.

How did parents react to their children's anxiety? While not able to gain a clear view of college life and of the specific purposes and goals of Hawthorn, they could, however, be very helpful if they had certain kinds of expectations. Student U2 says:

> "(They expect) that I try to do something productive with my life, whatever I feel I must do. I'm sure they expect me to be some sort of a responsible citizen and person. They expect me to complete (smiles) what I do, especially my father." (U2)

Some parents gave their children strong support in their studies. Of these buttressed students two have been successful in Hawthorn and one in the College of Education; one, who transferred to the College of Education, is a slow-down. All these students emphasize that their parents were interested in school for the sake of education itself and that they were proud of their children's accomplishments. The students also found that school had made them more capable of accepting their parents.

> "Both my parents value education highly. I think my father would approve very much of the education I got at Hawthorn.... I think my mother would feel the same way."
> "I've never had any trouble with my parents. I think my mother will be glad to see that I finally achieved the goal that I set out to obtain. She's always looking for better things for me, always understanding. My father, he's the same way. He has paid for all of my

> college education. Now he is paying for my brother's. My mom and dad are both very proud of me."
> (re: parents' expectations) "They want me to do my best and to make something of myself; to put my education to good use. They wouldn't want it to just fall into nothing." (W2)

On a still more disinterested note:

> "My father does not know specifically what I've learned, but he does see my trying to understand, and this interests him... my mother is thankful for the change. I used to bark back a lot. I was inconsiderate. Now I bark back less, and I'm not so inconsiderate. It's all part of growing up."
> (re: parents' expectations) "That I will be a fine, upstanding young man, able to assume an adult role, assume responsibilities, lead a happy life, sensitive, all that intelligence implies; that I will make them proud." (F2)

In contrast, some parents saw college only as a practical means for their child to achieve economic success in later life. Two of these students have graduated from Hawthorn; one from the School of Business; one from the School of Education; one, who transferred to L.A., is a slow-down. This attitude on the part of parents is often hard for students to take:

> "My mother does not understand. She was brought up in a small busimess kind of world. For her that's the thing to do. College is a place where you get marks. Good ones mean good. Bad ones mean bad. My father feels about the same as my mother. He had more eduation than her. He wished he had gone to college. Only he had to work to support his family.
> He finds Hawthorn nice. But if I hadn't been going to professional school he wouldn't be as happy. My sister is starting Hawthorn and he thinks she should be a secretary in business, that it's a waste of time unless it will help her earn more money or find a rich boyfriend in college. For my mother, Imight as well sell clothing or cars, make a living, 'amount to somebody'." (B2)

Sometimes the contrast between the student's position and that of his parents is not quite as striking:

> "I don't think my father knows that much about Hawthorn, really, I don't talk that much about it. But his principal idea about education in general is that if it doesn't concern what you're actually doing, if it's not

> functional, it's useless. My mother thinks about the same. Their attitude is, you need a college degree today to get a job." (K2)

Finally there are a few students whose parents hardly know about their education, and do not care; some who are family-less for all practical purposes (an orphan whose brothers have no intellectual interests, a young man who went into the service and got married before he entered college). The two clearest cases of students whose families are not interested in their education are those of the two Hawthorn slow-downs:

> "My parents were divorced. The times I did see him (father) he didn't really ask questions about my education other than: how are you doing in school?- this type of question. My mother, well I don't know. She's never said anything as to whether she was disappointed in the way I am, or the way I'm progressing. She is concerned that I get the best education I can. But I don't think Hawthorn has had that much effect on me that I would have gone to extremes. (What do you mean?) Well, the bookworm intellectual and the protesters and picketers." _(S2)

It is interesting to see that the student perceives the parent to whom he feels closer as being concerned precisely with what he himself is concerned: the kind of person he is becoming. However, the parent is seen as a rather helpless by-stander. In the next case, some of the same feeling is expressed:

> "My father does not really know what I've received and I doubt that he can understand, although he knows I'm different from what he has thought me to be....My mother, she just goes along." (A2)

However, in this case (and this theme occurs frequently when the student comes from a strong ethnic background) the student sees his education as having brought him closer to that very family who does not know quite what has happened to him:

> "I've learned to appreciate them in a very real sense, and they've begun to extend to me.....the same status as an adult. It's the same thing you read in novels where the son of a peasant farmer goes off to the university and returns a changed man and finds his parents two very human people." (A2)

This review of the attitude of parents of students in Set II with regard to their child's education does not support the pattern that seemed to emerge from our study of Set I. One will recall that the students in Set I who succeeded most readily had parents interested in their studies, while those who floundered did not. The larger number of cases in Set II reveals a much greater variety of possible combinations. Parents' interest is still related to student's success. But often the student's general attitude toward his education contrasts with his parents' expectations, sometimes to the point of defiance. Much remains to be learned about the ways in which poorly educated parents respond to their child in college, day in and day out, as well as to the idea of having a college educated child.

## E. THE QUALITY OF SELF-RESTRAINT AND WHAT HAPPENED TO IT

Most of the students in Set II have impressed us by their search for identity. We have seen them broadening their perspectives, changing their vocational orientation, finding new dimensions for the use of their mind. One may well ask: what happened to the values they held when they entered college? Students in Set I were found to have deepened theirs. Did the same thing happen to the less self-confident students in Set II?

To answer this question, we can turn to the interviews, with additional help from another set of data. In 1959 the students who were entering Hawthorn took the test devised by Bales for the study of values among college students.[1] It happens that students in Set II are characterized primarily by an unusually low score on the Bales second factor 3 "Need-determined expression vs. value-determined restraint."[2] That is, these students were unusually "restrained in the name of value." They had little sympathy for moral relativism and reacted rather strongly against the notion of enjoying the present moment; so much for the stereotype that students from a low socio-economic background are handicapped by their incapacity to delay gratification.

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[1] This test is made up of a series of value statements to which the student is asked to respond by qualified agreement or disagreement (seven positions are possible.) A factor analysis of data collected from several colleges revealed to Bales four independent factors, which he called Acceptance of authority, Need-determined expression (vs. value-determined restraint), Equalitarianism, and Individualism. It is interesting though not surprising that, in comparison to the national average, the City students (including Hawthorn '59 entrants) tended to be high on acceptance of authority (1/2 SD above national mean) and even more so on Equalitarianism (1 SD above national mean); they followed the national norm on Need-determined expression and Individualism.

[2] This factor has two parts: moral relativism- eg. "since there are no values which can be eternal, the only real values are those which meet the needs of the given moment," and plain hedonism- eg. "life is something to be enjoyed to the full, sensuously enjoyed with relish and enthusiasm."

Using the mean and standard deviation for all 1959 City entrants in our sample the distribution of the 27 students in Set II is as follows:

Need-determined Expression vs. Value-determined Restraint

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| between 1 & 2 standard deviation above the mean . . | 1 | (Hawthorn grad.) |
| between mean & 1 standard deviation above . . . . . | 1 | (Hawthorn slow-down) |
| between mean & 1 standard deviation below . . . . . | 12 | (8 left Hawthorn early) |
| between 1 & 2 standard deviation below the mean . . | 10 | (6 didn"t leave Hawthorn early) |
| between 2 & 3 standard deviation below the mean . . | 1 | (Hawthorn grad.) |
| did not take the Bales test . . . . . . . . . . . . | 2 | |

Hawthorn could have puzzled or even shocked such self-restrained students in two major ways. On the one hand, whether in its historical treatment of the development of science, or in its social science program which deals with various disciplines as alternative approaches to problems, Hawthorn seemed to espouse intellectual relativism. On the other hand, in trying to get the students interested in the intellectual life rather than in grades or practical applications, it seemed to advocate enjoyment of exploration and discovery rather than the rewards of solid, tangible work. A frequent theme in students' reactions during the first year was: "I must not be doing the right thing, I am enjoying it too much." Yet in Set II, several of the students most in favor of restraint stayed in Hawthorn throughout their academic career, or stayed in Hawthorn longest before they transferred or dropped out. How can this apparent incongruity be explained?

In order to try to answer this question, we shall quote from all the interviews of students showing unusual restraint,[1] starting with those who favored restraint most.

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[1] By this, I mean the students whose score falls beyond one standard deviation below the mean.

The questions most useful have been:

-in the interview of 1963:

59. Are you aware of any developments or modifications in your values or ideals while you have been at Hawthorn?
65. Do you think being at Hawthorn tends to make a person appreciate his own background, or does it tend to uproot him?
67. Do you think that being at Hawthorn tends to uproot people religiously?
68. Has being at Hawthorn helped you know who you really are or has it confused the picture?
69. Do you feel you know pretty much what kind of person you are?
84b. What goals do you think the Hawthorn faculty desire for their students?

-in the interview of 1960:

60. Has the natural science course altered your way of thinking?
86. Of what importance is religion in your life?
87a. Compared with other fellows/girls you know at Hawthorn, do you think the degree of your religious interests is about the same or different?
95. What are the causes or social issues Hawthorn students are most concerned about?
95b. What about yourself? are there any issues you're very much concerned about? What are they?

> (re: upsetting effect of Hawthorn on religious views) "For me it was not Hawthorn, but just learning and re-evaluation. I came out of a parochial school and just the process of understanding what makes me and society tick, and finding out about the forces that mold a religion and make it the way it is, and the varieties in religious belief... this made it impossible to feel there was one true faith, which makes it difficult when you are from a faith that claims to be the true one. So I've broken away a lot. (Were you upset by it?) At first I was, but not now. I was surprised that I was not more so." (F2)

The impact on this student is very strong; but its direction is more toward pluralism than toward relativism proper.

> (on the question of goals of faculty members) "They all are interested in communicating some ideal. It may not be the same for each of them, but for each of them it's to communicate what's important to him and get us to react to it. I can't mention any specific values. It is more an awareness that there are these things which each person holds important." (F2)

The existence and importance of "absolute" values is not denied, though it becomes the task and the privilege of each individual to recognize them and commit himself to them.

The following student states at the end of her freshman year that religion is still "of extreme importance" for her. A Catholic, she remains convinced that birth control is wrong, feels strongly about it- her Natural Science course has not altered her thinking:

> "I always think, anyway, before I accept something. I've always been that way." (R2, 1960)

She did not stay in Hawthorn long enough for us to follow her up in the further stages of her development.

For the student ranking next in this series, N2, we have only scant details dating back to his freshman year. He says that evolution had the greatest impact on him in Natural Science, "It gave me a complete new line of thinking..." But he denies that this brought about any real change in his outlook. He shows hostility to Social Science precisely because he defines this staff as too intent on changing his thinking, "They try to go too deep into everything."

The next student to be discussed is I2. He goes with some detail into the story of his changes. First, his perception of the faculty: "a questioning type subscibing to no set system of belief," (note that this is much stronger, much more along the lines of relativism proper than what F2 detected.) This perception of the faculty was in striking contrast with the determined attempts of his parents to see him stick to their "values and ideas."

> "I've begun to question a lot of things that I didn't before: religion, politics. I've gotten away from some of the ideas my parents tried to instill. It doesn't mean I've revolted against them, but I've tried to take up my own position. I would especially say in regards to religion because my parents are staunch Catholics and through the years here at Hawthorn I've gotten to be a lot more liberal and critical."
> (what could be seen as having uprooted him religiously?)
> "In my particular case it was the contact with viewpoints other than what my background had suited me for- dogmatic doctrines- such as a lot of the material in the social sciences."
> (what about his present self-definition: has college confused or clarified the picture?) "Given those two alternatives, I would say it has confused the picture. What I am particularly referring to is this study in Existential thinkers. I ran across a few at Hawthorn. What they say, particularly Camus, is that they view the world as a big wasteland, and man is just lost in it. I sort of like to read this. Of course, that's not the only thing."
> (would you say you know yourself?) Yeah, I think, pretty well, I don't say I'm stable, but in all this chaos there is... what's that saying? (There's a method in this madness?) That's right." (I2)

There is a striking resemblance between this case and F2 above: religious background, the impossibility of reconciling the insights gained from social science with the teachings of a dogmatic church, a search for personal meaning.

Contrasting with this rather thorough over-haul is the firm stand of the following student (who left Hawthorn after three semesters):

> "Religion is of primary importance- the most important thing to me. Most kids in college seem to go away from religion."
> (re: influence of Natural Science) "No, it hasn't given me any sound reason why I should change my beliefs or opinions. I may have changed in minor ways but not in major ways. Perhaps I have a more open mind." (C2, 1960)

An excellent student, she did not feel at home with the rest of her class.

The next student, V2, has already been introduced at length on p. 105. Here is her contribution to the question of the change in values:

> "I think I had a change in that I accept other people's views and I learned to be broad-minded as much as I can. I think everybody has certain things they're a little touchy on, that they're a little close-minded about. But I think I learned to accept other people's values and reasons for anything that they do or believe in."
> (re: religion proper) "Well, I don't know if it's true in Liberal Arts, but when you get these discussions, 'is there really a God?' and 'are we really here?' and things like this, it sort of makes you think, it sort of tears apart very deep ingrained (beliefs)...If you happen to be particularly ingrained in a particular religion that you're brought up in, it'll loosen.
> (How has this affected you?) "Well, I don't take everything that's stated as absolute bounds...I can sort of decipher and accept what I want to and what I feel suits me." (V2)

Should this be interpreted as a gain in tolerance and a discovery of the importance of the personal assent to values or beliefs? Should it be interpreted as the disappearance of the capacity to set limits, to make judgements, to accept what transcends individual taste? In the quotation above I added the word "belief" in parenthesis myself for the sake of clarity; the student was unable to find a word to state what it was that was torn apart. . .

Next in our ranking in decreasing order of "restraint in the name of value" comes student S2.[1] Of the faculty he says (after emphasizing their variety):

> "The one type I know that wouldn't become a Hawthorn teacher is the dogmatic type that teaches the same material year after year in the same manner." (S2)

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[1] Student P2 who comes just before him, has nothing at all to say on values, either in his 1960 or in his 1963 interview. It is as if this whole area had been blocked off in his mind.

And of himself:

> "I find that I am less likely to accept something someone says. Prior to Hawthorn, I had gone to a parochial school and we had to accept what was said. Here you wouldn't necessarily accept everything that was said." (with regard to religious uprooting) "It hasn't uprooted me religiously. I feel I'm still as strong in my faith as I was... well, I have questioned things that I didn't question before. On the whole it doesn't seem that Hawthorn attempts to uproot people. It has made me more quizzical instead of accepting dogmatically. As far as other people are concerned, Hawthorn may have uprooted them but I think it's the person who uproots himself; not a school or idea, but his own thoughts and ideas." (S2)

Here one gets the feeling of an easy integration of the spirit of discovery and of personal choice into the background of dogmatic indoctrination, as it were, a natural process of growing up.

With the next student, Y2, the tone is even freer of any suggestion of conflict between the values held and the teaching received. The quotation chosen must be viewed in light of the fact that in it the informant is making his only remark truly favorable to Hawthorn:

> "I think, probably, the biggest thing I gained from Hawthorn was the realization that any particular field of study is a lot more complex than you really think it is. Especially that first semester! Geez! I got out of that first semester not knowing where in the hell I was going. Even some of the basic things that I just accepted were gone, or not gone but at least they were not absolute any more. I realized that there were alternative approaches to various problems and questions. And this is the greatest thing. I don't care what school you're in or what college you're in, if you don't receive this in four years of education you can't regard yourself an educated man. I think this is a great thing about Hawthorn. They threw this thing right at you, your first semester, and you knew this right off. And of course this sort of shades the way you will approach any further of your education, (sic) regardless of whether you stay in Hawthorn or go into another college." (Y2)

Here is a student who receives the full impact of intellectual relativism, as practiced especially by the social science staff (the reference to the first semester problem is clear.)[1] He experiences it primarily as fulfilling a very important need, and seems to ascribe his positive response to the fact that he had been uprooted from his previous religious training before he entered Hawthorn.

In contrast, the student ranking next, K2, combines increased religious faith and intellectual enlightenment:

> "No (college does not uproot you religiously). If you have deep religious convictions I don't see any elements at Hawthorn or the university or any experience that would uproot you. It might make you question things, but this is good; for, if anything, it helps to strengthen your religious beliefs. This has been my experience." (K2)

It might be, however, that student K2 does not choose to see some of the things which other students were impressed by. He seems disposed to set his values and beliefs apart as a private domain to which the outside world has little access. Thus his only comments on his change in values and ideas are:

> "I have come to appreciate the value of education and academic pursuits more, such as studying art and appreciating art and social science. I also discovered the importance of problems like population, which seemed unimportant before." (K2)

Note in particular how social science, which had a major role in shaking up several of the earlier students in this set, is seen here as something to be "appreciated", not something to be remodeled by.

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[1] The problem was an initial set of readings from several disciplines about the brainwashed prisoners of war in Korea. Its purpose was to demonstrate the relevance of several different approaches to the same problem, and indirectly to suggest to the student that a new environment could have considerable impact on him.

The last student in this series, X2, echoes the feeling of completion, of personal achievement, which was striking in S2, but she is even more eloquent:[1]

> "I feel that I'm a better person. I feel that I have gotten more out of college because of their (faculty's) goals and objectives. I feel that it has sort of rubbed off a little on me. I know I used to admire people who had absolute values and ideas and attitudes, but it used to be just sort of blind admiration. I wasn't interested in what their reasons were. But I don't intend to admire that type of person any longer unless I'm sure that he has a strong basis for these ideas and attitudes and beliefs."
> (on the question of religious uprooting, she says:)
> "I've never had firm religious roots, but I know people who did and still do, and it's not just because they have completely ignored the readings and discussions that were adverse to their particular beliefs.... (college) has made me think more about religion, and to sort of want to discover somewhere something that I could believe; it hasn't convinced me that religion is a lot of hogwash." (X2)

Thus there is a considerable range of reactions of students entering college with strict definitions and moral demands. Most of them lent themselves to the broadening and loosening influence of a liberal approach to education. Its impact on their values and spirit was varied; partly tearing, partly rebuilding, partly strengthening. I could not establish a clear correlation between the rigidity of the original restraint and open-endedness of the outcome. Still there seems to be evidence that the more severe breaks with the original source of values have occured when the student was least flexible to begin with.

Overall summary for Set II

The search for pattern(s) among students in Set II has highlighted two kinds of ethos, corresponding to two pathways for Hawthorn entrants- the ethos of work and the ethos of meaning. The two are not incompatible, in fact, both are necessary ingredients for a student to profit from college at all. Still, emphasis can be placed on one or the other. By and large, students who stay in Hawthorn place the accent on the latter, students who transfer to other colleges on the former.[1]

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[1] Even as a freshman, she said:
"Before I came to Hawthorn, whatever was said with any authority such as a book, I accepted as fact. I don't think I'd do that anymore, because I've learned different authorities say different things about the same thing. There is more than one way to look at things. One authority could be right, but another could be too."
(X2, 1960)

One may see the two kinds of ethos as equally valid, equally appropriate modes of response to a college education. One may hold that the choice between the two should be the student's own, based on his personality or temperament, or tradition, or stage of development. From this standpoint, it is a wholesome feature in Hawthorn that its students may transfer to the Collge of Liberal Arts; the School of Education; and Business Administration as freely as they do.

One may be troubled, however, by the evidence that Hawthorn favors the ethos of meaning over the ethos of work. Isn't discipline the necessary foundation for all developments of culture and understanding? The evidence, so far, suggests that students in Set II have to make a choice between different definitions of knowledge and of learning.[2] In doing so they run serious risks. They may get thrown off their original ambitions. They may be jerked from their world of belief. They may even unlearn the necessity and the value of hard work. But the rewards of those who succeed in the reshuffling of goals, ideas and methods are considerable: the mulling over the puzzles of one's own life and of the world around him, the critical exmination of what is proposed to him, the ability to form balanced, measured, alive opinion. Inasmuch as Hawthorn students from poorly educated background and with average talent having gone through this experience, end up not parroting sophisticated clichês, inasmuch as they find things in life which they want to do, inasmuch as they see their education as a process which has just started, it appears that they have not been short-changed by the college. To our original question I think I can answer that they have developed intellectually, and not at excessive cost.

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[1] A secondary finding is that slowing down seems associated with the thic of meaning, in that even students who transfer exhibit it in their own way.

[2] This will be further supported in our examination of Set III.

## SET THREE

## STUDENTS FROM POORLY EDUCATED BACKGROUND WITH LOW ENTRANCE SCORES

The level of education of the parents is notably lower in Set III ("the stragglers of the underprivileged") than in Set I and II. More than half of them did not attend high school at all. To this is added the impact of the kind of high school which the students themselves attended. Only two came from excellent schools: they graduated from Hawthorn. Only one came from a "good" school: he graduated from Business Administration. The only student from a poor school transferred from Hawthorn to Liberal Arts during the second semester, and then dropped out during the next semester. All the rest of the students in this set came from mediocre schools: 6 dropped out (4 of them after giving Liberal Arts a try), 3 slowed down, and 3 graduated in a program of primary education (1 staying in Hawthorn to the end.)[1]

These students tended to do poorly in their first year in Hawthorn. Most drop-outs did miserably in their Hawthorn courses from the very start. Only one student of 16 (who became one of the Hawthorn graduates) had an A- in her Hawthorn courses that first year. Others who graduated (2 of them going on afterwards to medical school) started with a C+.

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[1] Additional data of interest (including date of interview used.)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A3 | (1960)transferred early | left late | ordinary record (B-) |
| B3 | (1963)transferred late | graduated late | ordinary record (B-) |
| C3 | (1960)stayed in Hawthorn | slowed down | ordinary record (B) |
| D3 | (1963)stayed in Hawthorn | graduated late | excellent record (B+) |
| E3 | (1963)stayed in Hawthorn | graduated on time | ordinary record (B-) |
| F3 | (1963)stayed in Hawthorn | graduated late | ordinary record (C) |
| G3 | (1960)stayed in Hawthorn | dropped out early | poor record (D-) |
| H3 | ( -- )transferred early | dropped out early | poor record (D) |
| I3 | (1963)transferred early | graduated on time | excellent record (B+) |
| J3 | (1963)stayed in Hawthorn | slowed down | ordinary record (C) |
| K3 | (1960)stayed in Hawthorn | dropped out early | poor record (D+) |
| L3 | (1960)transferred early | dropped out early | poor record (C-) |
| M3 | (1963)transferred early | graduated on time | ordinary record (C+) |
| N3 | ( -- )transferred early | dropped out early | poor record (D-) |
| O3 | (1960)transferred early | dropped out early | poor record (C-) |
| P3 | (1960)transferred early | dropped out early | poor record (D) |

TABLE 4: SOME DATA ON STUDENTS IN SET III

| ST | TCT[a] | VERBAL[b] ABILITY | QUANT.[c] ABILITY | VOCABULARY[d] | QUAL. OF HS | FATHER'S EDUCATION | MOTHER'S EDUCATION | FATHER'S OCCUPATION | MOTHER'S OCCUPATION |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A3 | 31 | 47 | 31 | 41 | 3 | gram. scl. | some HS | engineer[f] | -- |
| B3 | 27 | 47 | 34 | 40 | 2 | some HS | gram. scl | -- | ? |
| C3 | 28 | 45 | 31 | 38 | 3 | gram. scl. | gram. scl | welder | -- |
| D3 | 22 | 47 | 34 | 37 | 3 | gram. scl. | some HS | plasterer | -- |
| E3 | 30 | 39 | 30 | 39 | 1 | some HS | some HS | mach. oper. | -- |
| F3 | 20- | 49 | 34 | 34 | 1 | gram. scl. | some HS | salesman | bakery |
| G3 | 30 | 40 | 26 | 38 | 3 | some HS | some HS | tool & die | -- |
| H3 | 28 | 47 | 19 | 38 | 3 | some HS | gram. scl | factory wrk. | -- |
| I3 | 30 | 32- | 27 | 38 | 3 | gram. scl. | gram. scl | plant protc. | schl. cook |
| J3 | 23 | 40 | 25 | 35 | 3 | gram. scl. | gram. scl | caretaker | -- |
| K3 | 25 | 36 | 20 | 41 | 3 | gram. scl. | some HS | schl. wkr. | -- |
| L3 | 27 | 37 | 25 | 31 | 3 | some HS | gram. scl | mill oper.[g] | -- |
| M3 | 24 | 27- | 34 | 28- | 3 | gram. scl. | gram. scl | laborer | -- |
| N3 | 9- | 43 | 28 | 31 | 3 | gram. scl. | some HS | mach. repair | -- |
| O3 | 17- | 20- | 23 | 34 | 3 | some HS | comp. HS[e] | laborer | domestic |
| P3 | 12- | 22- | 17- | 31 | 4 | gram. scl. | gram. scl. | restaurant | -- |

a) mean score of 1959 Hawthorn entrants = 34; standard deviation = 7

b) mean score = 50; standard deviation = 9

c) mean score = 38; standard deviation = 10

d) mean score = 43; standard deviation = 7

e) The high school is a southern Negro high school.

f) sheet metal engineer

g) boring mill operator

h) father works with son at an ethnic restaurant

- indicates a very low score ( at least 2 standard deviations below the mean

A striking tendency of all students in this set when interviewed at the end of four years (7 of the 16) is to select as their most meaningful instructor a faculty member from whom they took a course during their first semester at Hawthorn. Early contacts must have been very important to them. Although we found this tendency to select an early instructor as most meaningful among the students in Set II also, in that case the tendency seemed linked with the need to redefine one's goals and even oneself. This is not the case for Set III students, most of whom start as pre-professionals. The students with a low ability to perform tend not to change their curriculum. Of the 6 graduates, 2 pre-meds, 1 business major and 2 primary education. One slow-down has changed from a business to a language major (the language spoken in his home); one extreme slow-down has changed from pre-med to secondary education in science (probably because of financial problems.) Among the drop-outs, 1 moved from business to primary education, 1 from secondary education to business; the others did not budge from their set course (2 primary education, 2 business, and 1 general.)

Whatever discovery or development takes place, then, is not along the lines of redefinition of talents or interests. One gets the feeling that the student's course was set before entering college. The student clings to it the best he can, but there are considerable obstacles in his way.

## A. THE SUCCESSES AND NEAR-SUCCESSES

We shall first study in detail the eight students who succeeded or nearly did (3 Hawthorn graduates, 2 graduates from the School of Education, 1 from the School of Business Administration, and 2 Hawthorn slow-downs.) I will use the 1963 interviews which are available for all but one of them, supplementing them when needed with some of the interviews taken at the end of the first year.

### They were bewildered

The overwhelming feeling one gets in reading the 1963 interviews is one of total bafflement on the part of the students in their first contact with the college. As might be expected we find complaints about too much work, lack of organization on the part of the faculty, the confusing effect of the simultaneous presentation of too many approaches, the lack of regularity in the homework required- these are the difficulties we have met in Set II, which could be conquered by adjusting little by little to a new style. But among the students in Set III a new theme arises and gets amplified into a scared (and scaring) shrill cry: I CANNOT UNDERSTAND WHAT'S GOING ON, AT ALL.

> "I didn't understand classes and I didn't understand the teachers. It doesn't seem like they had any apporach, it really doesn't. When I first started the instructors didn't seem to quite agree with each other. They all taught differently- and didn't come close a lot of times to what they were trying to teach.
> I was always very confused (in Natural Science) and the instructor confused me that much more. I had the same instructor for the first two semesters of it...I had an awful time of it....when I asked the instructor to explain it, he didn't do it very well so I became more confused.
> When they first started, the instructors seemed at a much higher level than the students. They couldn't seem to come down to the students' level." (M3)

This feeling of a chasm between the student's level and instructor's level is documented more specifically by Student C3, whose scores are considerably higher than those of the previous student:

> (speaking of the first year's research project in social science) "I worked like a dog. The instructor scribbled all over the graphs. I don't know why she marks me off because the graphs are wrong. She talks too much; she talks in circles. She gets me shook up."

> (speaking of the Natural Science instructor) "She didn't know how to teach. She talked too fast. Her way of explaining was too difficult."
> (speaking of the university teacher in general) "A fellow who looks like he's been in a book all his life."
> (C3, 1960)

One gets a striking impression of the very means of communication (talking, explaining, writing comments on a paper) being instead means of non-communication, means of irritation, confusion and disappointment.

The most vivid spokesman for the whole set is a very articulate graduate, who transferred out of Hawthorn after a year, Student I3;

> "For social science- I enjoyed that a great deal and I didn't do badly in either one of them (i.e. social science and natural science) really,; but I felt very insecure in that program. I think most people did. It's O.K. if you don't know what you're doing but when you feel like the instructors don't know what they want either then that really gives you insecurity. And when we asked questions, they weren't sure of what they wanted, or at least they didn't appear to be sure. I'm sure they were sure. They definitely had objectives set up, but they should have at least let us know that they had those objectives in mind. You know, you can't work on nothing. And I felt purely too insecure in the program as a freshman... I think now I could read those Newton essays and those other essays and really like them. In fact, I have read them since then, in that same book that we had, and I enjoy them now but at the time, as a freshman, I just couldn't grasp it all- the meaning of it. I mean the meaning of the whole program.
> I wanted to grab on to something to hold on to.....you know, I wanted to get something into my head that would stick. And there were so many things going around, in and out, really, in and out, back and forth- more than in and it left me sort of insecure.
> Social science was a little bit too vague for me. You know, it was just a little bit over my head. I don't know if vague and over your head are the same thing but, ... I don't think it was as much over my head as it was vague. I didn't even understand the meanings of the sections, you know, the sections in the book like Relation, Group Integration. I was reading all that time, and I didn't even understand what the name of the section was, and that was exasperating. And if I asked what it was, that made everything worse (student laughs here), because

> I wasn't sure whether they knew it or not..."
> I didn't have any questions in Hawthorn because I didn't know what to have any questions about. (speaking of discussions here) We talked about ideas but seldom did we talk about questions. Hardly anybody asked questions, and they didn't know what to ask. We talked about things that we talked about, but not course work." (I3)

This student is not simply complaining. Rather, she recaptures the situation in which she found herself as she entered college: poorly equipped, as she admits several times, by her high school (one of the mediocre ones); eager to learn- she kept reading the assignments, she even tried to see how they fit in an overall design. Notice her concrete reference to her early texts; she still remembers their content, the titles of the subsections, and other details. What then was the matter? Is it that the instructor's language was incomprehensible? This might be part of it. Instructors use such words as "relation", "function", "problem", and many others, which are in common parlance not what might be called specialized jargon; yet words whose academic meaning cannot be readily derived from their common usage- words which are so essential to intellectual operations that they are very hard to define discursively. Thus student and instructor come to a standstill; the student cannot understand what the instructor is talking about, the instructor cannot explain. The more he talks, the more he confuses the student.

## A basic misunderstanding with the faculty

This interpretation would fit rather well with the evidence from Students M3 and C3; but the last one we have listened to, Student I3, brings us additional insights. Why is she sure that the instructors knew what they wanted, even if they appeared not to? Why did she want to grab on to something? Why does she speak of "things going around, in and out, back and forth" rather than into her head? Why does she distinguish between "questions" and "ideas"? Why does she conclude: "We talked about things we talked about, but not course work"? I think these last words give us the key: she was coming to school to do course work. The people in charge of the course should have known exactly what they wanted; then things would have come into her mind, settling there, making her experience worthwhile. Instead, she was faced with people who wanted her to think- that is, to entertain ideas, to play with them, to taste them- people who thought that the best way for her to learn was to enter their own universe of discourse and to little by little find her bearings in it. All the while the faculty expected her to be supported by their interest and their example (hence all the talking). Not knowing anything themselves except by thinking about it, they were not willing to ask her to learn anything but what she could learn by thinking about it.[1]

This last point is probably the most difficult to grasp for students in Set III. That instructors could genuinely be puzzled themselves, be looking for an answer, seems beyond the ability of such students to comprehend; rather, they suspect that it is all make-believe, maybe a part of the "experiment"- we recall Student I3 saying, "They definitely had objectives set up, but they should at least have let us know that they had those objectives in mind." For the first time in the interviews, we find echoes of students' resentment at what they perceive as manipulative designs on the part of the faculty. That this should be due to insecurity rather than to outright hostility towards the superordinates is supported by two observations: first, this suspiciousness coexists with feelings of affection for and gratitude toward specific teachers; second, it is most vividly expressed by students who have little support and understanding from their family; hence who may feel particularly vulnerable.[2] Thus C3 stated:

> "I feel like a guinea pig...."

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[1] Let me add that Student I3, speaking now not of her freshman experience but as a graduate from the School of Education, shows her ability to grasp the nature of the situation which so baffled her at first. When she is asked about "the reason behind Hawthorn", she says:

> "Well, experimenting on a new approach to education. In elementary school they have the same sort of thing where you learn on your own, or more or less what you're interested in. Of course, this is a whole philosophy on a college level, while it is mostly experimented with on the elementary school level. I have never heard of a group of people experimenting with it at a college level because it would be much more difficult at that level- you don't just put a group of people together in a big room and say 'play whichever way you like.' You have to say, 'learn what you like'- in a big sense. And of course there's a lot of inhibitions by the time you reach college, a lot of expectations about what you should learn in college and what you should gain from it." (I3)

[2] In contrast a student who feels great support from his parents says only:

> "I had my problems and difficulties in acclimating myself. I was used to thinking that 2+2=4. Dr. ___ could convince you that 2+2=5."
> (What do you think should be done about this?) "Don't throw us into 12 feet of water. Throw us into a shallower spot and work from there." (E3)

The image of being thrown into deep water is frequent in this set of students.

> (the Scoial Science instructor) "got me shook up. I don't trust anyone anymore. They have reasons they don't show."[1] (C3, 1960)
>
> (What kind of person comes to teach at Hawthorn?) "Those that are more dynamic in personality. They know their subject matter and can put it across in a terrific way....at least they think they can put it across. In the beginning I didn't like the Natural Science sequence. Most of us couldn't follow. It could be more organized. The way I feel now is that they are playing a little game. (In what way?) In the sense that they try one brand of method and if that doesn't work they try something else."
> (speaking of what improvements are needed) "The main thing is that they have to remember they're dealing with people." (D3)

One feels the sense of hurt pride coming through these last words. The situation is seen as one where it is difficult for the student to maintain or to gain a sense of his own dignity. In a way it is a supreme irony that the sophistication which the faculty members wanted to impart to the student should thus boomerang. But one must relize that faculty intentions were one of the main things about which these students wanted to be sophisticated.

### A dislike of other students

Another common tendency of the students in this category is to view the attitude and behavior of fellow students with considerable antagonism. Only one of them (Student I3) has any pleasant memories of her association with other students at the Hawthorn Center. C3 and D3 are most outspoken:

> "As far as I'm concerned (there are) a lot of stuck-up kids. At least a certain group-- they're conceited; they don't mix with others." (C3)
>
> "I don't associate with many of the students here.

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[1] Student C3 further generalizes from his bewildering experience buttressed by his interpretation of the main memory of the Social Science course:

> (the intent of that course is to) "let you understand what is going on around you, to learn to check reasons why people say things.. it goes to show what people do to make others think what they want them to think; I see this everyday.... you can't trust anybody; what they say and their reasons for saying it may be different." (C3, 1960)

> There's not much of a 'community' here for me." (in answer to the question: What would raise one's standing in your group?) "I really couldn't say. I haven't any friends down here... there isn't much anybody can do to raise his standing." (D3)

A quite student, J3, admits that he was scared that his opinions "aren't what other people have." He avoided contact with students from another background. He says that the friends he has made helped him appreciate his own background, and adds:

> "If they were from a different economic class from my own, I don't think I'd feel very comfortable with them." (J3)

Student E3 puts it indirectly; he did not look for friendships beyond a small group of friends:

> "When I am with a small group of my friends I feel understood. These are very close friends. Here I feel understood because they accept me as I am...(what about raising one's standing?) I don't think anything could.. we went to high school together, we're in the same fraternity, we're going to the same professional school. It's a pretty solid group, nothing could raise one's standing." (E3)

Student F3 goes straight to the point:

> "The students have given Hawthorn the reputation of being an intellectual colldge, a student movement college. Students did a lot of damage at first and it has taken over three years to overcome this damage. They tried to get it to be an Honors college, which it wasn't." (and commenting on the term "intellectual community") "What do you mean by community? I'm divorced from the Hawthorn community. When you refer to the community, the first thing I think about is the Hawthorn crowd and I don't care to comment on it. If you are referring to faculty-student relationships, I think very highly of the faculty and the counseling." (F3)

Student B3 simply says:

> "As far as intellectual discussions, there was very little here; merely pleasant associations rather than stimulating intellectual discussions." (B3)

But the student, M3, who transferred, has much more to say:

> "I didn't get along very well with the students there (at Hawthorn) so I didn't do too much with them.... I liked the Education and Liberal Arts students the best. I didn't care too much for the ones at Hawthorn. (Why?) Well, I had more in common with the ones from L.A. and Education, I don't know- the ones from Hawthorn just seemed- just snobby or something.
> I didn't know many students. I went into the student center a few times. It was always the same bunch of students who dominated the student center.
> (Yet, in a discussion of various goals while in college) I don't feel I know enough kinds of people. I would like to know more kinds of people.
> (finally, on a question of grades) It seems like grades in themselves aren't much. But it's the student the instructor likes who seems to get the better marks." (M3)

The last remark connects with what has been said before of the difficult communication between students in Set III and their instructors. They see that there are students who are capable of relating with the instructors; students who understand, who respond, hence who are liked. The student from a low education background, with low entrance scores, observes the success of those who fit in the instructor's world, and does not interpret it as resulting from their superior preparation but from favoritism. He knows he's working hard; he couldn't work any harder. Why isn't he rewarded? It is that those other students, those snobs, those "stuck-up kids" are up in front racing along a path which is visible only to them. Not only do they (the snobs) ingratiate themselves with the faculty; but they are also trying to remake the college in their own image, giving it a reputation as an honors school, a place for the elite! No wonder the extremely disadvantaged student feels bitter.

## A great need for gentle attention

The conflict is made worse by the fact that the student who does not score high on tests, and whose family is not educated, feels a tremendous need to be welcomed, understood, cared for by the faculty. This need appears often in the interviews:

> (speaking of good instructors) "They were very friendly, and when I asked questions it didn't seem like it was a bother to them to answer." (M3)

> (speaking of what makes a Hawthorn instructor) "He's interested in student problems, he wants to become a friend rather than an overseer. This is one reason it is such a good faculty. They take a genuine interest in the student as an individual rather than, or along with, just being a student." (F3)

> (speaking of goals of the faculty) "to aid the students to acquire an educational experience." (E3)
>
> (reaction to first year's instructors) "______ is a nice fellow, he tries to help with problems and he relates how the articles have to do with your life. I'd like to know him better. ________ is also very helpful. She discusses over the material with us. And I'd also like to know her better. She is friendly." (J3, 1960)
>
> (on the values of the faculty) "Conscientiousness, having an interest in the student. They hope their students will go on to bigger and better things but you don't find any out-and-out pressing." (D3)
>
> (reaction to first year's instructors whom he liked) "________ is terrific. He understands things. He is concerned about students. _______ is a happy-go-lucky guy. He was always smiling. He never got mad at the class, even when they wise-cracked." (C3, 1960)

Patience, a willingness to listen, to care, to see things from the student's angle are crucial qualities expected from instructors. In this way they can directly allay the insecurity of the student and they can indirectly give proof that, after all, the faculty can be trusted.

Only one student, I3, participated wholeheartedly with students from different backgrounds in the daily gatherings at the Hawthorn center:

> "We had a lot of fun together talking about the classes and the records and tapes. We spend a good deal of time talking about the things we talked about in class... and sometimes the intructors would come. Of course, that was the center of interest. They always had something good to say. If the instructors were there we talked about the classes, and if they weren't there we talked about any sort of thing. True, it was cligquish. But I have no objections to that at all. In that first class we were sort of random. We had people that didn't like it; and we had people that did like it; and people that were not interested in coming to the center, and people that were; and the people that were in cliques, and the people that weren't in cligues.
> (Who were the people with whom you associated at the center?) "The people I was in the discussion class with, mostly from social science, for some reason- probably because I didn't participate much in the natural

> science discussions. I didn't pick friends at the student center.
> (What about instructors in the college of Liberal Arts?) I seldom had the opportunity to see them. They would run out after class. You don't really need too many questions answered anyway because it's all in the text books. (What about questions not directly connected with the course?) Oh no, of course not. People can't waste their time in Liberal Arts. You have to ask a specific question and get it over with if you ever catch them.
> (in contrast) "We talked with the (Hawthorn) instructors in the group discussions over here at the center. But whenever we met them on the street they were always willing to talk to us as we walked. (Did you ever go to an instructor's office?) Oh no, I didn't go to the office at all!!!"[1] (I3)

This account tells the story of what the other students were missing, either out of shyness or because they were attending to the strict business of course work. It is worth noticing, however, that it is this student (I3) who was an early transfer out of Hawthorn. Although she enjoyed herself tremendously that first year, all this contact with fellow students and faculty did not manage to provide her with an acceptable orientation to her college career. As we have seen earlier (p. 143) she left in order to find something to learn....

There might have been still another reason for her departure. In the interview when she comments on a list of possible "college goals", she reacts in the following manner to the item which reads, "changing yourself":

> "I'll never forget the first time I went to a class. It was Hygiene, the first semester. And he had written on the board, "We don't want to teach you anything, we just want to change your way of thinking." And I though: "Oh-oh, I don't want to change my way thinking. I want to be the same person. I don't want to be a snob, or be somebody else that I'm not. I want to learn something." Now I realize that it does change your way thinking, you know, without any resentment; plus you learn something. But that was annoying to me at the time. At the time I was interested in learning something." (I3)

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[1] This last exclamation is revealing of an additional element of complexity in the student-instructor relationship. Although this student valued highly the contact with instructors, she would never have presumed to go see them in their office. Part of the student's expectation is that the instructor will come to her.

## A reluctance to be influenced

This reluctance at the thought of being influenced is found in almost all of the students in Set III. Sometimes it expresses itself as a resistance to giving anyone too close access to oneself:

> "How can anyone know me, when deep down I don't know 100% of myself? I shy away from close relations. I want to learn to know me before anyone else does." (E3)

Yet, as we shall see a little later, this student admits having been deeply influenced. Another device for protesting one's independence is to state that one has changed, but that the change was not caused by college experience:

> "I've changed very much in my taste pattern; my interest in styles of wardrobe, mannerisms, etc. Also as far as confidence in myself. My job has done this for me.
> (and a little later) "I don't think that they (the faculty) have geared my thinking in any particular direction or changed my mind in any way." (B3)

Two students indicate that they feel that things learned in college shouldn't be taken too seriously. One of them laughs at the thought that college should have either clarified or obscured his self-image (J3). At the end of his first year he had this to say about the impact of the Natrual Science course:

> "The part on evolution brought up interesting ideas. I had thought the Bible was correct but now I think about things which the Bible does not explain and I wonder about it.
> (However, he adds, 'It did not change me') ...not really. I didn't give it much thought. I just accepted the fact that there were other lines of thought and let it go."
> (J3, 1960)

But the statement which seems to express most clearly these students' reluctance to change at the hands of the college staff is this:

> "The instructor can try (to influence his students.) It's up to the student to either accept or reject the ideas presented.
> Religion is something personal, no matter what college you are at. If you're going to change, you're going to change anyway. Hawthorn isn't going to make you change and neither is any other college. As you get older you're going to change anyways.
> I don't think I've gained anything that I didn't already have." (M3)

Yet, when the list of "college goals" is discussed with this student, she says of the goal "changing yourself," "It's very important."

How can one interpret this set of answers? An expression of fatalism; change just happens, brought about by time? a belief that change occurs only by means of conscious decisions where various alternatives are calmly considered by the individual? I think rather that the underlying assumption of these students is that an individual is a self-contained being whose main resources lie within himself. As a tree grows into a unique configuration, so does an individual, developing whatever he "already has." Hence, Student I3's desire primarily is to learn- for her, things learned settle in the mind as liquid settles in a jar, assuming the shape which is already there. Hence also, the inability of those students to connect all the conversation, all the exchange of ideas and viewpoints, with their own business of learning. For them interaction is external to the self. Finally, the scandal at seeing grown-up instructors incapable, to all appearances, of giving a clear account of what they must have decided to convey to their students. The notion that the faculty could define its role as responding to the students' mind, to the students' thinking, is as foreign as can be to the naive individualism of this set of students.[1]

Resistance to change being so strong among them, it is no wonder that these students tend to stick most closely to their original career plans. The very tone in which students in Set III, at the end of four years, speak of their future, still echoes the determination which must have been theirs from the very start:

> "I had never been exposed to social science or the arts before college. I've always wanted to be a doctor and always concentrated on the bio-chemical courses before. (Failing to become a doctor would be giving up) everything I really wanted." (F3)
>
> "I'm going to be a doctor. Nothing is going to stop me now." (E3)

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[1] We are so used to thinking of the intellectual life in terms of sharing, of exchange, of dialogue, that I find it hard to keep the opposite view in focus, though it is clearly expressed by students in this set. One must remember that, with their kind of family background, they must not have experienced the give and take of ideas as an essential aspect of their socialization. One can speculate that this has resulted both in a view of the self as existing on its own, and in a view of ideas as things which are passed from one person to another, not as ways of relating to one another.

> "It seems I've been in school all my life. I'm most accustomed to it. I can't see myself in any other role.... I can't see myself in an office job." (D3)

> "I came here to be a teacher. If I had just come to have some fun for four years, then I would have chosen Hawthorn over Education. But I came here to be a teacher.
> I came here to be a teacher. And I really believe this, that I gained that knowledge here. It was really a realization of a dream for me." (I3)

Another student who has not wavered from his course is the graduate from the School of Business Administration. At no place does he give a clear statement of his determination, but the tone of his interview is permeated with it. He has been aiming all along for a "top management" job and has carefully planned his college career to that end.

Can we say that a firm vocational orientation tends to sustain the student from low education background who has poor entrance scores? I think we can. It is not a sufficient condition of success in college, but it appears to be a necessary one. Students in Set III might have been told that if they tried hard they could achieve their goals of becoming a teacher, or even a doctor. They came determined to try hard and some of them made it.[1]

A variety of results

This singleness of purpose must not lead us to presume, however, that these students were not really affected by their experience in Hawthorn. Those who graduated from Hawthorn definitely were. The one most eloquent in his account is Student E3:

> "It has started me on a path where, if I take Liberal Arts courses, I feel that Hawthorn has helped me understand more. I go to the library and read books having nothing to do with my major and find it interesting.
> It is difficult to evaluate my values before I came. I think that they are about the same. But I now feel more

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[1] This stubborn determination could as well be the result of an adult's trying to convince them that their goals were not realistic:

> (What have been the high points of the year?) "Getting two A's ....a high school instructor had said, 'You couldn't get an A in City.'.....buckling down and realizing the value of what I was learning." (D3, 1960)

> mature. I know what I want out of life. (Any change?) No, I feel more mature and set in my values than I did before I came, and perhaps more aware of my values. It has made me appreciate my own background. I looked at what type of individual I am, what kind of person my parents want me to be. I think any college student would have to look at himself. (an example) As far back as I can remember my parents wanted me to be a M.D. Now, after four years of college, I have developed my own reasons for wanting to be a M.D.
>
> (Does Hawthorn tend to uproot a person religiously?) I don't think so. In the last two years Hawthorn has not pushed this. If a person has strong convictions he will not be changed....I believe as I did four years ago, only more deeply and with more conviction. This is because I have had time to learn why I believe the way I do. The whole aspect of learning to think for yourself, reading, talking to others, all helped. You learn that others feel as you do. You learn that your own convictions are as good as any alternative. Therefore, you end up believing more in your own faith.
>
> I have become more ready to use my capacities and talents. I learned things about myself. I don't try to sit down and analyze myself. You get to know yourself through learning to think for yourself. I realize that there are certain things I want, and feel I need. Hawthorn has opened a window for me. It has given me new things to enjoy, and taught me about the many good things in life." (E3)

One should recall that Student E3 must have been under tremendous pressure just to acheive the minimum academic success giving him access to medical school. In spite of this pressure, of his lack of acquaintance with the world of higher educations, and of his low entrance scores, he not only graduated, but became actively engaged in incorporating the traits and values of an educated man as well.

The two other Hawthorn graduates show a different impact of the college on the outlook of students in this set. They seem to have accepted ideas and values more passively, while their energies were focused on the job of doing their school work as well as possible. This results in a much greater feeling of uprooting from family and religion or ethic than in the case of the student above. Still one must notice that these two students do not see those changes as a loss but as a matter of having grown up.

> (any development in your values or ideals?) "Of course! You're exposed to a completely different type of life. It's a whole enlightening process, everything unfolds. What do you know when you get out of high school?

> (Hawthorn) serves both functions; it gives a person an appreciation, an understanding of his own background. He may become dissatisfied with what he understands and therefore become uprooted.... with knowledge sometimes comes uneasiness. It has raised a lot of questions which I'd ordinarily never have thought about. If you deviate from your basic philosophy you throw your life in a quandary.
> (on religion) (Hawthorn) tends to drive you towards atheism. The more knowledgeable one becomes, the less he tends to believe in the supernatural." (F3)

> "When I first came, I was very shy- tied to my mother's apron strings- more so than other students. The university life has changed me. I see my (original) 'right and wrong' system as arbitrary. I don't think of everything as absolute any more. I can see past that to other things. I can accept people more for what they are, and not worry about it.[1]
>
> My parents really don't know what I'm doing. For myself, I really don't think I can live there any longer. I'm not interested in my home any longer. It's not an intellectual environment....." (D3)

The three students who transferred out of Hawthorn show much less signs of uprooting. One of them, asked whether her relationship with her parents has changed, answers in surprise:

> "How could it change? They are the same parents they were four years ago." (I3)

Another one mentions that only at home is he truly understood. Still, some disengagement has taken place; desire for social mobility ("It tends to make you set your sights above your own background"); repudiation of racial prejudices of Southern parents; a certain uneasiness ("They find less to talk about, and we're not quite as close as we were before")

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[1] In all fairness to that shy freshman, one should quote from her 1960 interview:

> "If I had known what the Natural Science course was, and they weren't going to give it, I would have wanted it! I couldn't really get along without it- it was not all cut and dried with philosophy lectures on top of it!
> (from the Social Science discussions) I gained more experience in how to look at different readings.... you shouldn't read articles in light of what you think, but from the author's view before you start to criticize." (D3, 1960)

Only in the case of the Hawthorn slow-down who comes from a distinctive ethnic background is there no recognition whatsoever of any discontinuity; no acknowledgement of change in values, but rather appreciation of one's own heritage, closeness to father, strengthening of religion. The student laughs at the question of whether Hawthorn has clarified or confused his knowledge of who he really is. What he is, he has already expressed quite aptly before being asked:

> "I am a refugee and I'm proud of having been able to go to college and make something of myself" (J3)

Such, then, is the picture of the successful students whose parents had little education and whose entrance scores were low; a rugged little band of individuals determined to accomplish their goals, unprepared for any other ordeal than that of hard work; who became amazed, upset, or exasperated when they found out that neither their expectations nor their language matched those of the faculty, yet who clung to some friendly faculty member and slowly found their way- either out of Hawthorn or into Hawthorn's own universe of discourse. But these students remained very much themselves and did not undergo the kind of metamorphosis that students from the same family background but with better college aptitude scores sometimes report.

Let me add that, no matter how much they may use strong language to express their disapproval of faculty or of fellow students, these are not rebels by temperament. On the Bales test which they took in 1959, they are primarily characterized by their high acceptance of authority.[1] Their trouble, if I should speak of trouble at all, was not that they did not want guidance; it is that they expected too much of it. And if they didn't want to be influenced it is not that they were jealous of their own independence, it is that they did not define college as a place which is meant to exercise an influence.

Before closing this discussion, I would like to add a word of warning on the meaning of entrance scores. Among the 16 original entrants in Set III, we have seen that eight can be counted as successful or nearly so. One collected 60 credit hours of A's in Liberal Arts or in Education (out of a total of 180 credit hours required for graduation.) Another student earned 52 credit hours of A's in Hawthorn and an additional 27 credit hours in other courses. These are no small achievements. They easily match the performance of students with much higher entrance scores. Another piece of evidence throwing some doubt on the value of entrance tests is the very quality of the interviews of some of the students in this set. Student I3, whose vivid descriptions (see especially pp. 143,149. ) have contributed uniquely to our understanding of this difficult set of set of students, in 1959 scored 32 in verbal ability (or 2SD below the mean.) It is hard to believe that she could have risen from these lower depths to her genuine gift for words thanks only to four years in college. On this basis, I am very tempted to speculate that entrance tests do not reflect the student's ability to think so much as his ability to take an entrance test. Imagine students who are the first in their family to even think of going to college. As we have seen, they have set goals. They are told that their admission to the foreign land of higher education depends on their performance on tests. It is not surprising that, with so much at stake, they may do more poorly than their real capabilities would enable them to do.[1]

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[1] This factor, in Bales analysis, is made up mostly of items having to do with parent-child relationship, although it includes in a few cases instances of respect for other kinds of authority. The factor with the highest weight reads: "Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn."

The distribution of the students from low education background and with low entrance scores is as follows:
Between 2 & 3 standard deviations above the mean. 1 (Hawth. slow-down)
Between 1 & 2 standard deviations above the mean......7 (3 successful)
Between the mean & 1 standard deviation above.........6 (2 successful)
Between the mean & 1 standard deviation below... . . .2 (2 successful)

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[1] Let me add evidence from the case of a pre-med student who, in spite of his concentrating on his science courses, managed, during his second semester at Hawthorn, to get straight A's from difficult instructors in his social science essay examination and research project. He never came to take the multiple choice, "objective" part of the exam; it seemed as if he just could not stand that kind of experience, as if it were too much of a "test" for him, with all the strength which can be given this word. This same student, at the end of the first year could speak sensibly of the mistakes it takes to achieve any scientific "result"; of the slow process of discovery. It is hard to believe that he was fairly evaluated by test scores which placed him below average in critical thinking, verbal ability, quantitative ability and vocabulary.

## B. THE FAILURES

There are, however, just as many students in Set III whose record is very bad. All of them are women. All went to mediocre high schools. Seven did very poorly during their first year: their average grade was a D in Hawthorn courses (with a range of E to D+), a D+ in Liberal Arts courses (with a range of E to B.) One, Student A3, started well (B- in Hawthorn courses, B in Liberal Arts courses), but kept interrupting her studies so often that after five years she had completed only one-fourth of her requirements for a degree.

One would expect the interviews taken at the end of the freshman year, which we have for six of the students, to be pathetic or bitter or both. Actually they are less pathetic and less bitter than the memories of the successful students. Says one in a matter of fact way:

> "It is a privilege that I was (part of the first group at Hawthorn). I could have done better in Liberal Arts, though, since the courses were more akin to my background." (G3, 1960)

and another:

> "I don't know how successful Hawthorn will be. Most of the kids I talked with about it aren't too satisfied. I was planning to drop out but I don't know. I'm beginning to enjoy it a little more." (L3, 1960)

This surprising finding suggests that the awful tale of confusion and bewilderment which we heard in the preceding section is the poetic reconstruction of a crisis which was being resolved, at least in part, as it was experienced. Nothing was making sense, and yet meaning was emerging. The juxtaposition of the feeling of lack of understanding and of actual understanding is illustrated in the following comments on "learning":

> "I couldn't understand the Hawthorn courses and didn't learn anything in it. (yet, a few questions later) I have learned to look at a problem from more than one approach. (again, in a few questions later) In Liberal Arts I learned something concrete." (K3, 1960)

and again:

> (on the intent of the Hawthorn courses) "Trying to make you think for yourself rather than making you learn something. (A few questions later) "In Liberal Arts courses I understood what I was doing; in the accounting courses (things were) either right or wrong. In the Social

> Science course (at Hawthorn) it doesn't seem any
> way is right or wrong." (G3)

## The Beginning of Understanding

Learning, of course, is defined by both of these students as filling their head with material ("learning something concrete") of testable quality (the notion of "right or wrong"). Thinking and learning are two altogether different things. And yet, in Student K3's interview, there appear some flittering signs of analytic capacity:

> "I like the purpose of the college, but they didn't achieve what they set out for....
> I liked the small classes, but I don't like to talk, so I didn't get along well.
> I liked ________(Social Science instructor). I'd have gotten more out of class if I had her in the first semester too. She had no personal opinion, though. She was more like the teachers I had in high school.
> I liked ______(Natural Science instructor) as a teacher but not as a person." (K3, 1960)

All these distinctions indicate that the student does not react on the basis of feelings and clichés alone. She has indeed learned to look at a question from several angles.

Student G3 shows more specifically what she got and what she did not get from her studies:

> (from Natural Science) "Evolution made me think how man evolved, it put the conflict in mind re church vs science.
> (Has the Natural Science course altered your way of thinking?) Not greatly, it has caused me to look at things differently and to think more deeply.
> (Social Science) ...made me look at things. I never thought of society as separate groups.
> (Has the Social Science course altered your way of thinking?) Yes. I see more fault with things. I used to accept and now I question why." (G3, 1960)

Again, none of this contains a great insight, but the statements and their tone indicate that the student has been listening, has got some general notion of what was expected of her, and has tuned in to some extent. The situation is far from one of total lack of communication.

In a different style, Student #3 manifests that she too has been reached:

> (Has the Natural Science course altered your way of thinking?) "Yes, logic did. It made me think that the first answer is not always the true answer.
> (on one of the early parts of the Social Science course) If I had not read the Relation readings, I would have no idea of what they said. You wouldn't think of it. I got to debating, was it true or not, even after I read it.
> (What would you change, if you could start again?) My way of studying. I would know what's expected of me and what to do." (P3, 1960)

Making the student "debate in his mind, was it true or not", after he read a text was an important goal of Hawthorn. Even if Student P3 had difficulty with the quantity and difficulty of the readings, she was responding to them in essentially the right way.

Student 03, whom I shall quote at length below, echoes the same general attitude:

> (on the intent of the Natural Science course) "I think what they was trying to do (sic) was get you interested in going further in it. To give you the inspiration to see if you like it and then go ahead.
> (on the intent of the Social Science course) So much is happening in the world. It's to call your attention to (questions such as) why is someone else different than you. Then too, it gets you interested in reading other kinds of material besides regular school work... (on its impact) I began to think about more things. I ask myself more questions now than I would before." (03, 1960)

Same general attitude, but what a difference. Student 03 is more personally involved than the others, her response is more active, more imaginative.[1] One of her comments may well convey a genuine insight into the early years of Hawthorn:

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[1] It is interesting that this student, who seems to have been on the verge of becoming one of the successful ones, makes it clear, as they did, that she did not intend to be influenced:

> "I enjoyed Evolution." (Did it alter your way of thinking?) "No, I was reading some things about God. I just read it and forgot it. I didn't want to change my ideas." (03, 1960)

> "The purpose of Hawthorn is to have the teacher stay in the background. And when the teachers do stay in the background, which they didn't this year, then Hawthorn will have achieved what it set out to do."
> (03, 1960)

Student A3, the extreme slow-down, comes closest to making sense out of Hawthorn. She even seems to have overcome the common definition of learning we encountered before:

> (What kind of person would you encourage to come to Hawthorn?) "A person who wants to learn; to study and know about people.
> (on the impact of the study of atomic theory) I felt I was learning the history of our sciences. I was very absorbed in it.
> (on the influence of the Natural Science course) It has made me more mature. I stop and think about things now. It has made me interested in new subjects.
> (on the intent of the Social Science course) I have no idea. I tried to understand what and why they were teaching us, and couldn't. I couldn't see the relationship between what we did and what we read."
> (A3, 1960)

Even her admission of defeat in figuring out the meaning and intent of the Social Science course is expressed in terms which make sense; she was looking for something which was the right thing to look for. Contrast her response with the complete inarticulateness of another answer to the same question:

> "I really don't know. I don't know. I never thought of it that way." (L3, 1960)

Yet, even Student L3 goes on to admit some benefit, and to point out where the trouble lay:

> "... Now, I haven't learned that much, but what I have, I guess it helps. I look at things differently. I just wasn't ready for it or any part of college, I guess." (L3, 1960)

## The Obvious Problems: Background and Time

The lack of "background" is the unanimous diagnosis the unsuccessful students have of their troubles.[1]

> (re: the most difficult part of the Natural Science course) "The theory of numbers. I had no background in math." (K3, 1960)
>
> (same question) "I didn't have a good high school background of math in high school. I didn't have too much algebra. Hawthorn was hard for me, I didn't believe it would be that hard. I wouldn't say the courses were demanding. Mostly I would say I didn't have the background to be a student at Hawthorn right away." (P3, 1960)
>
> "I am dropping out at the end of the semester. I don't have the interest in college that I should have. I don't feel that I have the background for college. I took the commercial course in high school. (The parts of the Natural Science course) were all difficult. I had no background in math or science. Science could be explained and I understood it, but math didn't come through. It was not the intructor ... an excellent teacher." (G3, 1960)
>
> "I feel proud to be a Hawthorn student. (Yet) I think I should be in another program. I don't think I have the background for it." (03, 1960)

What do the students mean by "background" (a word which I often use myself in this chapter without having even raised the question of its meaning)? They mean knowledge of material which is necessary for the understanding of something else; thus, algebra is background for a course in mathematics. But they also mean a familiarity with a certain way of thinking, which makes it easy, natural even, to "see" problems, to perceive the elements of their solution, to "know" the right answer from the wrong one. Finally, "background" seems to denote a capacity to enjoy the challenges of learning. This is how "background for college" and "interest in college" can be almost synonymous for student G3.

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[1] The successful students in Set III who transferred early said the same thing in their 1960 interviews:

> "The Hawthorn student is required to think abstractly. He must have an inquiring mind, and he should have a science background." (I3, 1960)
>
> "I had no background for Natural Science in high school." (M3, 1960)

It is interesting to discover how the theme of background and the theme of time are inextricably intertwined by our unsuccessful students. The whole interview of Student 03, in particular, is a succession of variations on these themes:

> (What kinds of problems would you tell an incoming Hawthorn freshman to look for?) "He needs a lot of time to do the work. If you don't have the time, it is very difficult.
> (What kind of person would you encourage to come to Hawthorn?) I would say someone who"s smart; a person who likes to read, read all the time. They should be interested in science, especially in social science.
> (Have you thought about transferring , and why?) "I don't have enough time for Hawthorn. I haven't any algebra and they give me astronomy. It's hard. I don't seem to be learning anything that's of benefit to me. When we have an exam, I just have to memorize everything. That's no way to learn.
> (Do you think you will stay to complete your B.A.?) If I don't flunk anything I'll stay; but if I feel it's too much then I'll transfer. Sometimes I think I should get out while the getting is good (sic).
> (Which part of the Natural Science course did you find most difficult?) Astronomy. I didn't understand the readings. I understand it now that I'm through; but at the time I didn't understand it.
> I enjoyed Evolution. I had never given it much thought. It was interesting to learn about what we might have looked like before. It was the only subject that made me want to read more. The others, I was glad to get through with.
> (Which part of the Social Science course did you find most difficult?) Complex Organization. After reading the material, I didn't know.[1] Some of those readings were awful difficult. To really understand it I would have to take a half-hour to read two or three pages.
> (Which do you feel tires you more- work or school?) School; sometimes work. It all depends... traveling all those buses is what gets me." (03, 1960)

What is time? Time is how much you can spend studying, if you are working your way through college, and have to travel by bus (i.e. wait, stand, transfer.) Time is how absorbed you get in what you are doing, how far you can carry your initial interest (do you like to read all the time?). Time is before the examination, when you have to fill your head as much as you can- and after the examination, when you start to understand-- too late. Time is when to make a decision, in particular a decision to change- should you try a little longer to pursue the higher prize, or should you adjust your aim as soon as feed-back comes in. Time is what happened before, of which you know so little, and about which there is so much to know. Time is the yardstick of your ability to perform; its unrelenting pace brings home to you the grim realization that you just can't make it- not if it takes you forever to absorb the content of a few pages of readings.

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[1] This is clarified by her comment on the parts she enjoyed: "Relations and Small Groups. Socialization. After reading them, I could look around and see where they applied. A lot of these things in Social Science you could put your hand on and understand better than Natural Science which left you up in the air." (03, 1960)

If we are trying to get a feeling for the traumas of students from poorly educated homes who scored poorly on entrance tests, we might well apply ourselves to the way in which time is experienced by them. Typically, I think, for the college instructor, and to some degree for the "good" student, understanding is instantaneous; what is communicated is supposed to be grasped, judged, assimilated on the spot. As a corollary, a period of time is valued in terms of the amount and quality of stimuli which it offers for quick response by the mind.[1] The poorly prepared student cannot adjust to this rhythm. As the "best" of our eight unsuccessful girls puts it:

> "On the one hand, Hawthorn takes more time to get full benefit."

On the other hand, one's efforts to catch up are experienced as alternative ups and downs:

> (What have been the high points of the year?) "When I finally understood calculus. Also when I was finally able to get up and speak in speech class.
> (What have been the low points?) The time prior to understanding the courses. When I was lost, didn't know what we were doing." (A3, 1960, emphasis mine)

The peculiarly haunting specter of time appears even in the way in which the better prepared students are seen by one of the unsuccessful underprivileged in this sequence of queations and answers:

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[1] Hence the tendency of instructors to see to it that each week be "filled" with new readings; and that written assignments propose new tasks of intellectual exercise in rapid succession.

> (describing Hawthorn students) "Some are nice, but some are snobs about being in Hawthorn.
> (What do you think about what goes on at the student center?) "It's okay. I just don't see where they find the time, but they seem to get the best marks. They are there constantly, but they must be smart to get such good grades.
> (What are they most concerned about?) Hawthorn, the classes; how it's going to work out.
> (What are you most concerned about?) Only if I'm going to be able to stay in school." (K3, 1960)

## The Only Asset: the Dedication of the Faculty

The reliance on the faculty's willingness to listen and to explain is all the more striking in view of the gulf which separates their mental habits and those of the unsuccessful students. Student P3 makes the point awkwardly yet eloquently:

> (The "success" of Hawthorn means) "good faculty people to understand the students, because Hawthorn is hard and if the students don't understand the instructor, they can't get along. It puts Hawthorn down. If the students don't get anything from instructors they will drop Hawthorn.
> (Success means then?) Good instructors, good counseling. It's up to the students to make Hawthorn a success, to do their best." (P3, 1960)

The responsibility of the students is taken for granted, mentioned only under probing. But it is up to the faculty *to see to it that* the students can do their best.

Here are some of the comments which spell out the demands on the faculty:[1]

> "Mr. _____ (Social Science instructor) is very nice. Nice, he has a good character. He understands you, has a pleasant personality. He can talk to anyone with no differentiation. Mr. ______(Natural Science instructor) is a nice person. He's hard, though, in his way of teaching; very explicit in what he says. He's always eager to talk to anybody, always with a smile. He's not grouchy or anything. I wouldn't be afraid to talk to him." (P3, 1960)

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[1] I underline the various aspects which each student picks up.

"______(Natural Science instructor) didn't like me because I did not understand the course. And she canceled my appointment when I was to see her about my failing mark." (K3, 1960)

"I think ________(Social Science instructor) is a nice person and he tries hard to help us and make us want to be interested in the social science. He's very dedicated to his work.
I don't think ________(Natural Science instructor) makes a good discussion leader. He can't keep the discussion going at all. I have attended other discussion sessions. Mr. ________, he makes it interesting.
Other than attending classes, I never speak with them."
(L3, 1960)

(Natural Science discussions) "gave me a better understanding of lectures. An excellent teacher. He made things clear.
(Social Science discussions) I got nothing during the first semester. I didn't like the instructor. He would only discuss his project at _____ University... perhaps he contributed to my bad feeling about the beginning.
(favorite faculty member) seems to have a personal interest in every student; awfully sweet. (But, when asked about faults) She is forgetful."
(G3, 1960)

(Natural Science discussions) "If I have problems, I'd try to talk to my instructor. But he wans't much help. I still don't feel free to express myself.
(Natural Science instructor) The only objection I have to him, he talks very fast and doesn't seem too sure of himself. The only thing I don't like about him, he gets too involved in things not pertaining to the class. He just talks and talks. He gives you the impression that he thinks he's perfect.
(Social Science discussions) This semester I haven't gotten anything out of them. I don't think my instructor this semester likes working with students. He acts like his way of thinking is the only way.
Mr. ________(Social Science instructor) never seems to have time, whereas Mr. ________(Natural Science instructor) will go all out to ask when it's convenient for you. But Mr. ________(Social Science instructor), you'll have to see him when it's convenient for him.

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[1] She says elsewhere that she "didn't enjoy the social science."

(Other Social Science instructor) He is very understanding and he does not beat around the bush. He'll come right out and tell you." (O3, 1960)

"Mr. ______(Social Science instructor) is very different; too meek. Not the kind of person who makes much of an impression. But a good instructor. He made the subject interesting.[1]
Mrs. ___________(Natural Science instructor) has a wonderful mind, is well educated, knows how to get the subject matter across to students. She is the type of person I admire , her speaking and her understanding (are) the type I have respect for." (A3, 1960)

The composite picture of the ideal instructor staggers the imagination. The instructor must treat all students equally well, no matter how successful they are. He should go out of his way to make them feel welcome, especially if they have received a bad grade recently (lest they feel he does not like them or has no time for them.) He must make the discussions interesting to the students without speaking too much, especially not about any favorite project of his. He must listen, and understand what the students have to say, especially if they find it difficult to express themselves. He shouldn't act the superior being, but he should not be too meek either. He should be "nice", but he should also come right out and say clearly what he has to say (especially by way of criticism or advice, I presume.) He should take a personal interest in all students, and at the same time not overcommit himself and lose track of things. The range of demands does not reflect differences among the students; they would all agree on these demands. What it reflects is the depth and complexity of the needs.

These students, as they readily recognize, are not prepared to start college. Their families, usually close-knit, have no idea of what college is like, and only the most elementary ideas of what it is for. The shock of transition from high school is bound to be severe:

"I did nothing but study all during school, and I still failed. I didn't have to do much in high school. It was a shock to see how much I had to do here. Also teachers and their methods are very different." (K3, 1960)

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[1] This student thought of transferring because of her dislike for the Social Science course.

> "I studied hard in high school, but I didn't here... I couldn't sit down and do my work. My mind wouldn't stay on it. (When I get bad grades) I just sit and worry rather than do something about it...." (L3, 1960)

> "We were told what to do in high school. In college they left it up to you. This isn't good for me since I shirk responsibility if it's my decision." (G3, 1960)

The shock is so severe that, whatever form it takes, the student starts falling behind, and gets caught in the vicious circle of collecting poor grades and worrying himself into a paralysis of the mind and of the will.

As we noticed before, Hawthorn is equipped to educate, and to educate well, students from uneducated families even coming from mediocre high schools, and with poor entrance scores as long as they were able to get passing grades during their freshman year. It is the failing student with whom it could not cope, in spite of the best mutual intentions.[1]

It is a little sad that the girl who said:

> "My dad reads pocket books about slave girls, Mother reads Good Housekeeping and the newspapaer. I'm interested in novels, some of the classics... " (G3, 1960)

had to drop out of Hawthorn at the end of her freshman year.

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[1] This raises, of course, the question of grading; its basis, its value, its impact on students. The present study does not tell me whether the students who received poor grades were properly evaluated, early in their career, as incapable of serious academic work; or whether it was the fact that they received poor grades that made it impossible for them to achieve academic success ever. There is little doubt, from our data, that the bad grades had the effect of awakening the students, albeit rather brusquely, to some of the facts of life of higher education- the need for time, for quiet and concentration, for hard work. On the other hand, grades are often given by instructors on a rather intuitive basis. If they recognize in the student a mind akin to theirs, he gets a good grade. If they cannot make sense of his reasoning, or detect a lack of interest in the topic, he gets a bad grade. Such a global diagnosis tells little except that the student is like or unlike the instructor (which the student can easily interpret as being liked or disliked by him.) What the student needs is an insight into his own strengths and weaknesses; otherwise he finds himself in front of a rather uncomfortable dilemma- should he do more of the same? should he do somethings entirely different, and if so, what?

## CONCLUSION ON ALL STUDENTS FROM LOW EDUCATION BACKGROUND WHATEVER THEIR TEST SCORES

There are important differences between the three sets we have studied so far. One could look at these differences, however, as variations on the same theme, or rather, on a few main themes.

First, what do they expect from college? In both Set I and Set III, students change their orientation but little. In Set II they change it to a much larger extent. Is some strange variable with a U-shaped distribution hidden here? I do not think so. It seems rather that the problem common to all these students is that they know nothing about college. Those who do well on their entrance tests must have been singled out by high school teachers who gave them confidence that they could succeed in what they undertook- hence their assurance. Those who do poorly on their entrance tests might well have faced the skepticism of high school teachers or counsellors or university admission officers about their chances in college. These students might cling all the more to their plans (with the no less stubborn encouragement of their parents) as if the will to succeed were the surest guarantee of success. Thus, students in both Set I and Set III act in ignorance of their alternatives. Students in Set II, whose capacities are more ordinary, may feel that their destiny lies less exclusively in their own hands. They are more willing to look around them, to take into account the feedback of grades, to pay attention to what they actually like to do. Not all of them take advantage of this favorable latitude. Some may feel that indecision, hesitation between alternatives, should be shunned as the mark of the adolescent. They may consider that a firm, irreversible choice of career will bring them close to adult status. All in all, considering the tendency of an ill-educated family to be very much unprepared for what Erikson calls the "psycho-social moratorium" of adolescence, it is remarkable that we have found so many students who do redefine their goals.

Second, the strangeness of Hawthorn. Students in Set III, as we have just seen, are the most pathetic in their dismay. But what is at the heart of their trouble is present in Set II and even in Set I. Those very facts which students in Set III are so distraught not to be able to get into their heads, students in Set I are systematically learning in courses outside Hawthorn. All our students from poorly educated families hold the view that the mind is a container to be filled, rather than a power to develop in perpetual interchange. The cry for structure and clarity comes from them all.

Third, the importance of work.[1] Students in Set III have to work very hard if they want to achieve any degree of sucess. Students in Set I do not have to work but want to (unless they are of the small subset who have thrown caution to the wind.) Students in Set II are again in the intermediary position which gives them greater freedom of choice. They don't have to work as much as do students in Set III; they don't like to work as much as students in Set I. Some of them react to this situation of uncertainty by proclaiming how much they want (or need) to work. Others react by exerting themselves only if and when the work is relevant to them-if it makes sense. This explains that Set II furnishes the clearest indication of the conflicting ethos of work and meaning.[2]

Finally then, what is Hawthorn for all these students from a poorly educated background? Clearly, Hawthorn is various things to various people. For a few students it has been a good "general" supplement, something not to be taken too seriously; not something which should turn him into an intellectual or alter his values or his career goals. For some it has been a mistake, taking him away from his goals, giving him a too light or too heavy diet; not what he was looking for, though some aspects of it might have been enjoyable or even helpful. For some, on the contrary, it has been something which has oriented or reoriented him; and has given him life, a chance to find himself or his better self. For a larger number still, it has been something which gave him a sense of standards, and an orientation (mostly intellectual). He received his professional training largely elsewhere, but still he appreciates the opportunity Hawthorn gave him to develop his own ideas, and make fresh approaches to his own values.[1]

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[1] I mean by this, not a job, but the disciplined regular grind of study.

[2] Cf above, pp. 112-113.

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[1] This is how I would distribute the fifty students from poorly educated background:

a) Students L2, Q2, Z2, H3, N3; unclassifiable for lack of interview
b) Students B1, F1, C2, G2, H2, N2, T2, G3, I3, K3, L3, P3; they did not adjust to Hawthorn.
c) Students J2, R2, O3; they would have adjusted to Hawthorn, but lacked preparation or time.
d) Students D2, K2, P2, W2, Y2, A3, B3, C3, J3, M3; Hawthorn served them minimally (i.e. less than it intended).
e) Students E1, G1, A2, F2, I2, S2, V2; Hawthorn served them maxmally (i.e. more than it intended.)
f) Students A1, C1, D1, B2, E2, H2, M2, O2, U2, X2, D3, E3, F3; Their response is what Hawthorn was aiming for. It is a measure of Hawthorn's success that this last subgroup should be as large as it is; and even more that it should comprise students from a broad spectrum of talent.

## SET FOUR

## STUDENTS WITH A LOW CAPACITY TO PERFORM FROM EDUCATED BACKGROUND

The last group for consideration is a small set of eight students. The range in their test scores[1] differs from that of Set III only in that it does not quite reach the same lower depths. Table 5 gives the basic details.

It seems to me that, next to students whose family has little idea of what college is like, students whose talent could not match their parents' expectations present the college with its greatest challenge. These students do not lack a model, they have one which is inaccessible to them. The question here becomes: did the college provide these students with the opportunity to redefine themselves, find their own calling, pursue goals?

Set IV consists of two men and six women. Two women transferred out of Hawthorn during the first year, then dropped out of school altogether during the following semester. The rest stayed In Hawthorn: two men and two women graduated; two women slowed down. Three graduates have changed their oreintation quite drastically, while a woman has pursued her plans to become a primary school teacher. The slow-downs have stuck to their original plans (science and medicine.) The drop-outs did not budge from their intention of becoming school teachers during their short stay in school.

Let us note that these students did not come from better high schools than students from a low education background taken as a whole. Within Set IV it is as if the higher the education of the parents, the lower the rating of the high school to which they sent their child. On the other hand, the quality of high school, in this set as in previous ones, seems to be completely unrelated to the quality of the student's performance, whether on entrance tests or during the first year of college or at the end of four years.

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[1] Additional data of interest (including date of interview used)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A4(1963) | stayed in Hawthorn | graduated late | ordinary (C) |
| B4(1963) | stayed in Hawthorn | graduated late | excellent(B-) |
| C4(1960) | transferred early | slowed-down | poor(C-) |
| D4(1963) | stayed in Hawthorn | graduated late | excellent (B) |
| E4( -- ) | transferred early | dropped out early | poor(C-) |
| F4(1963) | stayed in Hawthorn | slowed-down | poor(C-) |
| G4(1963) | stayed in Hawthorn | slowed-down | poor (C) |
| H4(1963) | stayed in Hawthorn | graduated late | ordinary (C) |

TABLE 5

SOME DATA ON STUDENTS IN SET IV

| ST. | TCT[a] | VERBAL[b] ABILITY | QUANT.[c] ABILITY | VOCABULARY[d] | QUAL. OF HS | FATHER'S EDUCATION | MOTHER'S EDUCATION | FATHER'S OCCUPATION | MOTHER'S OCCUPATION |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A4 | 29 | 44 | 31 | 40 | 1 | law degree | some HS | lawyer | -- |
| B4 | 32 | 44 | 26 | 39 | 3 | col. grad. | some col. | biochemist | -- |
| C4 | 33 | 37 | 26 | 42 | 2 | col. grad. | some HS | ins. agent | -- |
| D4 | 26 | 42 | 36 | 30 | 3 | eng. degr. | some col. | engineer | -- |
| E4 | 21 | 37 | 31 | 37 | 2 | col. grad.[e] | HS grad. | account. | -- |
| F4 | 21 | 36 | 32 | 35 | 3 | M.D. | grad. deg. | M.D. | -- |
| G4 | 19- | 45 | 21 | 39 | 2 | M.D. | col. grad. | M.D. | -- |
| H4 | 28 | 31- | 31 | 29- | 2 | eng. deg. | some HS | engineer | -- |

a) mean score of 1959 Hawthorn entrants = 34; standard deviation = 7

b) mean score = 50; standard deviation = 9

c) mean score = 38; standard deviation = 10

d) mean score = 43; standard deviation = 7

-)-indicates a very low score (at least 2 standard deviations below the mean.)

e) data given for uncle, who is student's guardian

Examining the interviews of the six students who stayed in Hawthorn, I will first look at the traits they have in common, and contrast these to the traits I detected among the students whose entrance test scores were equally low, but who came from poorly educated backgrounds. Then, I will examine the case of each student in turn; starting with those whose parents were most highly educated, to gauge the range of problems and of solutions available to students whose ability does not match their parents' achievement.

## A. COMPARISON BETWEEN TWO SETS OF LOW SCORERS: SET III AND SET IV

It is striking to read the interviews of these students coming from educated families immediately after studying those in Set III. Both groups of students who were interviewed made scores on entrance tests very similar in range; hence, their problems in adjusting to the academic tasks should have been equally grave. Actually, on several important points, the reactons of the students from highly educated families are the polar opposites to the reactions of students from poorly educated families. Where students in the previous category displayed a sense of frustration even of threat; here we find ease. Where there was suspicion of the faculty's motives and practices; here we find a remarkably accurate perception of them. Where there was resentment of snobbish fellow students, here there is tolerance and understanding.[1] I will document in some detail this overall impression.

### Instead of bewilderment, easy adjustment

The only complaint one hears from this new set of students is about the amount of work. Describing her problems in adjustment, the student with the wrost test scores simply says:

> "I knew the mechanics of Hawthorn, the lectures and discussion periods, but I had a little trouble adjusting to the work load. But after the first year I became adjusted. I found it was mainly up to you to go to the instructors to find out what was going on. That was my biggest problem, the requirements of each class.
> If one puts oneself totally into the work, he can gain a great deal from attending Hawthorn." (H4)

Notice the matter-of-fact tone. No hint of disorientation and despair- the same thing is true of other students whose scores are also among the lowest:

> "My major problem was with Social Science. I had no difficulty with instructors. The difficulty was in keeping an interest going in the subject." (G4)

> (My problem was) "just with the great quantities of

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[1] The following parallel is drawn from the convergent evidence of five out of the six interviews taken in 1963. The aberrant case will be examined later (p.191.).

> reading matter and adjusting this with your other classes and trying to get papers written and all of this in a short period of time. (Were there other problems?) That was my main problem." (F4)

Not one of these students echoes the complaint, so frequent among those from poorly educated families, that it was impossible to understand what was going on. Instead they see Hawthorn as appealing to their curiosity, as providing them with an incentive to work, as enabling them to work in depth, intelligently, independently. Even the two students who have not yet graduated are very definite on this:

> (spelling out the advice she would give a freshman) "I'd mention the Natural Science Department, the excellent professors, whom to see in case of academic trouble. I'd caution them about being too lackadaisical regarding Hawthorn. The rest must be experienced. There's plenty of room at Hawthorn to be independent and, if you want to work, work." (G4)

> "In L.A. you just discuss five plots, whereas in Hawthorn you discuss five plots and everything around it and above it that can be drawn into it. In L.A. you can't do as much and you don't learn as much. The teachers don't go into the subject in depth and are not willing to take the time with you to pursue the subject not directly concerned with the course.
> I think they (Hawthorn) have succeeded. I could see it in the student body as a whole. I can see it in myself. I read a lot more now and I don't have any fear of jumping into a subject I don't know anything about." (F4)

The same theme is found, in more forceful terms, in comments made by Student D4:

> "L.A. is a factory and most of the teachers are mechanics. I'm talking about the lower courses. They teach in a conventional way; they're boring, intellecturally constipated and emotionally too- the two go hand in hand. There are hints of this in Hawthorn, but the classes are smaller and closer knit. There is a more personal relationship with the teachers- more freedom to say what you want. They don't condemn you for thinking as they do in L.A. If you go out on a limb, you won't get chopped down..." (D4)

And again the student least equipped, in terms of entrance scores, on the whole reflects a strangely placid satisfaction with her college experience, insisting as she does on the fact that she knew what to expect and was not disappointed:

> "I think Hawthorn has accomplished its goal. I've been pleased with my education at Hawthorn. It was exactly explained to me before I came. And I found it stimulating and thought-provoking and rewarding." (H4)

While students in Set III were afraid to ask for explanations because somehow these tended to confuse the picture even more, students in the present category could find meaning in what was explained to them. It is plain that they had a command of the teachers' language which the other students were lacking.

Instead of suspicion, trust

Of course, it is not surprising that students from an educated background should have a command of the vocabulary used by their professors; but communication is not only a matter of vocabulary. It also requires that the student be sufficiently free from worry to open his mind to whatever message is intended. One might have expected that students in this set would be paralyzed by the feeling that the faculty had the same high expectations of them as did their parents. But this was not the case. Thus, Student F4, who was under the greatest pressure from her parents, (when asked what they expected from her she answers, "All A's, that's the easiest way to sum it up."), saw the faculty as interested in the long-range development of the students. She speaks of the faculty as exercising only a subtle, almost gentle pressure on students:

> (The faculty wants the student) "to come out better equipped at the end of four years than the regular L.A. student. I mean equipped with the tools that will help him to develop himself ten years from now.
> (When asked whether the faculty wants students to be intellectuals, or bound for graduate school, or committed to a lot of self-change) I think the way they're doing it, the ways they are trying to change you, are done on a constructive basis so that if you don't want to do all three you are still able to do one or the other. I think it has worked for me, because it has presented just enough of the positive aspects of graduate school to encourage you or to give you an incentive to go on. It wasn't forced on you, but it was a subtle, underlying type of thing." (F4)

Granted that this student might still feel some pressure, as is suggested by her switching from "me" to the impersonal "you" in the answer immediately above, there is still a striking contrast between her reaction to her family's expectations and to the expectations of the faculty. Far from being the agents of parents' ambitions, the faculty members are seen as having a kind of alliance with the student herself, and to have given her an opportunity to develop safely at her own pace.

This impression of an alliance is confirmed by other students in this category:

> "It seems like there has been more incentive to me at Hawthorn because of the close contact between the students and the professors. The professors give the student a feeling that if he (the student) does not do well it reflects back on the professor and the other students as well. It tends to make the student work harder." (H4)
>
> (on faculty's goals) "I think that the faculty wants you to make the most of what you are doing right now, and if you do that you can't help being interested in graduate school. They present many viewpoints, hoping that you will find yourself and know where you stand." (G4)
>
> (The faculty's goals are) "to develop in the student an appreciation for learning, and correct knowledge of how to pursue the learning, besides the energy to do so, and also ideas. It has worked for me by encouraging me to keep trying, whatever my goals were." (B4)
>
> "What they (faculty) stress is acquiring something out of school, so the students can make up their own mind about what they want to do. They (faculty) don't really try to push graduate school on anyone. It has worked for me- I know what I want to do. I can make up my mind." (D4)

How far we are from the picture of a faculty scheming to impose its hidden goals on defenseless students! Student D4 could be taken to speak for this whole set of students when he says: "There's a lot of honesty in the teachers,"- a remark which is not inspired by blind trust, for he is aware of the risks which were involved in experimenting in the field of education. "They might have created a monster," he reflects, "but they didn't."

### Instead of resistance, willingness to be influenced

In keeping with this relationship of trust with the faculty, there is a considerable readiness to be influenced by them. Here again the contrast with the previous category of students is striking. Where some of the students from a low education background took pains to say that if they had changed it was just that they had grown older, one from our present category spontaneously denies that this is an adequate explanation:

> "Among the senior class a number of students have very set goals, definite opinions. They value the experience they have had and have gained. They are not the (same) people who entered, and it's not because they've aged. (when asked if her values have developed) Yes, I hope so. I would not be happy if I was the same person as entered. College experience added something to life which a person not in college does not receive, an outlook. Values are not so much changed as sharpened. I know myself better now than when I entered." (G4)

This is not to say that these students did not find themselves shaken up by some of their experiences in college. When asked whether Hawthorn helped her appreciate her own background or tended to uproot her, the same student, G4, goes on to say:

> "Definitely it made me appreciate my own background, and at times I thank God that I have one! I'm thinking especially of a religious-social background. I had a good home, a firm faith to fall back on. (What upset you?) The Social Science course when I first came in. You have to have something to work from, and if you've got nothing, then it's utter confusion. At least I had a background for comparison." (G4)

Other students mention a similar impact:

> "There's so much knowledge that's thrown at you at once. Especially in Social Science and Natural Science, when you start out. Everything seems at first to be on a relative level and if you're not used to it, it can be quite upsetting.
> (with regard to religious uprooting) Yes, I suppose it would. It's easy to see how it could.... by treating everything with a certain objectivity. By treating institutions, like this, of which religion is one. It seems to fit into a pattern and becomes less personal." (D4)

But these same students find that the influence has been a wholesome one. Student D4 concludes his reflection on his own development by saying:

> "Hawthorn has helped me to know who I really am. It has let me develop whatever potential I have." (D4)

Student D4 has completely changed his plans for the future during his years in college. This might account for the definiteness of his statement. Student B4, who has become a teacher, as she planned from the beginning, is much more tentative about herself but reveals thereby how much she does know of the ways in which one develops, and how much she has indeed been free to develop at her own pace:

> (on the question of development in values and ideals) "I have changed my values, but they are not fully developed yet, so I'm not sure in what way (they have changed). I reorganized my values too."
> (for her, the uprooting from her background consisted of) this idea of living not for the material side of life but rather for what you can experience in life, what you can see and what you can learn.
> (on the question of whether Hawthorn clarified or confused the picture of who she is) I think it added confusion, which is always the best way of making you think about it." (B4)

Student G4, when asked this same last question, answers:

> "It helped me to know who I am, where and why I'm going. (What in particular helped?) Affiliation with the faculty of Natural Science. (How?) I feel communion with them- people who know science." (G4)

Now Student G4 had particularly low scores in both the Test of Critical Thinking and in Quantitative Ability. We might well have expected her to feel very threatened by the Natural Science faculty and the difficult material that they had to offer, especially during the first semester (math and logic.) Instead, she found her instructor a real inspiration, felt encouraged by him. The word "communion" which she uses clearly indicates security and a sense of self-fulfillment.

### Instead of thirsting for sympathy, extending sympathy

Still there is something in the relationship between these students and the faculty which is even more surprising; and which is in even greater contrast with the outlook of students from low education background; the amount to which they can take the viewpoint of the instructors, as it were, and express their aspirations, their problems, their values. We find very little emphasis in the interviews of this set of students on the kindness, patience, or friendliness of the faculty. Rather they are seen as first-rate educators, scholars, intellectuals- faced with the difficult task of starting a college:

> "A faculty member, in order to come into a situation like Hawthorn, has to want to be a part of the great challenge Hawthorn is. A professor at Hawthorn would have to be a person interested in improving higher education through independent study.
> (but also) They had to start from scratch as far as buildings, setting up classes, problems of mechanics that would apply to anything new." (H4)

> (The faculty member) "on the whole is an educator. As much as he may protest the response of the students, at times, he is as much interested as the student is. This is why he stays. In the long run these are men and women who must have an interest in the structure and educational view of the college.
> (and on the question of Hawthorn's main problem) The Social Science Department- not its purpose but rather its format." (G4)

Notice how carefully Student G4 distinguishes between purpose and format, while so many students in the previous category doubted the faculty's purpose because they were baffled by the format. But the acuteness of perception goes further. When asked about the characteristics of the faculty, she takes as an example the very type of behavior which could be most misleading- the faculty member who shows disapproval of students' reactions to college policy. *She* knows that one should not take such behavior at face value.

### Instead of resentment of other students, tolerance

Thus far I have shown evidence that the students in Set IV are strikingly at ease in the college, and in their relationships with the faculty. However, what of their relationships with the other students? Shouldn't these students from educated families but with limited ability be particularly susceptible to irritation at the performance and general behavior of more gifted students? No, here again their main trait is understanding the other. Even when snobbishness is mentioned there always follows some statement which partly explains, partly excuses it:

> "I think at times some students try to place themselves above other students- trying to show they know more than the other students- a tendency to have a snobbish feeling. Whether it is fear on their part or confidence I don't know." (F4)

Student F4 goes on to say about small discussion groups:

> "I think they are the best thing that ever happened to a college. They give us a feeling that you are learning more

> than just straight from the book. You are getting knowledge from your instructor and fellow students as well as book-knowledge." (F4)

Not only does she try to understand what led some students to be snobbish, but she shows a great deal of willingness to learn from students who spoke up in duscussions.

Student D4 rather freely mixes criticism, analysis, and praise:

> (at the Hawthorn center) "Students have given Hawthorn a a reputation. I rather like it, as a matter of fact. It's the kind of thing the average college student, the fraternity boy, would look down on. It's a kind of rebellious thing and I'm all for it. It breaks the image of Joe College boy.
> The student community is fairly close knit- they get things done. The community of students I know are between middle-middle class and lower-middle class, and they seem to show this in their thinking. They lack sophistication in their ideas sometimes and they flounder around. Hawthorn does attract a rather psychotic personality sometimes, and it shows in some of the student behavior.
> (re: the center- what if there was no center any more?) It would change. The center is a place where people shout, 'I belong to Hawthorn!' As bad as it is, it's important. It's a little womb where they run around. They feel safe there." (D4)

But also:

> (during a class in L.A.) I sometimes respond when I feel very strongly about something. In L.A. the class is more shocked, and in Hawthorn the class is interested. There's a much more intelligent response in Hawthorn than in L.A. They keep away from silly questions and think before they ask.
> (re: problems in Hawthorn) They had a cheating problem, I believe. I have not noticed any more. The students have a lot of integrity, more than in the other college I've been in." (D4)

One may notice that his criticism is addressed to specific groups of students, while he imputes the good feeling of mutual interest and respect to the whole student body of the college. Let us look at just one more instance:

> (on the question of the college's main problem) "Getting the students to really know each other and trying to foster group cohesion. There was a point where there was a lot of sort of a false appearance put on by some of the students because they thought they were something. Maybe this was in retaliation against the University as a whole.... I've got no concrete answers, but I think if you have this intellectual community that they talk about, you won't have students that act as if they know it all because at that point they should realize that they don't know anything. But I think it's just a stage through which the students pass." (B4)

The result: A Sense of Belonging and of Purpose

Thus, students in this category were willing to tolerate, and to explicate the behavior of fellow students of which they disapproved. I may add, however, that the students in Set IV remained rather isolated from the goings-on in the student body; they were not among the leaders, nor among the vocal ones. Yet, they had a strong sense of belonging to something important, called Hawthorn and participating in a collective effort. Somehow, by the end of four years, they had become a part of the intellectual enterprise, whether it was in science or writing or education. They did not have dreams of grandeur incompatible with their talent. The future teacher says:

> "I think that I can stimulate the minds of young children to go a lot further than I will go probably, and to do so earlier." (B4)

But they had a quiet assurance in the judgements they make on themselves, on others, on ideas. For instance, Student G4, who started with very low scores in TCT and Quantitative Ability, had this to say about the Scientific enterprise":

> (I would define it in terms of) "curiosity. Once a curiosity has been solved (sic) it is no longer a science, it is a fact. But that, on the other hand, is one of the greatest failues of science- it has lost the flexibility of the old school philosophies."
> (G4)

The language is awkward, but the thinking is alive. The same absence of passivity is noticeable in her answer to a completely different kind of question:

> "Small discussion groups are extremely valuable. I've seen it work. It fosters independent intellectual work because you don't rely on your faculty. You rely on your own experience, ability and questions." (G4)

Or again, take her reply to the question of whether Hawthorn should change in order to establish a more favorable image in the community:

> "No. I don't think the type of image Hawthorn wants can be acquired by changing. Hawthorn isn't here to please the overall public. It's to give the students a particular type of education and the effect it has on the community will have to be accepted on their terms (students) as opposed to someone else's." (F4)

This review shows a surprisingly successful outcome for a set of students who seemed to be caught up in a predicament as serious as, though different from, that of students whose families were particularly poorly prepared to provide them with moral support and intellectual understanding throughout their college career. What can be said to throw some light on some of the factors involved in their success? I would like to present the hypothesis that the success we observe cannot simply be ascribed to the "privileged upbringing" of the students from educated background or to the fact that they had "models" of what a college graduate looks like in their immediate environment. I think that I can show some evidence of the importance of the kind of conversation about college that goes on between a student and his educated parents, as opposed to the kind of conversation that goes on between another student and his uneducated parents.

The Conversation Hypothesis

Students from uneducated backgrounds tell us in their interviews that they did complain a lot to their parents about their having too much work, their being confused. In fact, from their remarks then, these students feel that they overdid their complaints to the point that their parents could not be expected to understand what actually happened to them in college, for they cast the parents exclusively in the role of recipients of complaints. At best, then, uneducated parents took sides with their "kids", encouraging them to complete what they had started, to get out of school as soon as they could, to keep their ultimate goal in mind,- all things which could not and did not help the students to enter more deeply into college life. On the other hand, let us imagine the son or daughter of a college or university graduate coming home and speaking about his experience. Can he admit that he is confused, that he does not understand what is going on? Probably not. Rather he has to figure out at least something of what is going on in order to answer his parents' questions in a way which will be at all acceptable to them. He becomes the interpreter of his college to them; it would follow that he should show understanding of his intructors, and even insights into the functioning of the college. Thus forced to make sense of the experience to his parents, he would be more inclined to believe that it really does make sense.

## B. THE NATURE OF FAMILY INFLUENCE

In order to find some evidence relating to the conversation hypothesis, I have ranked all the students in Set IV, starting with the one whose parents are most educated, and I have tried to characterize each student from the standpoint of his relations to his parents and to the college.

1. Student F4, a slow down, comes first. Both her father and mother have a graduate degree. Of their reaction to Hawthorn she says:

> My father has called Hawthorn great, good, all the other superlative adjectives you want to use. But he doesn't feel that I've reached my maximum, or that I'm getting everything out of it. It's fine with (my mother). She goes along with it. She likes it too.
>
> (F4)

Of her parents' expectations of her, she exclaims:

> All A's! That's about the easiest way to sum it up. (Anything else?) The implications behind getting all A's, the blossoming intellect and all that...
>
> (F4)

This student feels at home in the college, as we have seen. However, she is less ready than other students in Set IV to respond at length to questions having to do with the impact the college has had on her. She has not changed her orientation.[1]

2. Student G4 is also a slow down. Her father has a graduate degree, her mother a college degree. They too are enthusiastic about Hawthorn:

> I'm trying to think of a strong enough word... (He thinks it is) absolutely necessary. My mother feels the same way.
>
> (Their expectation of her) They expect me at the most ...to be satisfied with my own work. They know that what I want to do is important to me, so our expectations and disappointments are often the same.
>
> (G4)

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[1] She has pursued her studies in the same major, although not being as successful in it as in her other studies.

Here both parents are very much interested and helpful. The student feels very much at home in the college (p. 179-180), acknowledges its influence on her, is assured in her judgements. She has not changed her vocational orientation in spite of difficulties in reaching her goal.

3. Student D4 is a Hawthorn graduate. His father has a graduate degree, his mother some college education. They approve of Hawthorn:

> He thinks it's pretty good, pretty comprehensive. My mother thinks the same thing.
>
> I suppose they expect that I should get some sort of a job that's lucrative and support myself. (Any thing else?) That I should be happy.
>
> (D4)

This student has found a new orientation for himself in college, and is very satisfied with it. Not only is he graduating; but also he has accumulated 58 credit hours of A's. He is self-assured in his judgements.

4. Student B4 is a Hawhtorn graduate. Her father has a college degree, her mother has some college education. Their reaction is less specific, although favorable:

> My father feels that any education is worthwhile and also that any education offered is good and that it's up to me what I get out of it. Mother feels the same.
>
> They want me just to succeed and be happy. By 'succeed' I mean to reach the height of my capacities and to apply them in some way to better the world. (B4)

This student is at home in Hawthorn, reasonable in her judgements, successful in her studies (she has earned 60 credit hours of A's.) She hasn't changed her orientation.

5. Student H4 is a Hawthorn graduate. Her father has a graduate degree, her mother did not graduate from high school. This disparity is reflected in the parents' reaction to Hawthorn:

> My father has been very interested in Hawthorn. He didn't influence me as far as coming into Hawthorn. But he's been pleased with Hawthorn as I have. He has been especially interested in the essay we have to write the last year. (Why?) He has been very interested in what I've been writing and he thinks this is very good for students, to be put into a situation where they have to do a lot of independent thinking on their own. My mother, I think she feels about the same as my father. She's also interested

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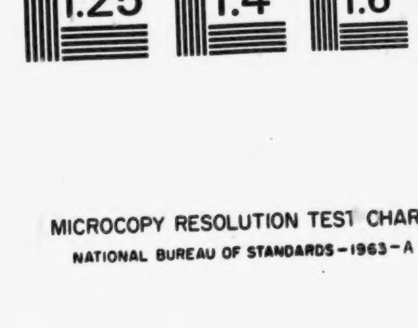
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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

> in my getting a liberal education with an emphasis on something I can do after I graduate.
>
> (H4)

The meaning of this last line is made clearer in the following answer:

> Mainly they want me to be able to provide for my family in the future, if my husband should die, to be able to provide for myself and my children.
>
> (H4)

This student feels at home in college. However, she shows a great deal less self-confidence than the other students in Set IV. She has developed a great prudence, testing herself carefully before undertaking something. She often uses clichés in her answers, as it were, in order to gain time to think. But she has found a new vocational orientation which satisfies her.

6. Student A4 is a Hawthorn graduate. His father, who is deceased, had a graduate degree; his mother has some high school education. He has very little to say about her reaction to Hawthorn:

> It's really not discussed too much. (What do you think she thinks?) I think she thinks it's something special as opposed to Liberal Arts.
>
> (What his mother expects of him) To get the hell out of school. No (laughs), to achieve my goals. That's all she expects out of a college education. To achieve what I have set for goals.
>
> (A4)

This student is not at home in Hawthorn. His answers in both the 1960 and 1963 interviews are evasive. He has changed his orientation from one profession to another.

7. Student C4 is a drop-out. Her father has a college degree, her mother has some high school education. She transferred out of Hawthorn after one year, then dropped out, and came back much later.[1]

8. Student E4 is a drop-out. Her guardian has a college degree. Her mother finished high school. She transferred out of Hawthorn after one semester, then dropped out.[2]

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[1] I only have her 1960 interview.

[2] She was interviewed in 1963 but asked that her interview not be used in the report.

## The development of the student is closely related to the interests of the parents

Only the student ranked first, Student F4, shows any sign of the kind of pressure which I expected to be applied by parents to all the students in Set IV. She withstood this pressure very well, but there is a real contrast between the insights and the liveliness she shows when asked a question about the college (p.177,) and the sobriety of her answers about herself. All she has to say about the impact of her college experience on her values is:

> Hawthorn opens your eyes a little faster as far as your social relationship to other people, and you learn to expand in your studies at a much broader pace.

And again:

> Hawthorn has helped the picture (of who I am); because of the great quantities of work at Hawthorn, I was driven in some respects, to do more work than I normally do.
>
> (F4)

This seems to me not to contradict, but rather to support somewhat, the conversation hypothesis. As long as the discussion centers on the policies or methods at Hawthorn, her parents are truly interested, hence she develops a good deal of proficiency on the subject. But as far as her own development is concerned these same parents insist on deeds, not words. Hence the contrast in the two kinds of answers she herself gives; rich on Hawthorn, sparse on herself.

The student ranked second, Student G4, is an excellent example of how parents can give a tremendous amount of support to their child by sharing her interests and giving assistance when needed. (she says of her mother that she considered academic achievement as very important, but also that she was "willing to help with advice or a shoulder"). This seems to be the source of the brave bearing with which this student has gone through school, and which shows when she speaks of what would lower one's standing in her group:

> Failure to do the work. Failing, not due to illness but due to imcompetence and reluctance to face things.

And she adds:

> Most of my friends try, and that is three-fourths of the battle.
>
> (G4)

The students ranked third and fourth do not add any evidence for or against our hypothesis, as they say little about talking to their parents about college. The student ranked fifth, on the other hand, Student H4, is a very interesting case, especially if we compare her to Student G4, ranked second. Both of them started college with some of the lowest test scores. Both of them have fathers who are very interested in their studies, and who do not push them (notice that Student H4 mentions that her father did not influence her about coming into Hawthorn; he let her make up her mind). There are two important differences between these students, however. Student G4 plans to follow in her father's professional footsteps, and they are both "wrapped up" in it; and her mother has a great deal more education than student H4's mother has. The first fact explains why student G4 perseveres in her apparently unrealistic plans and is still a slow down while student H4 changes her plans and graduates. But there is a much more important difference between the two girls. We have seen that student G4 is self-assured in her judgements (see p.183 ). Student H4 is cautious, worried that she is not doing the right thing, and generally incapable of answering any question which has to do with her own development except to indicate that she is doing all she can. Here are some instances:

> (question: definition of the scientific enterprise) Is that something that I should have heard of?
>
> (question: what raises one's standing in one's group?) If I do well in class, I feel that I'm just as good or the same as other students who have done well in class.
>
> (question: any development in your values or ideals? - after a long pause) Right now, no.
>
> (question: does Hawthorn make one appreciate his background or does it uproot him?) Let's just say I never had any problems with my home life. (the interviewer indicates that the student is very vague, as if the question didn't mean anything to her)
>
> (question: has it confused or clarified the picture of who you are?) I don't think it has confused the picture. I knew what I was when I started and I know what I am now...I knew my capacities when I started at City. I tried my best at school. I know now I could go into some type of work. I don't know exactly what it will be, but I think I'm prepared to go into something.
>
> (H4)

A note if insecurity can be detected in these answers, which is completely absent from the responses of student G4. It would seem that the meaningful conversation which has gone on between student H4 and her father has not been sufficient to free her mind. Further, what can be heard, I think, in the last of her answers quoted above is an echo of the worries of her mother about being self-supporting in case of need.[1] We might say that the conversation between father and daughter is undermined by the conversation between mother and daughter.[1]

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[1] See p.

We might also say , however, that the model-image of her mother keeps Student H4 from fashioning herself after her father, as Student G4 so clearly does. The fact that Student H4's father is an engineer--a profession which is practically closed to women in our society--would explain why she would have to turn to her uneducated mother for a model, thus making it harder for her to flower in college. This interpretation of the data would lead us away from the conversation hypothesis toward a model or identification hypothesis. This latter hypothesis, however, is not confirmed by what we have observed in the case of Student F4, whose personal development is limited although her mother went to graduate school, nor in the cases of Students D4 and B4 who profit very much from their college experience while not following at all in their parents' footsteps.

The case of Student A4, ranked sixth, seems definitely to support the conversation hypothesis. He has had the model of his father but he lacks his conversation.[2] He has changed his orientation to pursue the career which was his father's very own. Still, this presumably positive and well-fitting model-image has not enriched his college experience. In his 1963 interview he shows no sign of having either enjoyed Hawthorn or profited from it in any way. He is hostile both to the interviewer and to the faculty memebers whom he knows to be involved with the study. He denies having been influenced at all by Hawthorn. He shows no tolerance for the "odd balls" who were "more interested in rebelling than in learning." (A4) In other words, he fits the pattern of Set III, not that of Set IV. And yet, he is among the "privileged," not only by his father's education but also by the quality of his high school education which was excellent. The only factor which links him to Set III is the lack of visible education of his mother- his one surviving parent. This is why I said above that this case supports the conversation hypothesis.[1]

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[1] It might also be said that the model-image of her mother weighs too much on Student H4's self-definition. However, I see the next case as bringing a small piece of negative evidence on the importance of the parent as model.

[2] The father died while the student was in college.

Student C4, ranked seventh, outwardly resembles Student H4, and Student E4, ranked eighth, resembles Student A4. It is interesting to notice that these two (C4 and E4), who are ranked last, dropped out early, while the two who are ranked first stayed in college despite their relative lack of academic success. But I do not have adequate data to relate this fact to my hypothesis.[1]

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[1] The case of this student is complex. His 1960 interview (at a time when his father was still alive) found him as uncooperative and uninterested as his later one. Exploring his situation further, I found that he was the only son in a Jewish family. He entered in the pre-medical curriculum. His honor point average was C- at the end of the first semester. This poor start might have been seen by the family not only as a disgrace, but as placing in jeopardy his future entrance into medical school. In this case, then, Hawthorn did not manage to soften the pressure from the family, for the student's curriculum had pressures of its own. Student A4 must have grown rather desperate, as his average fell to D+ at the end of his freshman year. He reacted to his predicament by isolating himself from fellow students, even though students from his high school maintained strong ties with each other throughout college. He had an older sister in college whose role in his own life as a student is never elucidated in his perfunctory answers to interview questions. The most accurate summary of his story might be that although he had several apparent advantages, he also had serious handicaps which his entourage did not help him to resolve.

On the whole, then, some very limited evidence supports the idea that one of the principal advantages for students coming from an educated background lies in the fact that they could discuss with their parent(s) in a meaningful way about what was going on in their college, in their studies. Obviously, if the parents took advantage of these exchanges to reiterate their demands for superior performance such conversation could hamper the student's development.[1]

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[1] Student C4 comes from a large family of eight; she is the only one who goes to college. She has to work to pay her tuition and finds it difficult to carry on her studies at the same time. This explains her dropping out early. In her 1960 interview, she appears relaxed, well disposed toward other students, and understanding of the instructors' problems; thus she fits readily the typical pattern of Set IV. A few instances:

> (discussions are) "an opportunity, in a relaxed atmosphere to discuss the readings."
> (when instructors grade) "they ought to take into consideration the work each student had to do to get the mark. This would take quite a bit of work on the part of the instructors...."
> I would have gotten more out of Hawthorn if I had been part of the 2nd or 3rd group (instead of the 1st)-- because you could learn from others what the course was about. It was foggy to me in the beginning and it took a while to catch on." (C4, 1960)

There is very little evidence concerning the conversation hypothesis. To the question of what her parents see as a sign of adulthood, she answers:

> "The way my marks were in high school. I studied more than my mother did and got better grades. After high school I went to work and helped support the family."
> (C4, 1960)

This suggests at first that when there is a discrepancy in the education of her parents, a girl might take as her model a "better-than-mother" image. However, at one point, she muses:

> "I suppose that (my parents) sometimes want me to get married while still in college." (C4)

This might show that the model-image of the mother has a stronger impact than the "better-than-mother" image. Of the ongoing conversation there is little evidence.

Before I conclude the study of Set IV, let me add that the students in this set are best characterized on the Bales test by their high score on the Individualism factor.[2] It seems that, for them, the willingness to be on their own is a preservative. This would lead me to believe that they achieved their sense of belonging to Hawthorn not by losing themselves in the collectivity, but by entering it of their own volition, at their own pace and according to their own best judgement.

My evidence has shown rather conclusively that students in Set IV were far from being caught in an insoluble predicament. They found that Hawthorn brought them to utilize all their resources without being threatening. It gave them a sense of participation in the intellectual life. They came out with a considerable amount of self-confidence, a good deal of wisdom, a sense of what they could do in their life, and generally with a college degree as well.

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[1] The "conversation hypothesis" makes the assumption, possibly unfounded, that children of college age and their parents talk together.

[2] This factor, the fourth in Bales' analysis, is constituted by such items as: "To be superior, a man must stand alone." The students' distribution is as follows:
between 2 & 3 standard deviations above the mean . 1 Hawthorn grad.
between 1 & 2 standard deviations above the mean . 1 Haw. slow down
between mean & 1 standard deviation above......... 3 Haw. graduates
between mean & 1 standard deviation below......... 1 Haw. slow down
between 1 & 2 standard deviations below the mean.. 2 drop outs

## GENERAL CONCLUSION AND POLICY SUGGESTIONS

I have now completed my study of the patterns of response to Monteith made by the most handicapped students. Rather than restating earlier summaries I would like to go back to some of the crucial questions which emerge from the foregoing analysis and derive from them the policy implications for a college like Hawthorn.

### The Students' definition of knowledge

All the students from a low education background show quite clearly that they are not ready to accept their instructors' assumptions about the nature of knowledge. The students express their dismay differently depending on their capacity to perform: those with high entrance scores mention their need for factual courses, for studying their special field; those with uneven entrance test scores mention their need for a production scheduling which would reassure them that they are making progress; those with low capacity to perform proclaim that all they want is clearly assimilable subject matter. We have also seen that the students from an educated background, even though their entrance scores be low, can catch on rather rapidly to the faculty's operational definition of knowledge, namely a familiarity with ideas, an ability to raise problems, a sense of the complexity of any question.

Although we have not examined that set of students coming from the intermediary categories of educational background, it seems reasonable to expect that parents who finished high school, and their children, would resemble more closely the poorly educated than the well educated in their outlook on knowledge.[1] What is more natural than to think of education as an accumulation of discrete items of knowledge? It is only members of the intelligentsia who can agree among themselves that true knowledge is what remains once all details have been forgotten. The popular mind goes by the simple pragmatic test of whether one can or cannot answer a question. The mother (and the daughter) do not stop to think that they really do know how to type once they cannot visualize the set of keys on the typewriter any longer. The father (and the son) do not realize that their knowledge of motors, or of construction, or of gardening, lies in their being able to observe, to have hunches, and to test them, not in the mastery of the nomenclature of whatever they are dealing with or even in the capacity to spell out the precise laws of its functioning. Educators themselves, usually, do not encourage such analogies between practical skills and knowledge proper. Partly to emphasize the importance, the uniqueness, of knowledge dispensed by the schools, partly because this is the way the school itself is structured, much is made of the different subject matters and their content.[1] Even in institutions of higher learning all outward signs reinforce the additive model of knowledge: the division of the University into specialized colleges; the departments among which the student is asked to choose the one in which he will major; the specific courses, often to be taken in a specified order, with their credit-hour value; the series of tests and exams which sanction the acquisition of knowledge by a grade; graduation upon achieving 180 hours of credit.

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[1] This guess is supported by the very fact that the students in Set I, who must have profited most from their high school education, were not ready for a different view of knowledge. Parents who are no better than high school graduates themselves, have no cause to be any more sophisticated than these students. Even parents who had some college education would have at least an even chance to hold the same popular view of knowledge. (I do not have enough evidence to gauge the possible influence of siblings who have been or are presently in college.)

How harmful is the notion that knowledge equals the sum of bits of knowledge, each of which is a commodity which can be bought by money and work? My analysis suggests that this perception is a greater obstacle to the cultivation of the mind in the liberal tradition than the student's taking a vocational approach to college. Clearly, the two attitudes are closely linked. But the former is more engrained in the mind of the students; it controls their daily response to lectures, assignments, instructors, programs; it keeps them from redefining their goals, from developing their talents, from becoming educated.[2]

Thus the faculty should be on the alert for any hints of this attitude on the part of students, and even anticipate and forestall the students' difficulties along this line. It is up to them to invite the freshmen to open themselves to a new "brand" of knowledge (to use a word which might make sense to the consumer's mind). Instructors will have to make it clear that this "new" approach to knowledge is both more enjoyable and more demanding, more enlightening and more useful than the one most of the students favor when they come in.[1]

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[1] Even Hawthorn advertised itself as "implementing the idea that there is a body of knowledge which every educated man should possess, and that the primary task of general education is to identify and impart this knowledge." (City University Bulletin, 1959-60, Hawthorn College, p.7).

[2] See again the exceptionally telling statement of the student quoted on p. 57.

## The students' lack of certainty concerning their future career

In the foregoing study we found that among the students from low education background a majority of those who persevered in the occupational goals they declared when they entered college came from the two extremes in competence: high capacity to perform (Set I) and low capacity to perform (Set III). In the first case a precocious development of self-knowledge, in the other the stubborn determination to achieve what lay at the end of a long struggle, seemed to be at the root of this lack of change. But these students are members of two relatively small sets.

In the two other sets we considered, it was natural for the students to explore, broadly or cautiously, in search of a suitable and congenial future role. I think that this tendency would be more typical of the vast majority of students than the former one. Thus, gifted students from a more educated background than those in Set I may well have access to a broader range of vocational possibilities, and thus be less sure of their original choice. Thus too, ordinary students do need to test themselves against the actual requirements and rewards of the kind of work which attracts them. We have seen several of the less gifted students from educated families benefit from engaging in such exploration.

Thus I would think that the College in general, and early instructors and advisors in particular, should always bear in mind the tentative character of the future plans that the first year students declare. These students should not be treated as if this early choice were their major attribute. Rather they should receive help in testing its adequacy. The college has the responsibility, indeed, to make it possible for the student to achieve his goal, if he sticks to it (hence the need for him to be advised about the requirements of a given program). But the student should never be stereotyped as a pre-med, or a history major, or an engineer. He needs to be seen in a much more flexible perspective, as a person who has not yet made an irreversible decision and who might want to reconsider the tentative one he has made.[1]

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[1] The reading by which the social science course traditionally starts, The Apology of Socrates, provides an excellent opportunity to discuss the whole matter of the search for knowledge, the importance of questions, the value of knowing that one does not know. Such ideas, however, need to be evoked repeatedly, in the hope that the desired attitude will "catch", at some favorable point. One cannot teach a new approach to knowledge. It has to come as an illumination.

## The importance of contact with instructors during the first quarter

We have seen that in all sets of students we studied except those with high entrance scores (Set I) the majority cited as their most meaningful instructor in college one whom they met during their very first semester. This comes as something of a surprise. One could have imagined that it would have taken less time for the most gifted students than for the others to discover that an instructor could be a help and a model. But apparently the most gifted students feel the need for help and a model less insistently than do the others. It is the others who turn to their instructor; he, and it would almost seem he alone, is the path to the intellectual life for the less gifted student.

In order to play this role well, in relation to the student from educated background, the instructor has only to be competent, interested, genuinely alive. But in relation to the student from poorly educated background, he has to be kind, tolerant, never angry even when provoked, always willing to spend time; and he must not expect that this student will come to his office with his questions: it is up to him to meet the student on his own ground, and to demonstrate that, even if the staff's approach to knowledge is hardly credible, he at least as a person makes sense. He must be ready to be misunderstood and suspected *qua* staff member, yet do his job as tutor to a student who is in dire need of something secure to grab on to.

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[1] Special attention should be paid to girls who declare an interest in primary school education. In all the sets we have studied, these girls almost never change their orientation, whatever their family background, and whatever their skills. Is this due to a strength or to a weakness in their program? Could they be more successful (we have seen many of them drop out), could they become better teachers (several of them remain somewhat narrow in their outlook) if they were helped to be less inflexibly dedicated to their goal? A systematic exploration of this set of students would be the more opportune after our discovery in Chapter II of the extraordinary handicap which women are under, a handicap which might well be linked to such factors as vocational orientation and singleness of purpose.

## The time factor

A college education is supposed to take four years. Entering students expect to get out of school in four years, their parents expect it, and so to an extent do their teachers. Notice that those who do not graduate after four years are called "slow downs"[1] as if they were out of step. But time does not figure in a college education only in terms of time-tables. For instance, we have found students with high entrance scores admitting that it took them two or three years really to feel at ease in Hawthorn.[2] We have found students with low entrance scores, coming from an educated background, who expressed their satisfaction at the thought that they had been started on a road on which they would keep going all their life, learning steadily as they went. Finally, among the students with uneven entrance scores we have seen a great contrast among some who graduate on time, and who seem to have gained relatively little from all their effort, and some who are slow downs and who have had the freedom, as it were, truly to make sense of what they were learning.

What kinds of assumptions about time does the faculty make? What outlook on time does it communicate to the students? Is time defined by the faculty member as a succession of deadlines? is it an opportunity to mull over questions? is it a chance to prepare for important decisions, to make up for past mistakes? Note that many students do not trust themselves with their time, and would love the faculty to impose a strick schedule on them which would not leave them any leeway. The faculty needs to keep in mind its double responsibility to help the students perform, and to help them establish some distance from the day-to-day accomplishment of their tasks, hence some freedom.

## From a basically individualist stance to a sense of the college as a community

Most students in the most extreme categories we have studied (Sets I, III and IV) tend to rely heavily on themselves to get successfully through college. The more ordinary students in Set II seem to be readier for cooperation, exchange, dialogue, more apt to find themselves through interaction with other students. This ability, or inability, to relate to one's peers in college might appear irrelevant to the central goals of a college like Hawthorn. But this is an illusion. Students are important to each other in terms of awakening each other's mind. An insight coming from an instructor may be just automatically committed to memory by a student who has not yet discovered the "new brand of knowledge" which we discussed above. The same insight coming from a fellow student may be considered as an idea, played with, argued about, - thus bringing the student closer to a new approach to knowledge. Similarly the reexamination of one's values is best done in conversations among people of approximately the same strength, sophistication, and even generation.

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[1] I have taken the liberty to extend the period by one year. Thus students who graduated at the end of five years are not called "slow downs" but graduates.

[2] Outside evidence suggests that only after graduation do some catch on to the full idea of Hawthorn.

This again raises the question of the role of the instructor. Students most in need of exchange and support, i.e. who start with low ability to perform (as in Sets III and IV), or who have much to contribute (as in Set I) seem inclined to remain on the edges of the student community. The instructor might be best equipped to introduce all of these to what is going on among other students. Coming from him, an invitation to join the "community" would reach them as the individuals they feel they are, while the same invitation coming from other students would seem a mere suggestion that they join the crowd, and risk possibly losing themselves in it.

## The best predictor of academic success

We have seen repeatedly that neither quality of high school nor entrance scores are predictors of success for individuals.[1] On the other hand, as we have noted here and there in the pages above, grades received during the first year in college are excellent predictors of individual success or failure. This strongly suggests that students should be warned of the newness of college demands: they cannot count on their past experience with the educational system to succeed in college.

Another warning might be derived from the fact that even students coming from good high schools and/or doing well on entrance tests are almost surely bound to fail in the long run if their first results in college are poor. The college should take care to give special attention to students who do more poorly during their first year than might have been expected.

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[1] Although, parents' education being held constant, the higher the entrance score the greater the proportion of successes.

These promising students will not be able to recover from their false start all by themselves. Is it not the responsibility of the college to offer them a second chance as exactly patterned as possible to their difficulties and to their resources?

## College and the student's family

In Hawthorn, as in other schools, the question arises from time to time of the relationships which the college should establish and cultivate with the families of its students. One of the assumptions made seems to be that parents send their children to college and have a right to know what is going on there. At times, another assumption merges with the first one, that parents, being adults, can understand better the aims and methods of Hawthorn, can appreciate how good these are for their children, and can help convince the children to lend themselves wholeheartedly to the Hawthorn way of doing things.

One will note that I have looked at the triangular relationship from the other end.[1] The "conversation hypothesis" assumes that what is so very beneficial for the dull student is the task of interpreting his college to his educated parents, which obliges him to make sense of his studies himself.[2] With regard to educated parents, I would advocate on the basis of my study of Set IV, that the college not remove this opportunity from its students.

With regard to less educated parents, it seems to me that little could be achieved by occasional meetings with the faculty of the college. The feeling of confusion, of being at a loss, which we have observed in so many students from poorly educated backgrounds, would certainly be shared by their parents. Instead of giving their child naive but constant moral support, they might then join him in puzzlement and in doubt.[3]

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[1] See pp. 184 ff.

[2] One might argue that there are two sides to a conversation. Why don't I assume that it is the educated parent who explains Hawthorn to the student? Careful re-reading of the evidence will show that the student does not respond to Hawthorn as a disciple of his parents; and that the student's understanding of Hawthorn is precise and detailed, not general as it would be were it derived from the parent's own interpretation.

[3] At best, they would recognize, as their children do, that the faculty members are kind, patient and that they genuinely like their students.

I would suggest a simpler, and I think more realistic, approach to the relationship of college to students' families: when the opportunity presents itself, especially during freshman year, in discussion groups or in conferences, let the instructor raise the question of how his student explains Hawthorn to his family. This might enlighten him as to some of the difficulties of the students, and give them a sense that there is something to explain.[1]

## The dangers of uprooting

From the start Hawthorn has been concerned not to uproot its students. It has aimed at making them more understanding, more tolerant, more questioning, more intellectually alive. But is has not aimed at making them reject their background in shame, or at making them automatically consider as naive all beliefs and values they have had up to their entry in college.

In the material we have examined we get the impression that Hawthorn shakes people up. A lot of questions and ideas are "thrown" at the students at a time when they have little talent for handling these. Considerable anxiety is generated by the freedom which is available: there is a fear that one's worst self might take advantage of it, that one might get lost. The church, the source of old beliefs, is seen as just another institution among many. Other respected objects and ideas come to be seen in a new "objective" light, which seems to rob them of value.

This evidence of uprooting, however, is balanced by evidence of deepened attachment to values and to background. We have seen several Jewish students, for instance, becoming more religious; almost all students from a distinctively ethnic background come to appreciate its tradition deeply. Thus it appears that Hawthorn College might be to some extent what it would hope to be: a place where a free choice, a responsible commitment can take place. Of all areas, this is the hardest one in which to make policy suggestions. It is not easy for an instructor to demonstrate his respect for a student's background. If he simply shows respect for a student, that student can of course believe that the instructor respects him _in spite_ of his background. Besides, the student's grasp of his own background may be so awkward, impoverished and distorted that he can feel that it has been attacked or even destroyed when, from the instructor's point of view, nothing of the sort has happened. Still the Hawthorn instructor is committed to try to get ever better acquainted with the religious, ethnic, and social backgrounds of the students. Making it a point to learn as much as he can about them whenever the opportunity arises will be the best signal to the students that their background is something valuable, an object of genuine interest, something about which intelligent questions can be asked and alternative interpretations be entertained.

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[1] In future research, more attention should be paid to the daily exchanges which take place at home about school work, involving student, parents and siblings. I would not be surprised if we found a different pattern among men and women. We have already seen that girls have a tendency to "cry on their mother's shoulders" when they find it hard to adjust to school. This is only a small detail in a picture which must be complex. Again an exploration of this area of behavior could shed some light on the special problems of the college girl from a less well educated background.

## The triumph of variety

This brings us to a final reflection on a principle of Hawthorn which the foregoing study has found successfully at work in more ways than one, pluralism. Pluralism of intellectual approach: a problem has to be seen from various angles; the various disciplines do not prosper in isolation; various methods bring varied and complementary insights; scholars make the best sense when they listen and respond to each other. Pluralism of people: instructors with different temperaments, different styles, insuring that various needs be satisfied, different models presented. Pluralism of backgrounds: students of different ethnic groups, religion, social class, of different talents and ambitions,- all of them valued for what they contribute to the whole and encouraged to live up to the promise of making a contribution in the future. No wonder that our study of patterns should have discovered a variety of impact. Different students decipher Hawthorn differently and draw different conclusions. Whether each conclusion is completely favorable or critical does not matter so much as the welcome presence of the differences.

One of the rewards of the present analysis is that I have found hardly any recurring theme pointing to a single intellectual fashion prevailing at Hawthorn. There were common themes, but the words used, the authors refered to, the nuances conveyed, always seemed to come from the individual expressing them. It is as if instructors had succeeded in educating students without indoctrinating them, and as if students had succeeded in enrichening each other without exacting conformity.

# CHAPTER FOUR

We have looked at Hawthorn, so far, as an existing (though new) institution which was more or less congenial to, more or less successful with, various sets of students. Let us now change our perspective and examine how the students made that new institution become a social reality. For it did not exist yet when the first class assembled for the first lecture in the Fall of 1959. A collection of three hundred students and a handful of faculty members do not make a college. Physical presence is not enough, nor is the generally accepted understanding, in our society, of what college is for. Nor do the special and specific expectations attached to a new, experimental college make it spring to life. There had to develop a network of relationships within which both private and commonly accepted ideas would be expressed, tested and turned into an organic reality, something which would truly deserve the name of student "body", or in the broader perspective a college community.

Lest this appear as perfunctory recitation of a peculiar sociological creed[1], let us for a moment put ourselves in the place of one of the entering students at the opening lecture. What he saw was a crowd of students. The people on the platform, including the President of the University himself, spoke of Hawthorn as of something real. But they seemed to say that it was real in him, for him. How could it be so? As an individual, Hawthorn had not engaged him in any way yet, he did not know what would be his place, his part in it. If he knew anybody in it, it was some acquaintances or even friends from his high school, scattered or clustered in the auditorium, - but they were his high school present at Hawthorn, not Hawthorn itself. If he knew anything , it was his parents' expectations of a college education, his teachers' advice, his priest's warning, - all of it foreign matter which would have to be transmuted into Hawthorn material later. He had had no opportunity to observe or speak to Hawthorn upperclassmen or graduates, since there were none; nor was the college's reputation there for him to cling to. In other words, while the faculty, many of whom had been meeting all summer, was able to see the potentialities of a distinctive Hawthorn style flowing from its program and its location, the entering student had no basis on which to start being involved. In no way could these many individual blanks add up to a collective script.

As the days went by, as the students gathered for more lectures and in their small discussion groups, our typical Hawthorn entrant would no doubt pay close attention to the way in which his fellow students acted, and reacted. He might have expected mutual recognition to come very fast, and be disappointed to keep bumping into strangers. Or he might have counted on formal organization to bring members of the class together, and be shocked to see individuals forcing intimacy on each other. We cannot recapture the myriads of interpersonal encounters which sprang up during those first weeks, - by which we mean not only conversations but any mental or emotional response of an individual to the behavior of another.

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[1] The reader will have recognized the basic tenet of the "symbolic interaction" theory.

What we can document, however, is the general configuration of the set of students comprising the entering class, thus delineating the kinds of encounters which could take place.

## The Situation at the Beginning

Some of this documentation has been presented in Chapter II, and we can look at it again, from our new perspective.[1] Thus, the fact that there were more men than women[2] could have been a clear signal to all as to where the leadership would come from. If any of the men had doubts as to whether higher education was a properly masculine undertaking, it must have given them some reassurance. The fact, often reiterated in Chapter II, that the women were less well prepared than the men, might have boosted the men's morale and their determination to show everybody what they were capable of.

The disparity of level of education among the entrants' parents must also be taken into account as we try to reconstruct the conditions under which the students' first relationships occurred. The set of students with one parent a college graduate, while objectively relatively small (23%), must have appeared ubiquitous to the students from much more modest education background. The former's ease must have been reflected not only in their language but even in their posture, - an ease extending, one may presume, from their readiness to answer or question the teachers in the small discussion groups to their handling of bureaucratic procedures and even their ability to find material in the library.

As we saw in Chapter II the disparity in the quality of high school the students attended accentuated the disparity in their educational background more often than it compensated for it. So did the disparity in the students' academic skills, as measured by entrance tests.[3] Thus, repeatedly, a new Hawthorn student could be awed by a fellow student's reponse to a lecture or a reading, and wonder what he himself was doing in the company of such a paragon; or he could feel anger and disgust at what appeared to him a "pseudo-intellectual" pose, put on to impress the gallery, - and the teachers. On the other hand, the more articulate, better prepared entrant would be taken aback and disgusted at some girl who never opened her mouth during discussion section.[1] Timidity, lack of self-confidence, lack of words to express oneself could easily be interpreted by fellow students - much more so than by instructors, as a lack of intelligence or, even worse, lack of any intellectual interest.

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[1] As was explained at the end of Chapter I, the tables in Chapter II ignore a small number of Fall '59 entrants for whom the crucial data were missing, and substitute for them a small number of Spring '60 entrants for whom those data were available. The differences between the full Fall '59 class and the population described in Chapter II will be indicated when necessary.

[2] The sex ratio is one of the factors where a slight difference must be reported. Almost all Fall '59 entrants for whom data are missing were men (many of them engineers). While the sex ratio in Chapter II is 57% men to 43% women, in the Fall of '59 it was an even 60% to 40%.

[3] See Table III , p. 51 and Table IV , p. 54 .

But the high schools have to be considered here aside from their quality. Whether the entrant came from one or another high school would make the difference between his having dozens of acquaintances and friends among his fellow students or having none at all. The high schools of Detroit and its metropolitan region were very unevenly represented in that first Hawthorn class. Here is a summary of the situation as it was at the very beginning of the Fall '59:[2]

> From the two best schools of the city came large contingents, evenly matched in size (thirty-four and thirty-two students) and in pride. They accounted for 21% of the entering class.
>
> From three good schools of the city came another 15% of the total. From four more good or excellent schools came contingents which, while smaller (six to twelve students), were still substantial. These amounted to 9% of the total. From two mediocre schools came another 6%, bringing to 51% the fraction of students who could be expected to feel comfortable in their new environment thanks to the presence of past acquaintances.
>
> For the other half of the entering class, however, the situation was very different. One can break it down into:

| | |
|---|---|
| Small contingents from 3 excellent schools. . . . | 2% |
| Small contingents from over 15 good schools. . . | 14% |
| Small contingents from over 15 mediocre schools. | 13% |
| Small contingents from 6 poor schools . . . . . . | 5% |

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[1] A son of college graduates, coming from a good high school, mentions that he and his comrades of his first discussion section used to call "the three witches" three girls "who always sat in the same place and never said a word during the whole course."

[2] For this overall picture, I count only the 1959 entrants. Those for whom the necessary data are available total 309.

Tiny contingents from private schools[1] . . . . 9%

Tiny contingents from outside the area . . . . 6%

Obviously the students themselves were not aware of the statistics presented above. If their contacts had been confined to the lecture hall and classrooms, the disparity in the size of the various contingents would have been of only minor importance. But there was "the Center", the place where students could gather before, after, and between classes, packed into a few rather large rooms in a small converted residence located in the middle of campus. There the dominance of the two big contingents was very much felt. As a graduate from one of the Big Two puts it, when asked how was the transition between high school and college for her:

> "It was kind of old home week. Most of us from C_____ went to Hawthorn. (Laughter). We were just the same. You saw the same faces and you wore the same artsy craftsy clothes. It was old home week. There was no transition at all."

Those who were not from the Big Two didn't quite know how to interpret what they saw. What was clear to them was that all of a sudden lots of people seemed to have lots of frinds, while they themselves had few, if any. A girl from a small Catholic school sending a total contingent of three to Hawthorn remembers it this way:

> "There were too many in-groups around, and I wasn't in any of them. I was just circulating around the in-groups. But I didn't have any close frinds in the Center so I just didn't come any more......It was not that they kept you out, it's just that they happened to have a lot of good frinds in the center and they usually would join in with them."

A man from a good school with a total contingent of sixteen was less strongly touched:

> "The students were a little bit too cliquish, shall we say. It was a little too difficult to break yourself into the situation. I think they made many students appear as if they were on the out and others were on the in. Although that didn't affect me very much."

The dominating situation of the Big Two was further complicated by its ethnic and religious distinctiveness. All but one student, in the largest contingent of all, were Jewish, as were 40% of the students in the next largest one. Since most of the Jews from both schools came from the same neighborhood and knew each other at least slightly, other students could indeed feel that there was one big clique dominating the scene. There was a great deal of rivalry within that "clique", stemming from the loyalty of each contingent to its alma mater. But even the jousting and the boasting and the teasing and the fighting reinforced the feeling among the other entrants that the participants in all this intense activity were "in" while they themselves were "out". Thus, even a Protestant girl from the less solidly Jewish of the Big Two says in retrospect:

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[1] Most of the time, what we mean by "tiny contingent" is a lone student. Among the private schools mentioned are a great number of parochial schools, some ranked good, some ranked mediocre. Only five Catholic high schools, most of them not parochial, sent more than one student to Hawthorn (for a total of sixteen, or 5% of the entering class).

> "I used to eat lunch at the Center . . . I felt kind of lost over there . . . It's hard to remember back exactly. . . I think there seemed to be just one or two groups that sort of had it. I thought I was intruding in someone's home sometimes."

There was no other large ethnic-religious block. Setting aside the Jews, the only two ethnic strands with a sizable representation among the men were the Poles and the Germans.[1] But the thirty Poles came from twenty-five high schools. Besides, the Germans came from families whose ethnic self-awareness was minimal. While this was not true of the Poles, they seem not to have sought each other out; at any rate they never came to form a visible clique, though they shared a strange combination of personality characteristics, - shyness and impatience, self-doubt and self-assertion.

Among the women, only those of German background were unusually numerous (twenty-two, coming from eighteen different high schools). Though over the years that followed several of them showed considerable courage and a capacity to pursue their endeavors, these girls did not form a separate group.[2]

None of the smaller ethnic contingents was reinforced by common high school ties.[3] In fact, one would be misled altogether if one looked at ethnicity in the 1959 entering class as a factor of cohesion, a basis for sub-division into homogeneous cliques. Under the impact of the social science program which, very early, emphasized the importance of cultural differences, - and of the social science staff who often identified themselves and each other along ethnic lines,[1] ethnicity became a factor of differentiation, a basis for relation. As a student puts it:

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[1] The Jews made up 29% of the men, the Poles 18%, the Germans 17%. I count the Polish here those who were of Polish descent on both sides (11%) or on one side (7%). For the Germans I listed separately those whose father and mother were of German descent (4%), those whose father was of German descent (9%), and those whose mother was of German descent. Among the latter I have included only those whose father was less "ethnic" than the mother (4%).

[2] They made up 20% of the women's ranks in the entering class, yet they were less visible than the Jewish women (7%) because the latter belonged to the lively high school "crowds" described above. Nor was there any other outstanding ethnic group among the women.

[3] The seventeen Negroes came from thirteen different high schools, the thirteen latins (Italians, Greeks, French) each came from a different school.

> "People tried to put themselves in a class and in a culture, and in our first semester everyone was making a big identity for himself. You know, Dennis was a working class Finn, and I was an old Protestant type, and all this sort of thing."

Another student says (she is a Negro girl from one of the Big Two):

> "In the very first year that Hawthorn started, other people, from other places in life were interesting to everyone else. By the same token, almost everybody was interesting to the other people. And this produced a friendly atmosphere, a cordial atmosphere, a kind of cliquish atmosphere that you could appreciate because you were part of the clique. A serious atmosphere, much more than is found anywhere else on a casual level at a University."

Thus we would say that it was far from detrimental for the Finns and other Scandinavians (who made up 4% of the class), for the Hungarians (3%) for the Slavs (5%), for the Armenians and others from the Levant (3%) to be present in such small numbers. Their rarity and their distinctiveness, due in part to their recency in the U.S., made them the more valued.[2]

The same kind of sympathy does not seem to have prevailed in the field of religious belief. Religion was discussed a lot at the Center in the early days. But the connotation was less, "how interesting!", more "how come? How do you know?" There did not seem to be much of the kind of militancy observable at the College at the University of Chicago where agnostics would consider it their duty to bring believers to recognize the error of their ways. This is not surprising when one looks at the distribution of religious preference indicated by 1959 entrants:

> There were 25% Roman Catholics among the men, 22% among the women.

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[1] The social science staff included not only two Europeans, two Americans attached to their ethnic background, and three anthropologists, - but one of the latter was himself an American Indian who promptly made it very clear that the people to whom you belonged was an integral part of yourself as an individual.

[2] It may be considered as supportive evidence that only 10% of the Hungarian entrants, 15% of the Scandinavians, 20% of the Slavs had left Hawthorn by the beginning of the second year. The overall rate of attrition, for the 275 students whose ethnic background is known, was 34%. On the other hand the small contingent of Austrians and Czechs almost disappeared, the Latins lost 62% of their original contingent, the Negroes 47%, the Scotch 41%. Both the Germans (44%) and the Poles (39%) of pure ethnic ancestry left in greater numbers than those of mixed ancestry.

There were 24% Protestants[1] who attended religious services at least once a week among the men, 41% among the women. Plus 18% less devout Protestants among the men, 20% among the women.

Among the men 8% were Jews who attended religious services at least once a month, 4% among the women. Less pious Jews made up 18% of the men, 3% of the women.

Only 7% of the men declared themselves to be agnostics, 4% of the women.

Hawthorn's entering class was unusually attached to religious beliefs, when compared to the statistics from established "high demand" colleges. There could have been ground for interesting explorations of Judaism, of Lutheranism (a denomination particularly strong, not only in size but also in its impact on its adherents), of various forms of Eastern Christianity. Several members of the staff of the new College, themselves knowledgeable and practicing believers, could have helped the students establish these kinds of relations among themselves as they did along ethnic interests. But the impact of the first weeks of the Hawthorn intellectual fare was taking the bulk of the students in another direction. What they were discovering often with some dismay is that you should not believe all you are told, that there are various truths according to the standpoint you look from, and above all that you should not make a statement which you cannot defend with rigorous logic.[2] The following quotation (taken from the senior interview of a girl who transfered out of Hawthorn at the end of the first semester) gives the flavor of their experience , without referring directly to specific religious questions:

> "I think being at Hawthorn made me stop and think about an awful lot of things. This is the discussion Adine (Hawthorn friend) and I have always gotten into. Did I really need to know that I didn't know? Did I really need to know that, or could I have gone on being very happy in life never realizing that I didn't know just who I was or what I was. I always kind of knew where I was going, but is it necessary to go through all that searching myself out? I think I did a little of it in Hawthorn, I just had to...You start realizing that there are different kinds of people in the world.

> "The thing I really gained from Hawthorn was learning to evaluate. I would read articles before and say 'amen, that's true.' But when I went to Hawthorn I started reading and saying, 'Well, I'm not sure that's true. And just why is it true?' And starting to really pick out what I wanted, what I felt was true, so that it did stimulate me to think on my own more."

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[1] For simplicity's sake,we count with the Protestants the small number of Eastern Orthodox.

[2] The first semester of the Natural Science course dealt with Mathematics and Logic. The Social Science readings showed how a phenomenon like Brainwashing appeared in a different light when looked at from various approaches.

And so for most students religion would not be a basis for relating meaningfully to others. It would be more of an isolating factor: what he took for granted others would not take for granted, and so he had to figure these things out for himself.

What else do we need to examine in the setting within which the student body would have to develop through meaningful interaction? One more characteristic which made Hawthorn unusual among "high demand" colleges was the fact that almost all of its students came from the same metropolitan area. We have already seen that only 6% of the entrants came from elsewhere. And within the metropolitan area about twice as many students came from the city itself as did from the suburbs. Moreover we would be safe to assume that a good many of the students from the suburbs had moved there rather recently. Thus the spirit of the new college could not be quickened by tales of what happened in far off places, told by somebody who knew it at first hand. Could the common knowledge of the local scene provide another kind of exciting focus? In 1959, hardly. The inhabitants of Detroit are more likely than not not to know their city. On the one hand, they can drive across it on a network of expressways which keep whole neighborhoods out of sight and out of mind. On the other hand, the majority of families own their homes, which helps focus their attention further on their immediate area, their block, or their garden. Hardly anything counters this extreme parochialism. The fact that the local government is city-wide and non-partisan means primarily that it lacks roots and influence. Nor does the city have a great, or even controversial, newspaper, like the New York Times or the Chicago Tribune.

In 1959, all was quiet around Detroit. Not a trace seemed left of the great union drives of the early 30's. The unions were experiencing the dullness of unchallenged power. Coughlin's fascist-nationalist frenzy of the late 30's seemed to have evaporated. The racial conflicts of the 40's seemed to have subsided. Unbelievable as it may seem today (1968), the Social Science staff was going to have the greatest difficulty in trying to convey to the 1959 entrants, during the Fall of 1960, what could be meant by the concepts of "social movement", "unrest", "ideology", and "militant." In short, sharing in the local scene could not be a factor in the fashioning of a student body, for there was very little in it to share.[1]

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[1] The effort of the Social Science staff, from the very start, to send the students to observe and interview in their own neighborhood and elsewhere, and then write up and analyse their findings, might have sparked a sense that the city was there to be discovered. Meanwhile, various local organizations and agencies (trade unions, parishes, settlement houses, ethnic and professional associations) were approached by a staff representative to find out what they considered topics in need to be explored. From that list of real concerns the students chose the topic of their second semester research project. Thus, as they spent a whole semester collecting data, trying out concepts, and formulating their own discoveries, the students were aware that they were responding to their city, not engaging in some esoteric activity that took it merely as an object.

What then was there to be shared? A woman now married and out of school reminisces four years later:

> "One of the first things I remember there, was everybody bringing in some poem that they liked the best and talking about that. And then I can remember we talked for a long time about the business of war. That problem seemed to really stick in everybody's mind because from it stemmed all kinds of questions as to what human beings are and what can happen and things like that. We talked about God. We talked about our different religions, our different backgrounds...
>
> It's a funny thing. It's as hard for me to talk about the advantages of Hawthorn as it would be for me to talk about the advantages of having the family that I have - because that's how personal it became to me. And that's how personal it still is. I think that it gives you an advantage in the intellectual part of yourself : that, you just can't lose. I rely on it all the time now. Social advantages I'm not so sure of, because the people at Hawthorn are different and you get used to these kinds of people and this kind of a world and a worldview, really. And it's not the same as it is any place else that I've met so far. But the advantages within yourself, the curiosity that's awakened, - and it just never goes to sleep again. And what more can you ask of a school?"
>
> (Don't you feel you were left too much on your own?) "I don't at all...This is where the small college, the student center, the availability of the professors come in. There were always people close enough so if you ran into some obstacle you could talk it out with somebody else."

This student is not "ordinary". She was an excellent student, and a soulful one. But she was not that extraordinary. Other interviews echo her sense of a continous process stemming from the regular discussion groups, continuing in the informal discussions at the Center, and merging with the daily lives of the students.[1] The sense of intellectual excitement could be shared by all "who were willing", as another student puts it, " to let Hawthorn work on them, let the Hawthorn system try to do something with them".

It seems reasonable to consider that Hawthorn as a social reality (as distinguished from an idea, or from an instrument) was born at the time when a certain number of students came to realize that, in responding to each other and to their instructors they were indeed overcoming the drabness and the superficiality of much of their ordinary lives; that their own depth depended on stimulation from and companionship with others. They started speaking of the "community", a word which was to be an object of love for some, of derision for others during the years to come. This newborn college (in the full meaning of the term) would predictably inspire powerful efforts along three main - and mainly divergent - lines.

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[1] This may be the place to refer back to one of our findings of Chapter II : the number of students who mentioned that they were in college to grow intellectually as one at least of their main goals, was quite high (59%), nor were these students recruited from the better educated families or from the better schools. See Table V , p. 57 .

There would be the demand for the community to be truly open, universal at least potentially and in attitude. Let all be welcome, let every opportunity be seized to incorporate into the community all the students at Hawthorn, even all the students at City that cared to join in the dialogue, even those who were shy and kept quiet most of the time, even those who were willing to participate on a limited basis only, even the "squares", even the conservatives, (even the "finks" ???). Then there would be an opposite and complementary demand for purity. Let not the community be contaminated by the ways of the outside world, - what is now called the Establishment. Let it be vigilant against the tendency to compromise, let it put its members to the test so as to purge out the unworthy, the uncertain, the uncommitted. Finally there would be the demand for effectiveness. Let the community be organized to implement some of its ideas, its discoveries, its beliefs. Let conversation lead to action : whether in Hawthorn itself[1] , on the City campus at large, in the city or elsewhere.

It would be a worthwhile task to try to write the history of Hawthorn as an engagement (sometimes loving, sometimes martial) between those three major imperatives, or rather between the sets of students who listened primarily to each of them. It should read as an epic, for though the accomplishments were often pitiful, and the original motives might have been mixed or at least obscure, the efforts were heroic. These students were trying to create something for which they had no blue-print, and which depended entirely on the willingness of others to recognize a certain quality of experience and to share in a vision. They were the builders and the guardians and the hosts. They had "cohorts" of helpers and supporters and admirers and critics.

And then there were those who thought they were fools with their excitement and their dreams. A young man who transferred out of Hawthorn after three semesters, a graduate from one of the Big Two high schools was one of these. He says of the Center:

> "The atmosphere was uncomfortable. It was put on, cliquish, with a definite in-group and out-group depending on the people that needed the school. I had the feeling that if you were in dire need of having some type of a group activity or whatever it was, you would become an in-group member and you would have

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[1] Efforts along this line often appeared to have no higher ambition than to equip Hawthorn with the ordinary apparatus of student government so uncomfortably reminiscent of high school politics. But they were also anticipating the contemporary demands for student participation in curriculum decisions, for course evaluation by the students, - their ultimate aim being to make the student body a full partner in the process of education.

to sit around the Student Center with these people day and night. And whether it was intelligent discussion or pseudo-intellectual discussions, it's hard to know. But I just didn't have the feeling that there was any real need for that or (had) any desire for it. I had no friends that were in Hawthorn, any of my real friends. And all of my social life was carried on outside of the school. And so I didn't have the need for anything other than the classroom.

"The Student Center, it sort of repulsed me. Lots of kids were kids I'd known in high school and whom I didn't really have that much respect for. And some of them I felt were no better than I was, let's say, and now, since they were in the starting class and they had found a place for themselves, so to say, they seemed to feel that they were more important than I felt they really were..It sort of repulsed me to see these kids that I had known and who I still feel are just nice guys and who now have their ego jumping six inches. I just can't see it."

The present chapter will now examine what was the state of the Hawthorn student body, as a social reality, at the end of the fourth year. Its most visible parts are described elsewhere in this report by the two participant observers.[1] Here I will try to get at the invisible, submerged part of the iceberg, as it were, - the network of relationships among all the members of the 1959 class who were enrolled in Hawthorn or still close to it though no longer formally students.[2] We shall try to find out how they had regrouped themselves, whether they had drifted apart in small or large groupings. At the end we should be able to judge to which extent Hawthorn had kept its promise as a small college, and to make a tentative inventory of the "community".

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[1] See Chapters V to VIII in Volume II.

[2] As we have seen in previous chapters, some of the "slowdowns" were students who quit school and came back later. While they were away from formal classes they could still belong to the network of relationships. So did a few students officially counted as having left or dropped out.

## Our Research Tool

How to obtain the kind of information which would enable us to delineate and characterize the network or relationships among all the fourth year students, whether "visible" or invisible, "quiet" or vocal? An elaborate set of interview questions probing the frequency and the nature of the students relationships to his peers in general and to his best friends in particular seemed to go beyond the limits of indiscretion permissible in an interview, as one would be bound to ask for names. Besides, it was impossible to think of a set of questions which could be equally cogent to the many social arrangements we suspected existed.[1]

A sociometric tool was the alternative. But what kind of sociometric tool? One consideration was that the more uniform the data gathered, the easier the analysis would be. If you ask: "Select only your three best friends; then list separately the three acquaintances with whom you spend a good deal of time," you don't have to make too many decisions yourself in manipulating the data, the awkwardness has been removed ahead of time. But how good is this fragment of data? How many students will be revolted at having their personal lives cut to shreds in order to fit a uniform model? How many will answer just any which way as a result?

A very different kind of tool was developed for our purposes.[2] Each student was first asked to list the names of people with whom he usually spent his free time (space was given for six entries) and the locale of these relationships (Hawthorn, City U., other colleges, work). Then the student was presented with a list of one hundred and seventy-nine Fall '59 and Spring '60 entrants who were still at Hawthorn or had been until recently. He was asked, first, to check the names of the students with whom he had spent more than fifteen minutes informally in the past two or three weeks; second, to underline the names of his friends. He was invited to add the names of Hawthorn students not on the list, to whom he was related in either of these two ways.

This procedure makes sense psychologically. The student first reviews important patterns of association in the use of his free time. Then he goes over the recent past, and fills in the details with the help of the list. Then he is given a chance to single out people with whom he might not have had recent contact but to whom he feels linked by enduring bonds. He fills out any gap he perceives, is not forced to exclude people he feels are relevant. The student never faces the distasteful obligation of ranking his friends by order of preference or the exhausting job of remembering them all without the help of a list.

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[1] In other words it was impossible to explore the relationships among students in the same way as the relationship between students and instructors, much more restricted in number and more limited as to form.

[2] Our heartiest thanks go to Robert Weiss who helped prepare the deceptively simple instrument which is reproduced in Vol. II, p. 256, together with an account of how we then proceeded in analyzing the data.

The procedure also makes sense from the standpoint of the researcher. He gets two sets of data. One, entirely spontaneous, covering both the Hawthorn scene and the rest of the student's life; the other with a four level ranking:[1]

- friends recently seen at some length,

- friends not recently seen,

- people seen recently at some length but who don't qualify as friends,

- people not seen, or not noticed, or not remembered.[2]

Still another important feature of the test was that it was not forced on the students. As each of them received the form, entitled "A study of Hawthorn's social structure", among other test forms (CCI, TCT, OPI) he was firmly told that he did not have to fill it out. If he disapproved of this kind of data collecting device, or disliked it, he was free not to respond. It was our belief that it would be more valid to set non-respondents at their proper place in a network of relationships built from authentic data than to rely indiscriminately on data of uneven quality.[3]

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[1] These four levels were coded as 1-, 3-, 2- and 0 respectively. A 1-1 relationship is one in which both the chooser and the chosen agree that they are friends and that they have seen each other recently at some length. For further detail on coding, see Vol. II, p. 275 ff.

[2] This dependence on the memory of names is one of the unavoidable drawbacks of the sociometric technique. In answer to one of the interview questions, "Who were the other students in your best discussion section?" one student protested:

> "I can just remember first names. I know how they think, but not their last names."

and many others expressed the same difficulty. The list probably helped some students recognize some of their associates. Still, one must not confuse our use of the sociometric technique with that which would be suitable to the study of a much smaller group.

[3] Out of the 153 students who were invited to participate in this phase of the study, four refused to take any of the tests at all, four filled in the first half of the sociometric test only, fourteen refused to take any part of the sociometric test. Of the fourteen, about half must have refused because they disapproved of the instrument; the rest might have felt the task to be futile, since their relationships to their entering class appears to have been quite limited. The other non-respondents were among those who had left Hawthorn or had fallen very much behind in their work. Little effort was spent in trying to get their cooperation.

The step by step procedure evolved for using the data is described in detail in Appendix I .[1] We shall limit ourselves here to a discussion of the main decisions we made in drawing the picture of the network of relationships which we derived from it.

Our first decision was to gear our main effort toward uncovering the *network of friendships* rather than the pattern or patterns of sociability.[2] We believe with Erikson that the relation between a young person and his peers during late adolescence is crucial to his development. In talking out with them his dreams and his troubles he finds or opens up new pathways toward his adult identity. Their support and their criticism, his own reflection on their thoughts, their beliefs, their conduct, assist him in making up his mind about questions such as: What am I good at? how good am I? what is it I really want? what is it I really care for? We believe that a student will call "friends", on the whole, those peers from whom he has indeed received this kind of help. Thus, we were willing to *trust the students' own usage of the term "friend"*, and to use as links in our network of friendship any relation which both partners defined as friendship.

Next, we assumed that, for the most part, friendship would bring together *clusters of friends rather than chains of one-to-one relationships running parallel to each other*. We assumed that the two or three or five or ten friends of a given student would have had a chance to meet and that several of them would have become friends themselves. Or that some at least of a group of students who met regularly as a car pool or for a small class or in an organization would become friends jointly rather than each one of them separately. This assumption reflects the same theoretical orientation which we pointed out at the beginning of this chapter. It focuses on the meanings constantly exchanged between individuals in a given situation--not only between those actively engaged in conversation, for example, but also between them and those who listen, and among the listeners. It sees the individual as always reorienting himself to those meanings which not only surround him but define him, draw him out as it were. From this perspective, the group appears at least as real as the individuals which make it up.

We were not willing, however, to carry the assumption so far as to make the individual a product of the group or a part of it as a piston is part of an engine. We were not willing to confine an individual to one "clique".[1] Anybody knows from experience that a person is a member in different groups, each one corresponding to a part of his activities, all of them interacting in the mind of that person whether in debate or in mutual appreciation.

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[1] See Vol. II p. 254; "Analysing the Social Fabric"

[2] We thought the concept of sociability was the most appropriate way of referring to a student's "spending more than fifteen minutes informally in the past two or three weeks" with other students. The term is broad enough to include conversations between two or more students, parties, dates, car pool rides, and other occasions lending themselves to an exchange of views, information, services, jokes, blows even.

This decision to *"allow" an individual to be a member in several groups* at once had two important consequences. First, it obviously lessened the arbitrary allocation of individuals to groups. Second, it planted a seed in our mind, that overlapping groups would have something in common--a milieu, a common ground, an atmosphere. Just as we could not conceive of an individual associating with others entirely on his own, we realized that, important as it was, the small group of friends does not create its own standards and its own values sui generis out of its own operation. It relies on a larger consensus. To use Durkheim's terms, a group *is* a moral environment, but it itself also belongs to a moral environment, which validates its activities and its style. This is how we came to think of *social "worlds" within the college*.[2] A "world" could be on display in a physical place such as the Center. But it could also pervade the atmosphere of a place such as the library, where countless isolated scholars take some comfort at the thought that others beside themselves are at work. In the end, we saw a "world" as providing the range of options, the sense of the main dimensions, and of balance, the notion of what is normal, the criteria of judgement. The worlds would be a key to the groups, just as the groups would be a key to the individual students.[3]

Another decision we had to make did not result in clear benefit but in clear deficit. We were studying the *network of*

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[1] We found the term "clique" ill-suited to our need, because of its connotation of exclusive claim on its members. We used the terms "group" or "cluster" in preference to it. Sometimes we use "clique" in quotation marks to underline that we are aware of the connotation and do not accept it.

[2] This time, we made a special effort to see to it that each individual student was assigned to the world in which he was most involved, hence whose ethos was most meaningful and imperative to him.

[3] The reader will recognize that our interactionist theory has taken us, by its own detours, to join in the investigation of student "cultures" or "subcultures." We have kept the word "world" in an effort to maintain the emphasis on social interaction within groups and among groups, rather than to let it be supplanted by a study of attitudes.

*friendships of the entering class of the Fall of 1959 and the Spring of 1960 within their own ranks alone*. The fact that they had been together for almost four years was a guarantee that they had had time to meet, to get acquainted, to get mutually involved. The College, however, had not stopped recruiting. Each of the following years, a new class had been added. Was it not extremely artificial and arbitrary to decree that all we needed to know about the network of friendship of the first entrants was the relationships they had formed among themselves? It was, indeed.[1] Some of our clusters may be truncated, some of our worlds may be lacking their standard bearer, or much of their troups, because of it. At the end of this chapter we shall try to make a sketch of the inter-class relationships to help complete the picture of the Hawthorn student body in 1963.

Finally, a decision of the greatest importance was to go as far as we could in the sociometric analysis on the basis of the sociometric data alone.[2] However we also believed that the unforgivable sin in research as in other enterprises is to make a blind, arbitrary decision when you could make an informed one. Thus we gave ourselves license to *consult subsidiary data, but only when necessary*. We took care, in so doing and generally in all our prodecure, not to be swayed by the stereotypes held in various corners of the Hawthorn universe, including those we held *qua* members of that universe.[3] The reward of this self-imposed discipline was that our analysis taught us a great deal. It yanked us from our customary standpoint and showed us a much more complex Hawthorn than we had ever imagined existed.

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[1] We gave a sociometric test to the 1960-61 entrants. We decided, however, not to use it in connection with this study, since the reciprocity factor, which was so crucial to our operational definition of friendship, would have depended on students adding names rather than checking them (Juniors would have had to add senior's names to their list, and vice versa).

[2] The grand design of the study had the sociometric analysis coming up with its picture of the student body, which would then be compared with the picture drawn from participant observation. What was hoped for was the double gain of the built-in check of one set of findings by the other, and of a methodological test of the capacities of each approach. The spirit of this plan was kept, but not the letter. We consulted the participant observers (and students themselves) when we felt in dire need of elucidation.

[3] One of these stereotypes portrayed the student body at Hawthorn as made up of a core of alive, dedicated, inventive, intellectual students, who tried to make something of the Center, produced student publications on the mimeo machine, took seminars and tutorials with Hawthorn professors (which was true enough) AND of an outer rim of students who had failed to recognize the challenge of Hawthorn, pursued their studies in pedestrian fashion, belonged to fraternities and sororities, and would have been a living monument to Hawthorn's failure if only they had been visible. But they were lost in the penumbra of the large City campus. The latter part of the stereotype was pure myth, as we shall show.

### The Overall Picture

Before we display the tapestry of clusters and worlds for the reader, we would like to make clearer to him the density, as it were, of the Hawthorn atmosphere. For the question immediately arises about a small streetcar college; does it have the compact network of relationships characteristic of a small college, or does it have the tenuous social fabric of the typical streetcar college? The next two charts attempt to answer this question.

In the first chart we have plotted the distribution of students who answered the sociometric test, in terms of the number of reciprocal friendship choices they made--the current ones being being reported along one axis, the old ones on the other.[1] The chart shows a considerable bunching in the column where the absence of old relationships is reported (59% of the respondents). The most usual pattern is that of one to four reciprocal friendships, all of which are current ones. Few students report having fewer current friendships than old ones (10%), which seems to indicate that, as their fourth year at Hawthorn came to a close, the 1959 entrants were maintaining whatever cohesion they had achieved through the years. Another phenomenon is that the respondents do not tend to have either old friendships or current ones. It seems rather that, the more current friendships a respondent has, the more he is still attached to a number of friends with whom he is not presently interacting.[2]

For the sake of completeness, let us mention that the average student would report one old friendship and between three and four current ones. It is much more crucial, however, to recognize that

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[1] We count as "current friendships" the 1-1, 1-3 and 3-1 choices; as "old friendships" the 3-3 choices. On the graphs each student is indicated by a vertical line in the square corresponding to his choices.

Our total here is 121, for we are leaving out of our count seven Spring '60 entrants whose name was placed on the list only after some of the tests had already been administered, hence whose quota of reciprocal choices is probably below what it could have been.

[2] This is not a sheer matter of fond rememberance by unusually friendly respondents. The relationships of which we are speaking here are reciprocal.

## CURRENT vs. OLD FRIENDS

| Current Friendships | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 18 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 17 | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | |
| 16 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 14 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 13 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 12 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 11 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 10 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 9 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 8 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | 3 | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | 3 | | 1 | 2 | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | 14 | 2 | 3 | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | |
| 2 | 16 | 7 | 1 | 2 | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 13 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | |
| 0 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |

Old Friendships

# THE DENSITY
# & QUALITY
# OF RELATIONSHIPS

the respondents may be roughly grouped into four main categories:[1]

1) those with very few ties at Hawthorn. . . . . . . . . 25%

2) those with some current friendships, no old ones. . . 33%

3) those with some friendships, both current and old . . 23%

4) those with many friendships, both current and old . . 19%

In view of this, we are inclined to answer our first question by stating that Hawthorn appears to be more than a streetcar college for almost three-fourths of its students, though only one in five seems to take full advantage of the opportunity to make many friends.[2]

But it would be misleading to consider only the opportunities for friendship offered by the College. Now is the time to use our sociability data. The next chart shows the volume of interactions expanding as we pool current friendships and other contacts.[3]

---

[1] Our cut-off points are as follow:

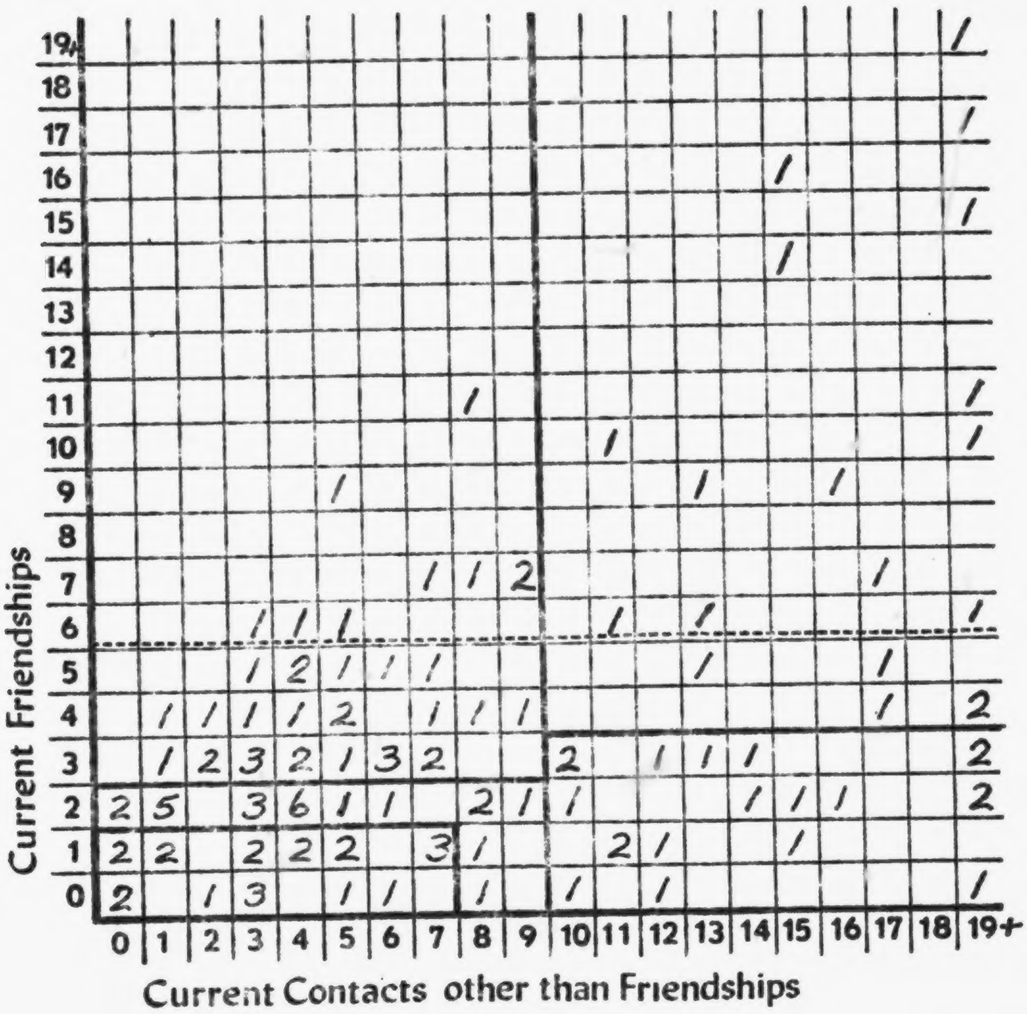
(1) the respondent has either no current friendship or only one, no matter how many old friendships he has (they are never more than three);
(2) the respondent has from two to five friendships, all of them presently actualized;
(3) in addition to two to five current friendships, the respondent is still involved in one to five old friendships;
(4) the respondent has more than five current friendships.

The students most highly related have the following combination of friendships (all of them reciprocal):
21 current, 0 old; 17 current, 11 old; 16 current, 1 old; 15 current, 0 old.

[2] There is a difference, however, between men and women. Only 13% of the men are found in category (4), as over against 27% of the women. As for the difference made by family's education, it looks again as if women suffered much harder than the men from having poorly educated parents: 66% of them are in category (1), none in category (4). The sons of poorly educated parents, on the other hand, tend to bunch up in category (2).

[3] When it comes to the count of "current contacts", we allow non-reciprocal choices to be counted. For one thing, the tests were not administered all at the same time, due to difficulties in scheduling, and we intended our concept of sociability to be broad rather than restrictive. Furthermore we wanted to be sure to include contacts between A and B when A knew B's last name but B did not know A's. On the chart, however, we do not report the partial data we have for the students who did not answer the test, though we take them into account when we compute the average of current contacts.

CURRENT FRIENDSHIPS vs. CONTACTS



| Current Friendships | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19+ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19+ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | / |
| 18 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 17 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | / |
| 16 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | / | | | | |
| 15 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | / |
| 14 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | / | | | | |
| 13 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 12 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 11 | | | | | | | | | / | | | | | | | | | | | / |
| 10 | | | | | | | | | | | | / | | | | | | | | / |
| 9 | | | | | | / | | | | | | | | / | | | / | | | |
| 8 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | | | | | | | | / | / | 2 | | | | | | | | / | | |
| 6 | | | | / | / | / | | | | | | / | | / | | | | | | / |
| 5 | | | | / | 2 | / | / | / | | | | | | / | | | | / | | |
| 4 | | / | / | / | / | 2 | | / | / | / | | | | | | | | / | | 2 |
| 3 | | / | 2 | 3 | 2 | / | 3 | 2 | | | 2 | | / | / | / | | | | | 2 |
| 2 | 2 | 5 | | 3 | 6 | / | / | | 2 | / | / | | | | / | / | / | | | 2 |
| 1 | 2 | 2 | | 2 | 2 | 2 | | 3 | / | | | 2 | / | | | / | | | | |
| 0 | 2 | | / | 3 | | / | / | | / | | / | | / | | | | | | | / |

Current Contacts other than Friendships

# THE DENSITY
# & QUALITY
# OF RELATIONSHIPS

The average for these other contacts, which are not significant or permanent enough to rank as friendship but which are significant enough to be remembered, is almost eight per respondent.

The area of the second chart can be subdivided into the following types:[1]

1) few interactions of any kind. . . . . . . . . . . . . . 17%

2) a few friendships and/or quite a few other contacts . 19%

3) friendships but not many other contacts . . . . . . . 31%

4) few friendships but many other contacts . . . . . . . 17%

5) many friendships and many other contacts. . . . . . . 16%

Thus only one sixth of the students appear to have failed to feel the benefit of a "small college" atmosphere. The others are engaged in meaningful interaction among themselves, whether it has flowered into solid friendships or stayed at the level of interesting and worthwhile exchange.

There is not much difference between men and women, except that the latter tend to fall less often in the extreme categories (e.g. 19% of the men are in category (5), vs. 11% of the women, while 22% of the men are in category (1), vs. another 11% of the women). The men from poorly educated homes are distributed among the categories which correspond to a great deal of contact, exchange and mutual support (29% in category (5), 21% in category (4), 43% in category (3)). The women from the same impoverished background on the other hand, divide themselves equally between categories (1) and (2).

The set of students in category (4) is intriguing. We find that almost all of them are chosen as friends by many of their fellow students, but do not respond.[1] The more contacts a student has, the more visible this phenomenon is. They seem to be popular figures who might have been turning their mind, after four years, to a new interest, whether profession, graduate school or marriage. They are still present to their fellow students, however. Students know their names, and feel that their relationship with them has been a good one. Even if they themselves are moving away from Hawthorn, they remain the symbols of what the good life at Hawthorn was supposed to be and many of their fellow students are attached to them for that.

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[1] In our selection of boundaries for the categories, we tried to divide the set of respondents into thirds of sixths. Category (1) corresponds to one or no current friendship, plus zero to seven plain contacts. Category (2) to two current friendships and up to nine contacts. Category (3) comprises all students with three or more current friendships and less than ten other contacts. Category (4) combines less than four current friendships and ten or more other contacts. Category (5) is wide open: the most involved student in it reported twenty-one reciprocal current friendships and thirty-two other meaningful contacts. Other popular students score: 17 current friendships, 20 other contacts; 16 current friendships, 15 other contacts; 15 current friendships, 20 other contacts; 11 current friendships, 30 other contacts.

Students in category (5) present the opposite picture. These prestigeful people generally mark down as friends a good many students who do not choose them.[2] Still, chosen or not on the test, they were, at least potentially, friends. They have not moved up and out but, as it were, they have stayed with their constituency. By their very attitude, their interest in other people's ideas, projects, troubles, they probably have sustained and enriched the whole network of interaction, even beyond their own outreach.

Precisely for this reason our next step in the analysis of the network of relationships is a special study of the most outstanding of these prestigeful people. For what they do, who they are, how they feel, what they think, is bound to have an impact on the minds of their fellow students. We have set our new cutting point at six current friendships, irrespective of the amount of other contacts.[3] On the chart this collection of twenty-three students is divided about evenly by the line separating the area of heavy contact (ten or more) from the area of limited contact. Our curiosity was whetted by the discovery that, on the whole, the students to the left of the line were heavily related to each other, and so were those to the right.[1] These were two distinct, and possibly distinctive, sets of students.

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[1] The friendship choices which are not reciprocal are entered on the chart as "other contacts" if and only if one of the two students involved indicates current contact (i.e. choices 1-0, 1-2, 3-2, 2-3, 2-1, 0-1). Unreciprocal friendship choices not accompanied by current contact (3-0, 0-3) are not taken into account on the chart, but they add considerable evidence supporting our present comment.

[2] If one adds up the choices of past and present friendships which are not confirmed by their peers, one reaches the stagering figures of twenty-seven, twenty-three, nineteen, and the like. In our judgement this should not be interpreted as a phenomenon of rejection. A much more likely interpretation is that far less popular students do not presume to claim the great man or woman as a friend.

[3] These vary from three to thirty-two.

## Discovering Two Worlds

We shall first try to convey to the reader what different realities of student life resulted in the strange segregation observed on the chart. Then we shall examine all we know about the background of the students in the two sets in order to progress in our understanding not only of those small groups but also of the factors in the situation at Hawthorn to which they reacted differently in manners presumably significant to their many friends and acquaintances.

Let us start with the set of students very much involved not only in friendships at Hawthorn but also in contacts of all types. The reader will not be surprised to learn that, once again at the end of four years, he is meeting here the most prominent members of the "community" whose first steps we have described earlier in this chapter. One of these members, who was well acquainted with his fellow students and had a flair for social analysis, gave us the following statement about the quality of relationships typical of this set:

> Beyond the laissez-faire attitude that what one does with his time outside the Center is his own business, if one is to be 'in' he must spend enough time with the people at the Center, and be willing to talk enough about himself, so that people know 'who he is.' Particularly important is knowledge about ethnic background (a factor which bears honor, and if one has a grandma and a family that carries on traditions in ceremonies, foods, etc., better yet); knowledge about one's intellectual interests (especially major, future career patterns if they are set, standards of intellectual integrity, and the like); and to a lesser extent knowledge about one's past friends and activities, where one gets his money (since it is evident that some kids get spending money from parents, if they do

---

[1] At first we thought that the first set should be considered more intimate (since in several cases its members had more friends than they had other contacts), the second more public, less demanding of friendship. We soon found out that the difference in the volume of contacts came from the fact that, while the set to the right related mostly to Hawthorn students, the others were heavily associated to other City students as well.

We also want to point out that the segregation is not perfect. Three students, though located in the right area of the diagram, clearly belong with those to the left, though one of them relates with several of the students to the right.

not work, while most make just enough money to get by by having part-time jobs).

Friendship begins as a casual happening: if you spend enough time around the Center, obviously you are spending less time with other friends; if people are willing to sit and listen to you, and you to them, you will eventually get to know enough about them to discuss more intimate matters and the friendship begins to define itself. If one is so active that he has friends in lots of areas, including the Center, it is no drawback to making more friends or sustaining Center friendship. The whole thing almost seems to be a matter of filling time at the Center, yet it leads to some very firm, intimate friendships.

It seems helpful if one comes to Hawthorn with other friends from his high school, because it is easier to begin gossip-type discussions, which lead into other types of discussions. (C___ and M______ are the obvious examples). Yet Hawthorn does not have that strong a student community (though stronger than in Liberal Arts) which can demand unequivocal loyalty. It is too free, open and individualistic. Most people must still go home at night, and the long, deep, tortuous discussions that are supposed to take place in campus dormitories, far into the night, do not take place here very often, and then usually at campus apartments after the Center closes or at 'parties.'

The Community is open enough for pre-Hawthorn and non-Hawthorn friends to be able to be brought into the Center and participate rather fully. Lately, with the general blurring of class lines (freshmen, sophomores, juniors, seniors) and with so many drop outs over the years, it has become unimportant to worry about whether the person you are talking to is from your own class or not.[1] He might easily be not in the College at all, or even not at the University. Many students who have quit school but still work and live around campus, use the Center and the Hawthorn student community (in whatever form that is) as a way of maintaining some kind of contact with their education, and some kind of identity as a student.

It is hard to know for what reasons some people leave the Center and their friends there. Only if it is quite blatant that the person has left suddenly and sold out, is he labeled a 'fink'. Actually, however, this is seldom. There is a general encouragement to take care of one's basic needs, or at least to worry about them (sex, future, ideology) because these are the things that are 'real',--people must, should concern themselves. It is when someone completely

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[1] From the context it is clear that the "drop-outs" referred to here are either students who leave school but not the campus area, or students who leave school for a while and come back later. It is the latter who most contribute to the "blurring of class lines."

> rejects the Center group as useless, lazy, affected, unrealistic, silly, and says so, that he is really ignored--disliked. But in this case, as in most, the decision as to shifting friends has been first made by the individual and reaffirmed or ignored by the group.
>
> Center friendships seem to be relationships where non-action is the rule. Only if one asks for help is it given, and if one does not want to include the Center people in a given activity it is quite easy to ignore them. On the other hand, for those that see themselves quite closely a part of the Center 'in' group, it is easy to ask for moral support and encouragement. If a person is getting a rough treatment from a teacher in Liberal Arts or Hawthorn, the information goes into the grapevine, from the students' point of view, and often reaches the faculty.
>
> From the other side, it might be the case that a person would ask for help or for contact outside the Center, which others were not willing to provide. If such is the case, one merely says, 'no,' or 'I can't afford to loan you any money,' or 'I don't have time tonight to drink beer,' or 'I just don't feel like it.'
>
> In many ways the group is highly moralistic and 'Protestant.' School work comes first, ideally, and people are encouraged to get their work done (having school work to do is the best excuse if one wants to be counted out of an activity). On the other hand since this is still a personal matter and there are enough people around the Center who are willing to put off their school work, it is relatively easy to find someone to accompany you in letting the work go, to spend the evening doing something else. On some moral matters there is high consensus: e.g. cheating, plagiarism and violations of intellectual integrity (such as turning in the same paper for two courses). One would not brag if he did so, and there are a lot of disgusted looks when someone mentions goings-on in some classes. Yet the disgust does not usually go so far as to report violators. The group would tend to freeze this kind of person out, but positive action doesn't go any further.

We find this an excellent presentation of the experience which all students in this first set have in common.[1] As the author points out, each member of the "community" has activities and interests which are outside this common ground. Since the community is not geared to action itself, how can it compete for students' time? What is it that draws them back there? The comments above suggest several answers. First, the taste for diversity: these students don't want to be with people from their high school, their ethnic group, their religion, their specialty. Second, the attraction of a group that is compatible with individual freedom,--freedom to explore, freedom to change, freedom to act or not to act. Third, the haven of consensus--a consensus which diversity and freedom make the more valuable--on matters of intellectual honesty with oneself and others.

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[1] Each one of them, of course, would use his own words and place a different emphasis, in terms of his own overall experience. For instance, a girl who has been much involved in the community, and has even managed to mobilize it for action, exclaims in a long interview:

> This is a fold right here, it is the safest place in the whole world. Everybody knows everybody else, everybody is concerned with everybody else, there is a spirit of brotherhood and fellowship. You take one step outside, one step, and you realize it is totally different out there.

About the second set of students we do not have, unfortunately, a document like the one we have quoted *in extenso*.[1] In order to get a feeling for their common experience we have to go first to an unlikely source--the records of the student organizations at City University.

At the very beginning of their student career, these students, almost all of whom are women, joined one or another of the multiple committees of the Association of Women Students. On their file the first entry dates all the way back to September 1959 (or, for the Spring entrant, a semester later). The full record of one of these whose contacts are most limited (according to our sociometric test), reads:

AWS Social Committee: member 9/59 - 1/60
AWS Forum Council: Activities Bd. Rep. 9/60 - 6/61
XYZ Sorority: member 1/61 - 6/63
    Jr. Rep. 2/61, Sr. Rep. 9/61
    Act. chairman 2/62
    Membership chairman 9/62 - 2/63, member 4/63
Panhellenic Rep. 1/61 - 1/62
Homecoming Committee: Tickets and Program chairman 11/61

Another one, more broadly involved, but whose friendships in her class still exceed her contacts, hence quite typical of the whole set:

AWS Charm: member 9/59 - 2/61; Rep. 9/61; ch. 2/62
AWS Music: member 9/59 - 2/60
AWS Etiquette: member 9/60 - 2/61

---

[1] The researchers never quite realized that this set of Hawthorn students were more than a handful of girls who for some reason belonged to a sorority. It was only through the sociometric test that it became clear to us that there had been intense social activity among them and around them (and thus, potentially at least, meaningful interaction). By then it was too late to ask them the necessary questions.

AWS Big Sister: member 9/60 - 2/61; 9/61 - 2/62
AWS Act. Bd. : member 9/61; ch. 9/62, 1/63, 4/63
AWS Exec. Bd. : member 2/62, 9/62, 1/63, 4/63
AWS Hope Chest: member 9/61
Creating for you: member 2/62
    Vice President 9/62, 1/63, 9/63
    Cabinet 9/62, 1/63, 4/63
IAWS Regional Convention Delegate: 3/6? (date incomplete)
IAWS State Meet Delegate: 11/62
Senior Board: 9/62, 1/63, 4/63
Elementary Education Club: 3/62 - 6/62

Such a record is tantalizing. There is a great chasm between this array of quaint names, this simultaniety of involvements, all (or almost all) on behalf of one association, and the hard sociometric data which report that the latter student has eleven very much alive reciprocal friendships. What went on in these committees? More importantly, what human qualities were being displayed and tested, on which friendships were being built? How was the minuscule Hawthorn contingent keeping its identity in the big Association of Women Students? We do not know. How they were recruited, what made it worthwhile for them to give so much of their time to the AWS, on what basis they dicided to join a sorority or not, what made them feel that they belonged to the Hawthorn student body while their time and energy were absorbed by the intricate structure of a campus-wide organization, we can only imagine. What the earliest dates on the records seem to make clear is that they did not join that organization because they wanted an alternative to what was going on among the new-born Hawthorn community at the Center. On the other hand, they never felt impelled to transfer their allegiance from Etiquette and Hope Chest committees to the developing Hawthorn community.

In the absence of a substantial document on this second set of students, it is crucial that we should understand as much as possible what stance they took vis-a-vis the first set. The only question in the 1963 interview which gives us a direct lead to this query is, "How do you think Hawthorn would do without any Center?" It is not a very good question for our purpose, for it evokes in most students the image of "what is going on" at the Center in terms of behavior, rather than the idea of its function. And so we get responses such as:

> It is not necessary. Not enough students put it to use. Most students at City are working and can't afford to spend time lounging around the Center. I always found the Library more adequate.

This answer is representative of only half the students in our second set, however. The rest see a purpose for the Center: (If the Center were not there) "it would destroy one of the basic ideas, intellectual community." The student whom we saw as almost belonging to the two sets has very concrete things to say:

> It would be a real disadvantage. It does give you a sense of belonging, a place to gather and meet your friends. They can hold meetings there without getting permission. Other people do wander in and they are always welcome.
>
> You can spread out and talk and argue. I've been on a few publications. It provides a base for operations, because it can be open at night. It's hard to do this in your own home. You can display posters there, pick up notices on things going on. You can play the Hi-Fi. I used to go see *Punch*. (Now all the magazines are gone and I wonder who took them). If you are looking for someone, you can leave messages there for friends. . .

Still, this does not answer our original question: how do the students in set two mentally picture their relation to those in set one?

We are fortunate to find our question answered by the most popular student in set two in a series of statements in her 1963 interview. First, indirectly, when she tells what she would "change about Hawthorn if she could:"

> ..."The instructor in small group discussion would have to make greater effort in drawing everybody out--make them feel that their ideas are as good as anybody else's. So that when they come to Senior Colloquium they can have the confidence to 'do battle' with *their fellow Hawthorn students* without having scars. (emphasis outs)

Then, more directly, when she is asked to comment on some of Hawthorn's original goals, especially "the creation of an intellectual community and fostering independent intellectual work:"

> I think they have created an intellectual community. Hawthorn students talk more than other City students about ideas. They are more aware of this type of thing. They have many speakerscoming in. *When the community emphasizes this* sort of thing, even *though you may walk away* from it or *not participate in it* as much as you might--you *still tend to think* of this sort of thing as the *highest good*. (emphasis ours)
>
> Hawthorn students *are* more independent. They can express an idea and take the consequences of it even if it is not acceptable in other groups: intellectual integrity. Even if they don't pursue independent intellectual work, the Hawthorn student is *more conscious* that he *should be doing more*. This feeling is going to *stay* with him *all his life*. (emphasis ours)

And finally, when she is asked, "If you could do it over again (your four years in Hawthorn), what would you change?

> Sometimes I regret not getting really active in the student Center, the (Hawthorn) board, the community--really submerging myself, making this really the focus of my life instead of dividing: classes vs. social functions. It may be better to congentrate just on Hawthorn.

This student points out several important expectations which she very likely shared with other students in her set at the beginning of her college career. First, that social functions and academic life were two seperate things. Second, that one would be submerged if she plunged into Hawthorn student life. Third, that one needed not make full use of discussion sections, visiting speakers and other resources. But as the years passed, as Hawthorn "worked on them", many of these students must have beoume aware that much of their intellectual and personal development was bound up with what had happened in the "community." A feeling of solidarity, even of gratitude (and in some cases of regret) may well have arisen in them, with rggard to those who had "done battle" all along, in their search for intellectual integrity--and who were quite ready to do battle with them now even though they had stereotyped them as "sorority types."

Having thus discovered and delineated two very different ways of being a student at Hawthorn, let us turn to a careful examination of differences in background and other characteristics of the two sets, in an effort to pierce through to what may lie at the root of this dichotemy. From now on we shall name these two sets of prominent students the "Hawthorn Set" and the "Campus Set," respectively. By this we do not mean to imply that only the first were contributing something of value to their college, or that the second did not truly belong to Hawthorn.[1] We only want to point out the different locale of their activities, and to a marked degree the distinctive flavor of their experience. While the members of the Campus Set were not being seasoned by the unending effort to make a dreamed of community come thue, they were not disheartened either by so many failures of so much effort, due to the "apathy" of the student body or to the shortcomings of the organizers themselves. The Campus Set, by the fourth year, showed none of the combat fatigue that comes through clearly in the interview of some of the members of the Hawthorn Set. The Hawthorn ideal was still shining bright for theCampus Set and if it were only for them we would be justified in considering them and their less engaged world very much a part of the fabric of the Hawthorn student body.[2]

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[1] The data from the first part of the sociometric test indicate that all but a few of these students spent most of their free time with Hawthorn students, generally members of their set, but occasionally others too.

[2] This compatibility will be revealed in striking fashion when we show later-on how elements of the two sets became a very close-knit clique when they were given the opportunity to work closely together.

## Any Differences in the Background of the Two Sets of Prominent Students?

In neither set are the very first places occupied by students from well educated families. The four most popular students have parents who are high school graduates or less. However, if we consider all of the twenty-two most popular students,[1] we find that in the Hawthorn set there is a slight majority of students whose parents have been in college, while the opposite is true for the Campus set. This is something of a surprise. We thought that college educated parents might have encouraged their children to join the social life on campus, while the children from less educated homes would have appreciated finding an open home at the Center. The daughter of college graduates and an active member of the Hawthorn set from the start confirms our first hunch, but only in part:

> My mother was a little bit sorry that I didn't get more involved in a sorority for example. She had when she was in college, and my father had belonged to a fraternity. And this had meant a great deal to them.

Ethnic backgrounds do not differ much. There are no Jews in the Campus set; otherwise, both sets have one Hungarian, and one or more studens from families recently arrived from the near East. In the Hawthorn set, more students are from a homogeneous ethnic background, in the Campus Set more are from a variety of mixtures of British descent with either Slavs (excluding Poles) or Scandinavians. There seems to be a complete indifference to the ordinary social ranking connotations of ethnic background in both sets: it is far more "chic" to be Hungarian than to be English.

Religious preferences, on the other hand, vary much more widely in the Hawthorn set than in the Campus set. The first includes not only Jews, Roman Catholics, and Lutherans, but rarer choices, such as Unitarian and Christian Scientist. The Campus set is much more confined to undenominational Protestantism, though it includes two Presbyterians and one Christian Scientist, and even one agnostic. Thus, one must reject the hypothesis we implicitly suggested at the opening of this chapter, that the Center might have frightened the students most comitted to a set of dogmas. Of our prominent students at least this is not true. The Protestants who formed their network of friendships outside the Center were not Fundamentalists.

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[1] Among the twenty-one students spotted on the graph, we have found that two were rather marginal (one to each of the sets). Since we are now trying to build a type, we are leaving them out of the present section. For the same reason, we have added one student to the set characterized by its great number of contacts. He did not appear on the chart because he refused to take the test. But he was chosen by many, and there is no doubt that he was well known and loved and closely connected with the Center.

Nor is the dividing line that between the city and the suburbs. Each one of the two sets consists of exactly the same proportion of city students (seven) and suburbanites (four). Besides, most of the city high schools which sent a large contingent to Hawthorn in 1959-60 contributed some student(s) to each set. More interesting still, from the ranks of a small contingent of four coming from a suburban high school, two prominent students emerged, one in each of the sets. All this seems to indicate that we must look elsewhere than to the usually important socio-economic differentiating characteristics to begin to understand how our prominent students ended up in one set or in the other.

A meticulous search among much of the data we have about the students' background revealed a clear, consistent and meaningful difference between the two sets only among the choices indicated by the 1959 entrants on the test called FIRO.[1] The "FIRO scores" which we use here aim at some of the respondent's basic patterns of relationships--those he has developed at home, and those along which he reacts to other social situations. The first score indicates the degree of attention received by the respondent at home (6 is high, 1 is low); the second score indicates the degree of discipline enforced at his home (6 is low, 1 is high); the third score indicates the degree of affection displayed at his home (6 is high, 1 is low). The fourth score indicates the degree of independence and initiative shown by the respondent in a social situation (6 is low, 1 is high)--the opposite of docility to others' expectations. The (GH) score indicates the dggree of active involvement sought by the respondent in a social situation (6 high, 1 low).[2]

Let us look at the scores on which our respondents are not unanimous or quasi-unanimous.[3] (Each row represents a different student).

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[1] See the full text of the instrument in Volume II.

[2] In the instrument used, the Attention score is obtained from response to statements 1 & 2, the discipline score from response to statements 3 & 4, the Affection score from response to statements 5 & 6; the Independence score from response to statements E & F, the Involvement score from response to statements G & H.

[3] In order to help the reader get a picture un-blurred by irrelevant data, we have left out the answers on which the students are almost unanimous. Most students agree that they grew up in a home attentive to them (scores 6 or 5), where they received a great deal of affection (scores 6 or 5). More surprisingly, most students describe themselves as very docile to others' expectations in a social situation (score 6 with a few 5). This leaves us free to focus our attention on the two columns, Discipline and Involvement, in which serious differences appear.

Unfortunately, the scores are not available for three students in each set--the five Spring '60 entrants, and one Fall '59 entrant who failed to take the test.

| HAWTHORN SET | | | | | CAMPUS SET | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Att. | Disc. | Aff. | Ind. | Inv. | Att. | Disc. | Aff. | Ind. | Inv. |
| 3 | 1 | 2 | | 6 | | 1 | | | 1 |
| 4 | 2 | | 2 | 5 | | 2 | | | 2 |
| | 3 | | | 4 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| | 2 | | | 6 | | | | | |
| | 2 | | 3 | 6 | | 3 | | | 3 |
| | | | | | 4 | 3 | | 3 | 3 |
| | 5 | | | 3 | | 4 | | | 4 |
| 1 | 6 | 2 | | 3 | | | | | |
| | | | | | | 2 | | | 4 |
| | 4 | | | 4 | | 3 | 4 | | 5 |

The pattern is unmistakable. Back in 1959, students now in the Hawthorn Set expressed an eagerness to be involved in a social situation in direct proportion to the amount of discipline they had received at home. For the students in the Campus Set, on the contrary, the degree of discipline applied in the home was in direct proportion to avoidance of involvement. This suggests a difference in personality structure and style of response. We are not quite dealing here, on the one hand with the kind of person who responds aggressively to pressure, and meekly to permissiveness; on the other hand, with a kind of person who responds meekly to pressure and aggressively to permissiveness. Rather we are faced with people long controlled by rather strict discipline, some of whom come to desire an active role for themselves; others of whom have come to prefer a passive role.[1]

It thus appears that, as they entered the College, the students who at the end of four years make up the Hawthorn set were, if not young rebels, at least keen on molding, on structuring their new situation. Those who are part of the Campus set might have been much more willing to take things as they were, to fit in the existing structure. One world was to be created, the other was there to go along with. The Hawthorn set might have been able to tolerate the "disorder" which was going to characterize the Center all through the years, even though they themselves were used to rather strict discipline, because they saw it as something to be ordered, something on which they could put their mark. While grumbling about the "mess," they took an active part in the efforts to build the "community," whether by designing and running a student government or by organizing week-ends, lectures, parties, Shows, orientation programs, and a multitude of other things. Meanwhile the few who had not been used to much discipline were feeling very much at home in the constant confrontation of ideas and of styles. The very grace with which they beheld the disorder might have been taken by the others as a sign that it was not overpowering, that it could be conquered.

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[1] Three cases among our sixteen do not correspond to our general analysis. We have segregated them at the bottom of our list. The two from the Campus Set are men who started going to the Center and being active there, and then moved on to fraternities and Campus life. We also have a few people who, having always been free from strict control, react to a new situation with a laissez-fiare attitude in one case, with some measure of aggressiveness in the other.

For students who looked for an existing structure, not for the challenge of creating something, what they saw as the reality of the Center must have given ample ground to stay away from it. Whether it was an intemperate "intellectual" discussion, or card playing during lectures, or rough play with the furniture (for all of these things took place quite often), for them to tolerate it would have meant to condone it, to let themselves be defined by it.

It is fortunate for Hawthorn College that its young builders were generally so surprisingly "docile to the expectations of others." For while they applied their energy to the new situation they did it on each other's behalf, not as a collection of free entrepreneurs. By their very attention to others they brought into existence what amount of concensus existed at the end of four years. Relating to people as persons was the mode of action, not manipulation of fellow students or of the administration. The few students whose style inclined them more to independant action were less builders and concensus makers than maintainers of standards once these had already emerged. Finally, the few students who felt a lack of attention or *even of affection at home were among those who poured the greatest* amount of energy, time, patience, affection, into that common enterprise which was to give them something very much like a second home.[1]

Other traits which clearly distinguish between the Hawthorn set and the Campus set are interesting, but do not shed further light on why these potential but as yet unrecognized leaders at their entrance into Hawthorn College branched off in two different directions. We shall list these differences, however, to complete our portrayal of each set. All prominent students in the Hawthorn set have taken special courses, tutorials, seminars and the like, with Hawthorn faculty. These have been important in their intellectual development, as well as in developing friendships among students and between students and faculty.[2]

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[1] We would not dare to expand our analysis of the additional scores we have listed for the Campus set. We do not doubt that the desire for independent action could be satisfied within the context of the Association of Women Students, but we know too little about it.

[2] This question is raised again at length in Chapter V.

In the Campus set, only four students out of eleven have availed themselves of these special opportunities, and then, it seems, very much as individuals rather than in concert with others of their set. We also find that, when asked to "rank Albert Camus, John F. Kennedy, and Jonal Salk in order of the contribution of their work to mankind," students in the Hawthorn set, taken as a whole, give first place to both Salk and Camus--Kennedy being a poor third; while students in the Campus set put Salk clearly first, Kennedy being second, and Camus a close third. There is no uniformity of views within either set, and we must not forget that the knowledge of Camus at least must have been uneven among the students.[1] Yet there is an indication that the Hawthorn set does value the discussion and invention of ideas more than does the Campus set, for whom actual concrete service rendered tp people appears to have some priority.[2]

There is another clear-cut difference between the two sets of prominent students however, which seems to point in the opposite direction. When asked about their best discussion class, the students in the Hawthorn set tend to select an early class. Their Senior Colloquium is only their second choice even though several of them worked long and hard to try to mold it into a course that would really belong to the students. But in the Campus set seven students choose the colloquium as their best discussion. This is fascinating. As we have heard above from one of the most articulate members of this set, the Colloquium could easily be seen as an occasion to "do battle" with fellow students (and not necessarily with even odds.[3]) Even if this element of confrontation were not present, the colloquium was a course for the quality (and sometimes the content) of which the students themselves, and not the faculty, were responsible. Colloquium was very much of a challenge, not unlike the situation at the beginning of the student community--something to be created. It appears as if the Campus set who had not been ready in 1959 or 1960 to answer the challenge, were happy and eager to do so in 1962 or 1963. In a way, it could be symbolic that the students in the Hawthorn set would turn back to their early discussions classes and say: that is when it all started for us--while the students in the Campus set would point at the Colloquium, in their senior year, and say: this is when it is all falling into place for us, right now.

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[1] The total scores are:
Hawthorn set: Salk 27, Camus 26, Kennedy 19.
Campus set: Salk 29, Kennedy 22.5, Camus 20.5.
This question was asked before the assassination of President Kennedy, and also before the knowledge of Camus had spread widely on the American campuses. The students, however, had read The Stranger for their Humanities course.

[2] The reader may be interested in some confirming evidence coming from the 1959 and 1963 scores achieved by these students on the Test of Critical Thinking. The Hawthorn set averaged an increase of 4.5, the Campus set an increase of only 1 point(out of a maximum score of 50). Two students in the latter achieved lower scores in 1963 than in 1959. It may be that students in the Campus set had come to realize the futility of logical reasoning in the face of some of the questions and decisions occuring in real life.

[3] See above, p.35 ff.

## The Other Worlds

It would be tempting to assume that the two types of students which we have just sketched are the two types found at Hawthorn, and to place all students in terms of whether they resemble more one or the other, keeping in mind the obvious factor that no other student is as popular as those we have just examined. Thanks to the sociometirc data we know, however, that such a procedure would be a gross misrepresentation of the facts. There were many more than two main types of students at Hawthorn, many worlds besides the two we have explored so far through their leading members.

Among the students who were quite involved in the new-born community at first, there was a branching off in directions which ended up in their reaching very different positions. On the one hand, there were the students who came to feel that the exchange of ideas, the intense intellectual search, was so important and vital that nothing else counted much--neither the consideration of one's own future, nor the established standards of the rest of the academic world, whether embodied in City University course offerings or in the proceudres for being admitted to a graduate school, or even in Hawthorn College's own requirements for a degree. These students made up a small world, which we call the "Fringe."[1]

On the other hand, there were students who, while genuinely interested in the opportunity to meet people different from themselves at the Center and in related activities, did not find the experience quite satisfying. They kept alive their close ties with old friends from high school and remained primarily attached to their pre-existing network of relationships.[2] We do not mean to imply that these relationships became stagnant, arrested at a juvenile stage. We think rather that these students felt far more comfortable teaming up with people whose standards, abilites and general outlook they knew than with strangers. Nor were the groups they formed at Hawthorn completely mutually exclusive. There is not one of them that did not incorporate one or two students from another high school. but they recruited cautiously, within a narrow range. This is why we have called their world the "Old Boys' World."[3]

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[1] We would call it the "Intellctual Fringe" if the name did not suggest that it is the Intellect that was on the Fringe at Hawthorn rather than the Fringe that was Intellectual.

[2] This applies almost exclusively to the students in the two large contingents from excellent high schools.

[3] As a rule they co-opted students from their own ethnic group or from their neighborhood, and students they considered their equals in intelligence.

But there was still another way Hawthorn students could take a position in regard to the two main types; consider them both as rather childishly wasting their time. What did a "community" have to do with College? what did an Association of Women Students? College was course work, learning, earning a degree, getting to be a teacher or a doctor or an engineer.[1] From that hardnosed perspective, the type of students we have called pioneers, contact makers, builders, opinion leaders appeared to be playing rather recklessly not only with their own academic career but also with the present image and the future success of the new College. Involvement with campus activities might have been dismissed as simply unnecessary, but the excitement and the consequent disorder at the Center were seen as shocking.[2]

What brought us to recognize that two different worlds shared in this reaction was the strikingly different patterns of relationships we found there. Some sets of students were very small (three students, one of them often marginal). Some were rather large (six to eight members) but with few current contacts--for them friendship seemed to be the equivalent of regard or esteem. Still others were rather large but their members were closely related to each other, and in frequent contact with each other. We reasoned that the members of the latter groups had managed to find a base for themselves. They were of considerable support to each other. Whether they were all fighting for the same goal (entrance to Medical School) or were giving each other moral encouragement and actual help in the long-drawn ordeal of taking prescribed courses and becoming fit for some profession, these students' cliques deserved the name of teams as few others could. For one got the feeling that, had one or two members fallen by the wayside, the others might not have been able to carry on their effort. We called these latter groupings the Professional world.

The members of the very small cliques, or of the loose groupings, did not have the same advantages. Their resources were limited either by lack of diversity in their members' perspectives and talents or by lack of conversation, hence of sharing. Harking back to our original question, "Would Hawthorn manage to overcome the handicaps of being a streetcar college?" we decided that we would consider the sets of poorly inter-connected students as members of a final world--which we called the "Streetcar World."[1] These students were least well known as a group or type by any of the researchers. While they were at school, we thought of them as "timid," or "loners," or as "arch-individualists," or as "the quiet ones." In other words, we thought of them in terms of what might be broadly called personality characteristics. We now think that it is better to emphasize that behavior such as theirs was very much to be expected in view of the institutional setting of Hawthorn--a non-residential college in a large University. What is surprising is that the development and persistence of the other worlds kept their number relatively small (thirty-nine students).

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[1] Such reactions need not have been immediate. Some students might have tried for some time to see whether the Center (or a Campus organization) had something to offer. Some might have become critical only in the face of what they saw as lack of response to some activity they had helped launch. And of course several students who had to hold a job had little opportunity even to become acquainted with the two worlds of the leaders.

[2] There were two nuances in this opposition to the two worlds of prominent students. One more utilitarian, the other bordering on scandal that something pure and sacred, whether Education or the Ideal of a new College, be defiled by people who pretended to care for it but whose actions denied their words. The two nuances often color the reaction of the same student.

### Background of Students in the Different Worlds

Just as we did it above for the most prominent students, we

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[1] The term "non-world" might be more accurate than the term "world," at least from the standpoint of interconnections and mutual awareness. Still the existence of the small cliques testifies that there was *some* common ground upon which meaningful relations could be established. The question is raised in a subsequent part of this chapter.

On the other hand, individuals in this world, *qua* individuals participated, though sporadically, in some activities at the Center, as did members of some of the tightly knit clusters of Professionals. To the question: "How do you think Hawthorn would do without a Center?" we get the following distribution of answers:

| | Old Boys | Streetcar | Professionals |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pro-Center | | | |
| uses it at times | 11 | 11 | 7 |
| does not use it | 2 | 4 | 1 |
| Indifferent | 4 | 13 | 4 |
| Against Center | | | |
| mildly critical | 2 | 7 | 7 |
| hostile | 3 | 1 | 1 |

shall now examine how students are distributed into the six different worlds with regard to some basic characteristics of their background.[1] From now on, when we speak of the "Campus World" we shall refer to the Campus Set and also to the students who are more modest members of the same clusters or cliques. Likewise, what we shall call the "Core World" includes both the popular students of the Hawthorn Set and their less outstanding or even marginal associates.

Let us start with the first Chart which displays the Social Composition of the Worlds.[2] The World with the population most evenly recruited from the four social strata is the shadowy Streetcar World. It is made up of important contigents of students from all levels of educational background. The relatively high number in this world of women from the least educated families (42% of these women) suggests, however, that female students from this background have found it difficult to become full-fledged members of the other worlds. The other big contingents in the Streetcar World come from the higher social strata--daughters of college graduates and sons of families with some experience of college. This kind of background should help a student enter the stream of College life. How so many of them, failing apparently to feel at ease in any of the other worlds, end up confined to the limited contacts or tenuous friendships of the Streetcar World baffles us.[3]

The Core is the other world which attracts students from all levels of the student population, except the men from the lowest level *of education background. The dominant forces, in terms of* both numbers and popularity, are the sons of college graduates and of high school graduates. Notice, however, that one of the most popular men in the Core is the son of parents who did not even finish high school. This would indicate that other fellows from his kind of background were not discriminated against but rather did not find the companion ship of the Core compatible with their own style.

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[1] Four charts will help the reader follow the discussion more closely in this section and the next. All of these charts are built on the same model. The population of each world is represented in a way inspired by the demographer's population pyramids. Males and Females are lined up on each side of a vertical line. They are ordered according to some second variable, the main subcategories of which are themselves ranked from high to low (e.g. parents' educa-

[2] This first chart indicates the students' original social status, in terms of their parents' level of education. It also indicates their social status (sociometrically determined) in Hawthorn's senior class.

[3] Turning to the FIRO entrance scores, we find that, of the six men, three scored high on independence. Another scored rather high, and since he was married and little time to spend on campus, his case is no longer so surprising. The other two men scored high or medium high in "docility to the expectations of others" and medium in eagerness to be involved. The data on student organizations and their own interviews show that one of them is a member of a club in his professional school, the other a member of a fraternity which has no other members from Hawthorn. Such cases of students who overcome the

Interestingly, the very opposite is true of the Fringe, While it is too small to recruit many people from any of the educational levels, its largest contingent (especially in relative numbers) comes from the men from the least educated homes. This suggests that their coolness to the Core might have been due less to the presence in its midst of large numbers of students from better backgrounds than to their own taste for a clear-cut ideology rather than open-ended positions and approaches.

This hunch is confirmed by the large proportion of men from the same lowest education background (40%) which we find in the Professionals' World side by side with the sons of college graduates. The positions and approaches taken in this World are the opposite to those in the Fringe, but the Professionals ideas are equally unambiguous and conducive to specific action. The low proportion of men whose relatives are at least acquainted with higher education, and the quasi-total absence of women are the two other intriguing features of this world.

The Campus World is dominated by students from the middle levels of education background. The daughters of high school graduates, in particular, swarm into it. They, together with women from the level immediately above, between them dominate the Campus World, both in sheer numbers and in popularity. Whe have observed this already in our

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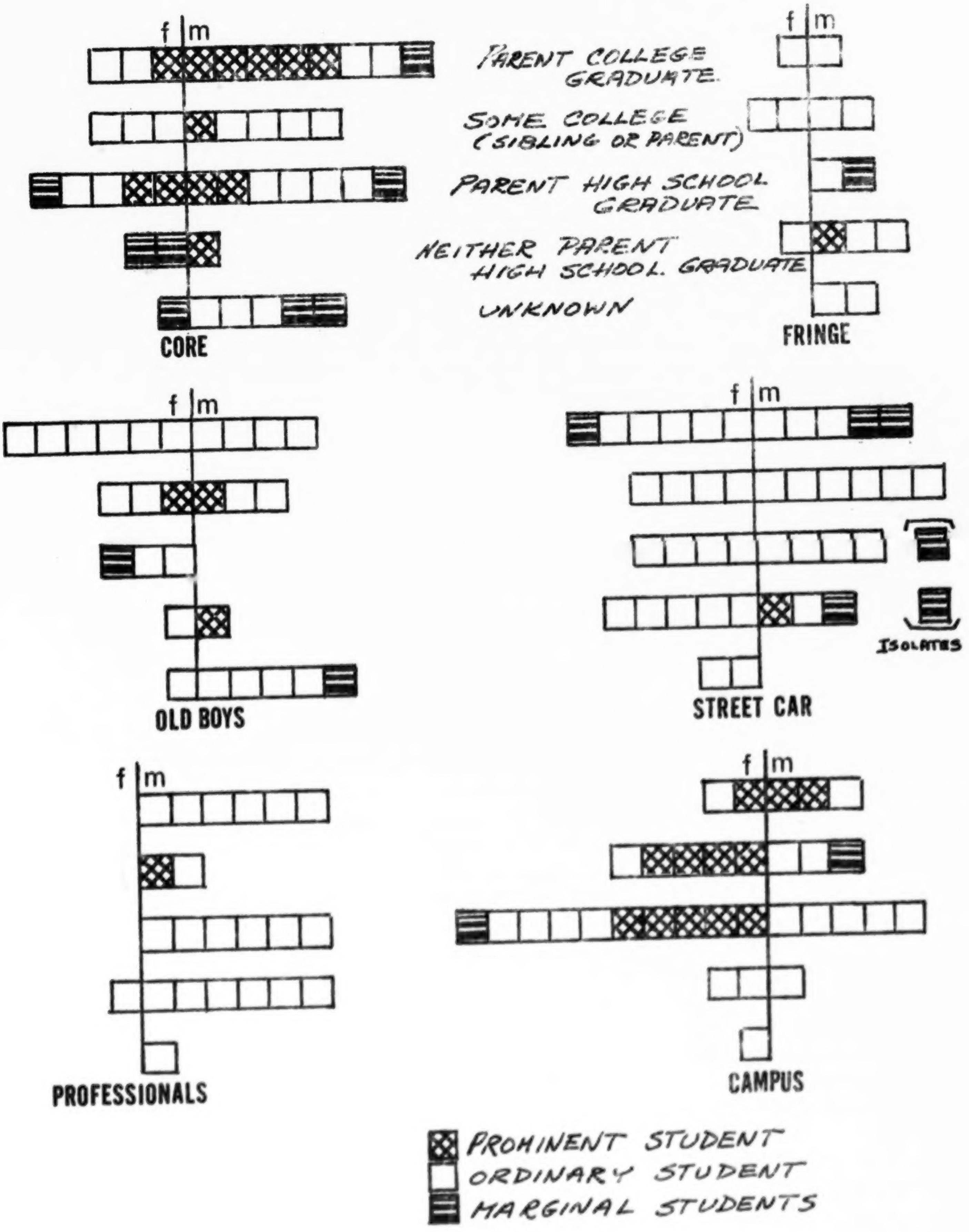
anonymity of the large campus by membership in groups completely unrelated to Hawthorn are rare. We shall return to them later.

Among the women, none scored high on independence. Four scored low or very low on desire to be actively involved. However two others scored high on the latter dimension. We find that one of them is in a sorority which has no other member from Hawthorn. The other started to attend the Center. But she explains:

> We played cards a lot. I knew I wasn't going to pass if I continued that. I didn't really get to know anybody, I just played cards, and I wanted to discuss.
>
> I found another outlet in the ____ club where we did have discussions, even though they were primarily on religious topics, and where I felt a little more at ease in my relationships with the other students.
>
> I think you need a center but I think something needs to be done to encourage all the different individual students to come. Something that draws your quiet students as well as the others.

# Social Composition of the Worlds:



analysis of the Campus set. Now we see that their cohorts too come primarily from the ranks of the sons and daughters of high school graduates. The few popular men, however, are sons of college graduates,

The Old Boys' world has a large contingent of students coming from well-educated homes.[1] In fact, it is almost exclusively made up of students from the two higher levels of education background. The sons of high school graduates are conspicuously absent, having apparently been much more attracted to the worlds where the action is--Core and Campus--and also Professionals. Finally, there are only one man and one woman from the lowest education level (the smallest contingent for any of the worlds), but once again this lone man achieves popularity, more so than any of the men from the upper bracket.

Having tried to point out the particular tendency of students coming from each educational level to join this or that world, let us hasten to add that even more striking is the phenomenon of the *intermingling of students from various levels within each one of the Worlds*. None of these worlds is formed on the basis of self-segregation, the students from "better" background ignoring those from the lower levels. While there are elements in a student's social background that would make one world or the other more attractive (or more irrelevant) to him, nobody would have cause to dub any of the worlds as "higher class" or "lower class."[2]

Moreover, each of the worlds appears to have had its own brand of equalitarianism. The Core's main assumption being that other students were worth discovering, relationships entered into there were bound to be rather welcoming and respectful of differences in class level. In The Fringe, students were interested in intellectual capacity and achievement and disdainful of standards which reeked of what is now popularly called the Establishment. In the Old Boys' World, the levelling off of class differences had been started in high school, and was accelerated in the early confrontation between one prestigeful high school and the other one. In the Professionals' World, the common struggle also had some levelling effect, though limited by the absence of overlap among the cliques. In the Campus World, the dominance of students from the intermediary levels must have made for an equalitarianism of sorts.

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[1] The majority of them actually are women (the Old Boys' World could just as well be called the Old Girls' World, if it weren't that only one of the women achieves some degree of prominence while two of the men do.

[2] The same holds true of the clusters themselves. If we treat as five separate levels those which we have been using all along:
(1) neither parent a high school graduate, (2) one parent at least a high school graduate, (3) brother or sister in college or college graduate, (4) parent(s) having had some college, (5) one parent at least a college graduate, and consider each cluster in the different worlds.
We find the following number of "levels" in each =
Core: 4, 5, 5. Fringe: 3, 4, 5. Old Boys: 2, 4, 4, 5, 5.
Streetcar: 1, 3, 3, 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, Professionals: 2, 4, 5, 5. Campus: 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5.
In other terms, all clusters but three brought together students from backgrounds at least three levels removed from each other. Of these three, two were "higher class" (from Streetcar and Old Boys' worlds, with a total of eight students, one was "lower class" (Professionals' World, with a total of five students).

The second chart indicates the religious preferences of students when they entered Hawthorn, and secondarily their ethnic background. Here we find a striking difference between the Core world and all the others. None is as diverse and balanced in religious composition.[1] The Fringe, besides being bereft of Roman Catholics,[2] and poor in devout Protestants, has an over-abundance of Jews, none of whom, moreover, is "pious."[3] The Old Boys' World is overwhelmingly made up of Jews.[4] The Professionals' world appears as a Catholic haven. The Campus world is in the hand of Protestants--or more exactly of devout Protestants, for the less devout tend to confine themselves to the Streetcar world.[5]

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[1] The Streetcar world is well blended too, but again we take this to indicate that none of the subgroupings lacked access to at least one of the more substantial worlds.

[2] The two agnostics have Catholic parents, however, and are presumably ex-Catholics.

[3] To help the broad denominational categories convey some meaning in terms of students' values, commitment, habits of mind, style of relationships, etc., we have distinguished between those who gave behavioral signs of special attachment to their religion and those who did not. For our behavioual definitions, see above, p. ____.

[4] There are in this world one very large Jewish group (with a majority of men), and a smaller Jewish clique (with a majority of women). Besides, there is a clique of Students Assistants which includes Jews and others; a small high school clique also mixed in religious preferences; and a small clique of gentile women which we hesitated for a long time to place in this world, feeling, as it were, that they would be trespassing. However some of these girls associated with Jewish men, which helped us make our decision and stick to it.

[5] The fact that there is not a single Jew in the Campus world should not be interpreted as pointing to discrimination against them. Other data reveal that several Jewish students left Hawthorn early and became successfully involved in the social life of campus-wide associations, fraternities and sororities. Rather, no Jewish student was willing to live the double life of belonging simultaneously to Hawthorn and to campus organizations.

The distribution of students into the worlds in terms of their ethnic origin has its intriguing aspects.[1] The students whom we have designated as "Poles" are found almost without exception in the Core World if they are half-Polish (whether on their father or their mother's side), in the Porfessionals' World if they are Polish on both sides. In the former case they are, more often than not, Protestant or agnostic; in the latter case they are almost always Roman Catholics. It seems as if within this large ethnic group, the children of inter-ethnic marriages whose parents might have gone through a change in religion, were more ready than the others to tolerate the confusion, the openness, the confrontation which made up the daily fare at the Center. The others appear to have been determined to take a narrower view of the function of education, and of its impact on their lives.

There is a parallel phenomenon for the students of German descent. This time, the "Germans" we find in the Core and in the Campus Worlds are practically all half-Germans. Those in the Streetcar World are primarily (four out of six) pure German.[2] Continuing this sorting out of the facts concerning ethnic homogeneity, we find that the pure Scandinavians (two in all) are located in the Core and the Fringe, while those in the Professionals' and the Campus Worlds are almost always half-Scandinavian only. There is no such clear-cut separation for the Hungarians. As for the Slavs (other than Poles), they are all of mixed ancestry except two Serbo-Roumanians. Students whose ascendants came from the Levant, almost all of pure ethnic background, congregate where the action is, in the Core and the Campus Worlds.

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[1] The ethnic key to the Table singles out ethnic groups or combines them on the basis of three factors:
(1) size of each ethnic contingent at the end of the first year;
(2) tendency, on the part of members of small, visible contingents, to stay and become importantly involved;
(3) tendency of some contingents to turn into rather homogenious cliques.

Thus the ethnic groups combined as "all others" are those whose size did not exceed twelve and which were neither clearly "visible" nor formed ethnic cliques.

The "important small ethnic groups," on the contrary, comprise those whose ethnicity was recognized and appreciated, i.e., the Scandinavians, Hungarians, Slavs other than the Poles, and people from the Levant.

It will be clear to the reader that we are trying to pattern our classifications to the viewpoints held by Hawthorn's students, not to any a priori scheme for coding nationalities most elegantly. In particular, we are not paying attention to the nation of origin of the families of Jewish students because they did not define themselves as Polish Jews or Russian Jews, but as Jews--or so they tell us.

[2] The families of half of these have been established in the U.S. for at least four generations.

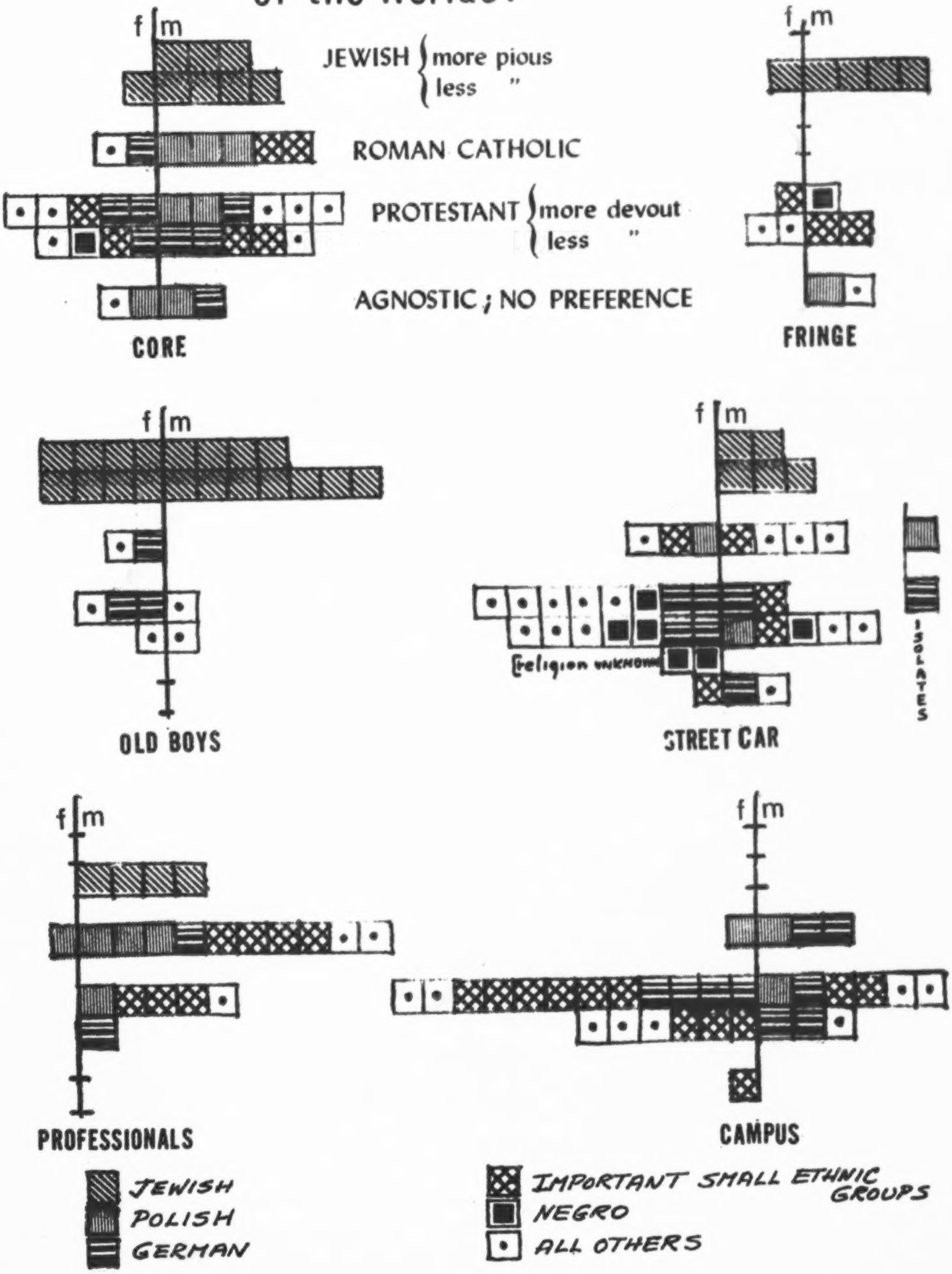
Having discovered this rather puzzling fact, we wonder again about the cluster of four women that we placed in the Old Boys' World even though they did not quite fit there. We now suspect that they would indeed have been better placed in the Streetcar World: half of them are pure German.

It is also interesting to notice despite so valuing heterogeneand flexibility, the Core's most popular students are: (1) students from homogeneous background, (2) students from part-German background who show some of the characteristic stiffness of the stereotype. All these a-typical popular students may be appreciated for acting as anchors in the sea of on-going exchange, their own solidity enabling them to assume the role of leaders. Conversely, the Campus World, which values efficiency and responsibility in carrying out activities on behalf of the group, has primarily as leaders half-Scandinavians with a tendency toward introspection, as we have noted before.

Finally, a word on the sad stroy of the Negores' partial exodus. Hawthorn started with a small (eight men, nine women) but very lively contingent of Negro students. Several of them moved immediately into the thick of the community. When in November 1959 the newly entered class held an open house for high school seniors interested in Hawthorn, it was one of the women of the Negro group who acted as moderator of the discussion of education which was the prime event of the program. It was one of them, a man, who chaired the Center Steering Committee during its first months. While these Negro students came to know each other well, they never formed a clique in the standoffish sense of the word, they mixed easily with their fellow students, including some visiting at each other's homes. But by the end of the sophomore year the most popular of the Negroes were gone or going. Some left to get married, some transferred because they had to hold a job or to follow a major whose requirements in class hours made it impossible to continue in Hawthorn. They left behind a decapitated body, which persisted as a rather tenuous clique in the Streetcar world, though a few individuals branched off on their own. The Core, the Old Boys' world, and particularly the Fringe still felt quite welcoming to all of them (in the sociometric test most of the Negro students are selected as friends by half a dozen to a dozen individuals from five or six clusters). But in these days predating the Black Revolution the recipients of these choices were too timid to acknowledge the existence of these potential relations. More than good memories and sound principles on the part of their fellow students were required for Negroes to be integrated into the life of these Worlds.

Next, with the help of the third Chart, let us ask ourselves how much Hawthorn's worlds reflected prior arrangements, such as the students' preparation for college as they entered Hawthorn. Let us look first at the quality of high school represented in

# Religious and Ethnic Composition of the Worlds:



each world. We find a tremendous concentration of students from excellant high schools (especially women) in the Old Boys' world, which does not come as a surprise since it was only the two excellent high schools that sent Hawthorn contingents large enough for a phenomenon like the Old Boys' world to arise. The Campus World has few students from excellent high schools. Women from excellent high schools tend to avoid the Streetcar world. Otherwise, the distribution of each type of high school in the worlds matches the overall proportion of students coming to Hawthorn from that quality of high school.

The picture changes dramatically when we examine the students' entrance scores. Now the Fringe has the lion's share and appears to be composed almost exclusively of students who entered with high scores. The Core World too has attracted many men with high entrance scores. On the other hand, the male population of the Old Boys' world and of the Professionals' world, as well as the female population of the Campus world have a relatively high proportion of students who entered with low scores (and a correspondingly low proportion of students with high scores).

This double scrutiny singles out only one world as sadly lacking in students well equipped for college--the Campus world, especially on the part of women, who as we have already seen, dominate it in terms of both numbers and prominence. If we combine, for each world, the students who entered college either with the academic background provided by an excellent high school or with the skills attested by high entrance scores, we arrive at the following distribution of presumably well prepared students:

| | Women | Men |
|---|---|---|
| Old Boys' World | .79 | .69 |
| Fringe World | .75 | .70 |
| Professionals' World[1] | -- | .62 |
| Core World | .43 | .54 |
| Streetcar World | .19 | .56 |
| Campus World | .14 | .33 |

This gives us an idea of the kind of overall academic performance which could be expected a priori from each world.

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[1] The Professionals' world ranks so high because its members with high entrance scores happen not to have gone to excellent schools and vice versa. There is much more of an overlap in the Fringe, the Core, and even in the Campus world.

## The Quality and Style of Academic Performance in Each World

At this point we want to grapple with the question of academic performance. We are aware that, given our presentation of the worlds so far, the reader might be tempted to translate our "types" into those reported in current studies of student cultures or subcultures. The Core would be the activists, the Fringe would be the Beatniks. The Professionals, together with the Streetcar students who seem to be at school strictly to take their courses and get their degree, would make up the vocationally minded subculture. The Campus world would correspond to the fun oriented subculture. The Old Boys, with their fine high school background, would be seen as the budding scholars. While there may be a grain of truth in this interpretation of our findings, we think that it is grossly inadequate. The fourth chart presents some of the salient facts concerning academic performance, and approach to curricular choices.

First, observe that each one of the worlds produces its budding scholard, if we can trust our operational definition of "excellent record" to be an adequate index.[1] Each world also is dragging along a number of students whose record is poor enough to keep them from graduating until they bring up their honor point average. Still, each world seems to be having its distinctive academic style.

The Core world is the one where all levels of achievement are almost evenly distributed. It is also, together with the Fringe, clearly partial to the "liberal" approach to education. That is to say, its students are making decisions concerning the courses they take and the curriculum they elect on the basis of their interest in an academic discipline or in an attempt to develop their mind as broadly as possible.[2] How can so many failures or near failures

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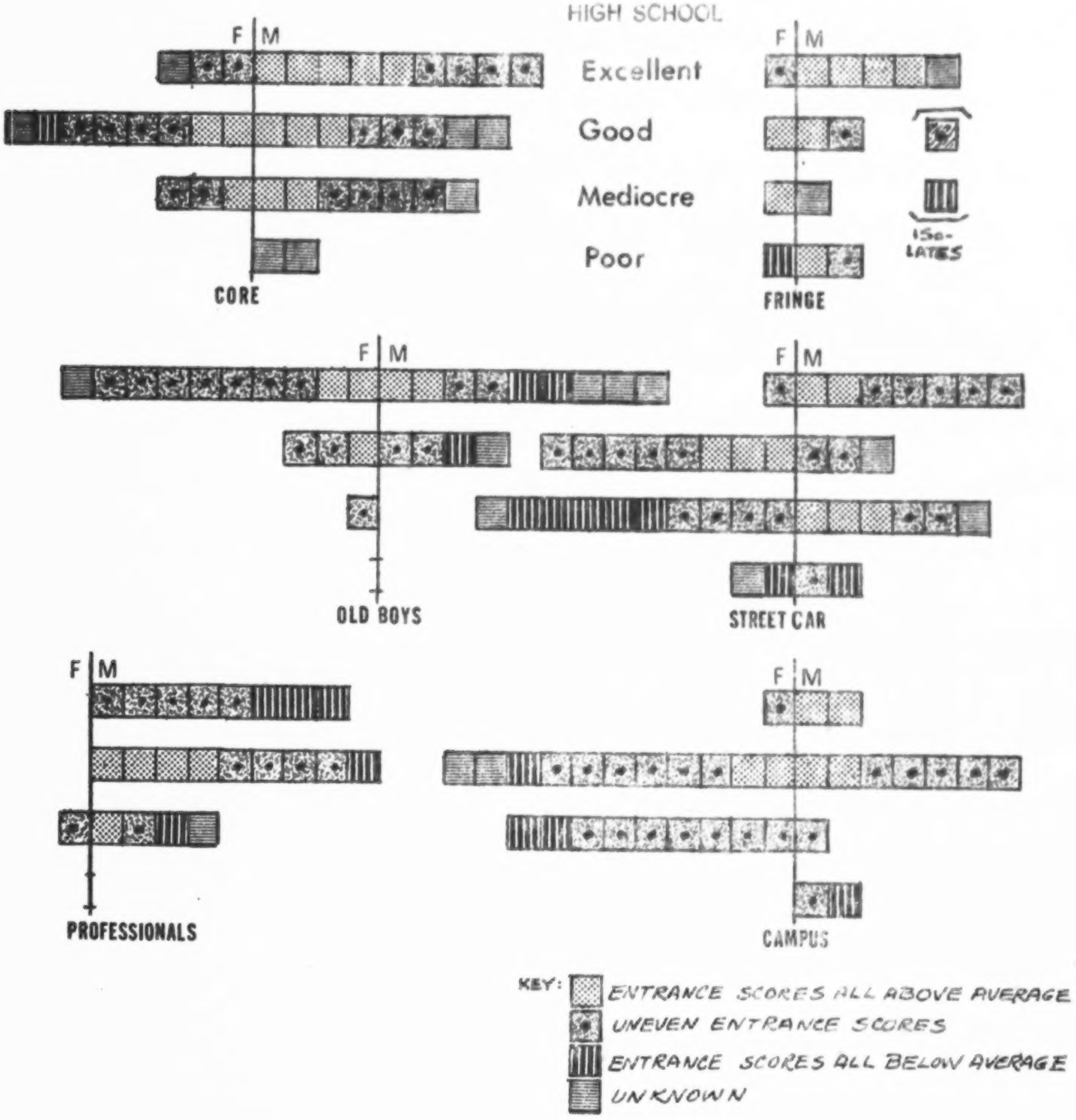
[1] We call an academic record "excellent" when it shows at least 45 credit hours of A's (of one-fourth of the student's requirements for a degree, excluding "Mickey Mouse" courses).

[2] None of the men who started with a specific professional goal pursued it singlemindedly, except a marginal member whose curriculum was pre-law, that is to say the most liberal of the pre-professional options. One fourth did make up their mind to enter a profession, but this professional choice was based on their college experience itself, hence free and deliberate, and hence to some degree "liberal" (we call it "adaptive"). More than two-thirds organized their studies around the wide open "general curriculum," or around academic majors. Even the women in the Core echo this preference for a liberal education --43 follow a liberal approach, only 29 an instrumental one (that is to say: one in which the original professional choice is pursued steadily, regardless of new perspectives which college experience might provide). However they tend to take much less advantage of special Hawthorn offerings (seminars, etc.) than do the men.

## Composition of the Worlds in terms of preparation for college:



coexist with so many successes in this "community?" Can't the students who are academically in trouble count on their brilliant fellows to help them prepare for exams, give them advice on writing papers, and the like? This question leads us to a new insight into the Core. In it, excellent student and poor student meet each other on an equal basis. Together they discuss the problems of Hawthorn, the international situations, human nature. And then each one goes home and does his school work as best he can. Good grades, scholarships, and other tokens of academic recognition are valued. But they are sought individually, not in teamwork. What is sought collectively is enlightenment, understanding. And while there is a strong consensus that these cannot be separated from regular academic work, the intermeshing of the two into a personal style of discipline and study is left pretty much up to the individual.

All this is true of the Fringe, only more so. For in that world grades are not valued, not even admission to the prestigeful graduate school. What is valued is creative work, whether of a scholarly or of an artistic nature (very little distinction is made between the two, though individual students know which one they are better at). When asked what would raise the standing of a person in their group, Fringe students say such things as:

> If I was to write a very good book. . . I wrote a few good stories and what this did was to bring fresh life into the group.
>
> A competent bit of research or essay.
>
> Coming up with something new and original, very creative. Ideas works of art, social criticism.

They sound more like graduate students who care about their general culture than like undergraduates.[1] Applying oneself intellectually is definitely "in," not "out." Taking tutorials and seminars with Hawthorn faculty members is quite the thing to do . Small teams may be formed, not to study for exams but to carry on a serious piece of independent research. More importantly, these activities are not seen as relevant only to the individual. They are his contributions to his group, and to the Hawthorn student body at large if the latter should care to accept it. The ideal exchange here is not conversation as much as production and critical appreciation.[2]

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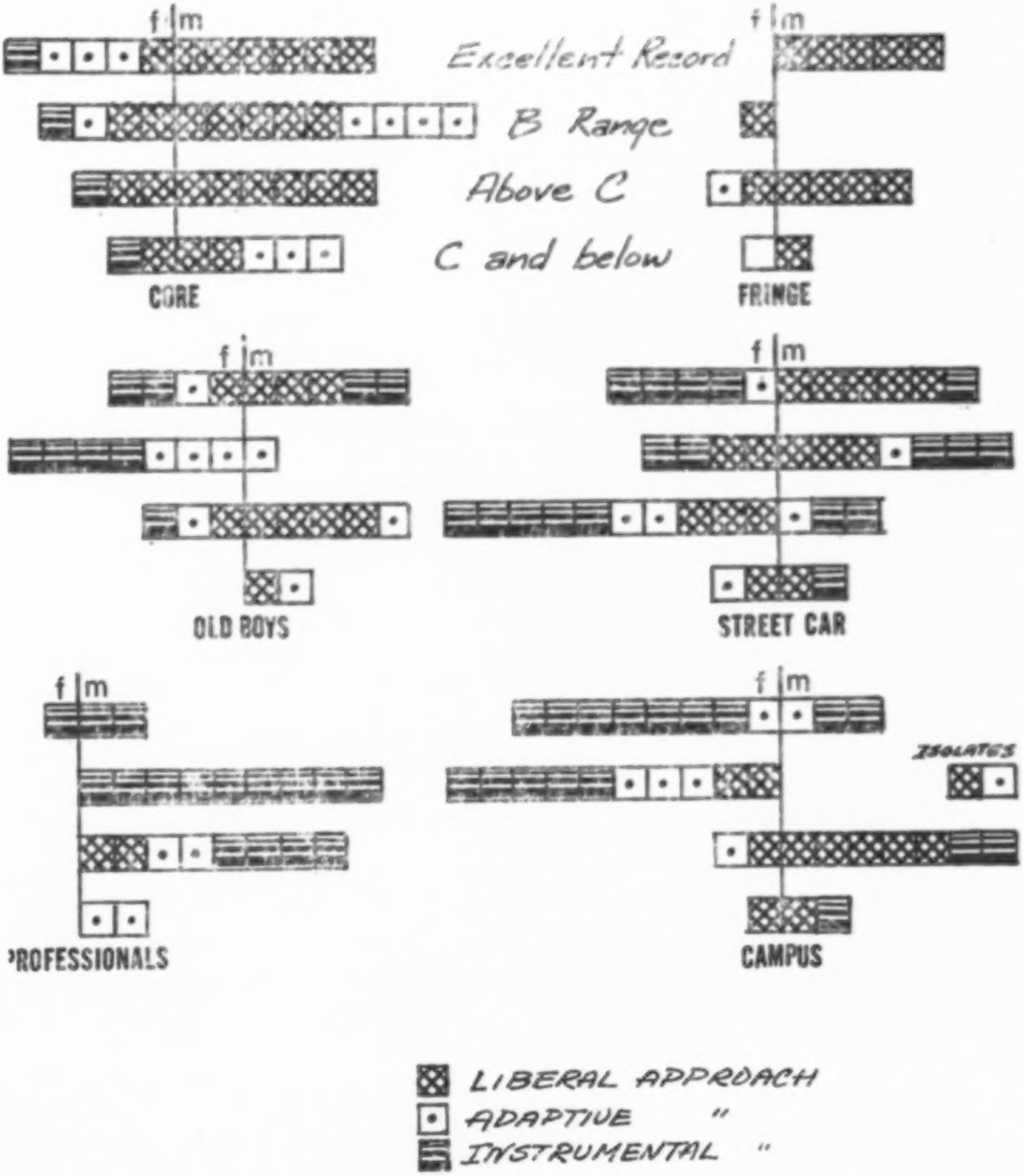
[1] One of the papers in this report was written by one of the members of the Fringe. Several of them were recommended for Woodrow Wilson fellowships. Only two of them went to graduate school, however.

[2] While all the men in the Fringe share this ideal to some degree, none of the women seem to do so in a consistent way. Yet they are not left aside, they definitely are a part of two of the three Fringe clusters. These women do not do well academically, even though at a glance they showed considerable promise. It might be that intellectual excellence is defined in this world as essentially masculine. It might be also that they suffer more than the men from estrangement from the "Establishment."

Academic Performance in the Worlds:



Among the "Old Boys," a fair number of both men and women achieve high academic rankings as we had expected in view of their preparation for college. There is a striking contrast, however, between them. The women who do not excell tend to do quite well. Only 21% of them fall below the B range, none of them is struggling to raise her average to the fateful C mark. The men who do not excell tend to fall behind, despite their excellent high school training. What could explain this contrast? One factor might be that the women tend to follow a ready-made pattern of studies, the one which is prescribed by their curriculum, while almost uniformly the men elect the more loosely defined, possibly less supportive, liberal approach. We think, however, that here again the nature of relationships within The Old Boys' World makes the main impact. The women appear to have taken advantage of their mutual knowledge of each other and their common background to form small study groups within each of the cliques that we have identified. While the men may have done some of this, too, it would seem that the poorer students among them were unnerved by the spectacle of old buddies throwing themselves with a passion into their college studies, collecting strings of A's, turning into scholars. Asking himself where they were finding the energy and the interest, the poorer student might have become plagued by feelings ranging from self-doubt to bitterness and discouragement. He might have ended up setting oonsiderably lower standards for himself than those he tentatively started with.

The academic achievement data for the Streetcar "world" reflect the discrepancy we noted earlier between the degree of preparation of its men and its women. We are not surprised to see most of its men ending up with excellent records or in the grade B average, while its women, with notable exceptions, tend to remain in the C range. The fine record of these few women, however, tends to coincide with their sticking closely to an instrumental approach to their curriculum, specifically, in the overwhelming majority of the cases, fulfilling the requirements for a teaching certificate. The men, on the other hand, more often than not have chosen to pursue a liberal course of studies. The great difference between them and the other "budding scholars" examined so far is that they have made very little use of the special resources afforded them by Hawthorn, seminars and tutorials with Hawthorn faculty,designed to permit instructor and student(s) to explore a problem of mutual interest; also visits from speakers at the college, and informal discussions with fellow students. By the same token they have been less distracted from their work by the obligations of friendship, the allurement of various projects and causes, the discussion of major, intrinsically insoluble, issues.

Women in the small clusters of that Streetcar "world," clearly have suffered not only from their own but from each other's lack of preparation for college. We have a rather heartbreaking account of the efforts made by a team of two girls, who had to drop out of Hawthorn early:

> I felt so stupid, so ignorant, that I was afraid to go to them (instructors) for help most of the time, so I would ask this girl I hung around with, that Greek girl that was in my class. We got together and did quite a bit of reading and studying on our own to see if we could somehow please Mr. ________(Social Science instructor), but it didn't work.

These two girls came from two of the poorest inner-city schools. Both of them had low entrance scores. Both were immigrants (from different countries). While this is obviously an extreme case--for one thing the extremely handicapped students had gone by the end of the fourth year, hence do not as a rule enter into this sociometric study--it does stand as a reminder of the problems encountered by the poorly equipped Streetcar women.

The Professionals' world in spite of its large proportion of well equipped students, comes out poorest academically of the six worlds. Very few of its members make an excellent record. Moreover, the very few whose approach to their curriculum has been liberal or "adaptive" have made quite a poor job of it. The better grades have been obtained by the students firmly wedded to the "instrumental" approach. It seems fair to say that this world indeed corresponds to the "vocationally inclined" University subculture. Its cliques sometimes function as study groups, giving considerable support to their weaker members.

The big surprise comes from the Campus world. While its men do rather more poorly than expected, its women achieve records completely out of proportion to their initial chances. As we have mentioned once before, it may be that intelligent application and motivation will earn a student an A more easily in the School of Education than in other colleges at City University. Still it would be ridiculous to brand as "fun-oriented subculture" a world in which so many so consistently apply themselves to their studies. Their involvement in campus organizations does not deter them from their course work. Some sororities even appear to be, at least for their Hawthorn contingent, very demanding of academic excellence and sometimes of real intellectual accomplishment.[1] The very opposite is true of the men, at lease if we pay attention to what they say would raise the standing of a person in their group. Most of all they mention participation in fraternity activities, getting along with fellows, and the like--once in a while, good grades. The men trying to follow a "liberal" approach seem to be particularly in trouble. It seems unlikely that their minds are being very "liberated." This Campus World's contrast between men and women reproduces in reverse the one observed in the fringe. Could it be that genuine intellectual interest is defined as feminine by the men of the Campus World? Could it be that they are stifled by their close contact with and allegiance to the status quo, the establishment, the administration, just as we suggested that the women in the fringe might be handicapped by their disengagement from and repudiation of the same? We do not have the data necessary to answer this question, but we think it well worth further research.

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[1] The most colorful statement about what would raise one's standing reads: "Academic achievement, not grad-wise, but making some kind of brilliant work--an outstanding seminar-type performance, or writing a play."

## Do the Worlds Share a Common Ground?

The fact that the worlds share to a large measure in those making an excellent academic record suggests that it would be advisable to reconsider some of the broad statements we made earlier about divergences in approach to college life between the streetcar world and the professionals' world on the one hand, and the core and Campus worlds on the other. Then we were sketching a series of types from answers to the interview question about the function of the Center, buttressing this evidence with our own personal acquaintance with the history of various groups' attendance at the Center.

Even though the constructs we have thus fashioned have been confirmed by subsequent evidence, we would be uneasy to let such an important question as the division of the Hawthorn student body into rather incompatible segments rest merely on the grounds of their contrasting reactions to the Center, and of our own memories of a period when detached observation was hardly de rigueur.[1]

Attempting to fill this gap, we have searched carefully for evidence of how each of the clusters in any of the worlds came together and remained together, hoping that this would reveal the influence of some basic interests and attitudes.[2] Our findings have confirmed our presentation of the worlds most known to us. (Core, fringe,

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[1] We often use the metaphor of birth when referring to the early days of Hawthorn. This is meant to be taken more literally than not.

[2] Data on this topic were generally abundant in the 1963 interviews of students who had left Hawthorn or dropped out, much more sparse in the regular 1963 interviews.

Old Boys', Campus). But they have shed a new light on the two worlds our treatment of which we felt was incomplete.

There is another reason for our use of these additional data at this time. Though we have been speaking of six "worlds" throughout this chapter, it must be clear by now that they qualify as "social-moral environments" to a different degree. Both the Core and the Campus world are characterized by intense interaction within clusters, overlap of clusters, a locale, programs launched for the common good which brings members to give of themselves and feel good about it, thus reinforcing their allegiance to the whole and their mutual bonds. Both have prominent members who can act as models, helpers, spokesmen. The Core even has room for marginal members who may not have the time or inclination to share in hardly any part of what goes on, yet need not be thereby completely deprived of a reference group.[1]

The Fringe and the Old Boys' World are characterized by a more thoroughgoing sharing of values and outlook than exists in the two larger worlds. In the small Fringe, not only do clusters overlap, but individual members tend to know everybody else in their world pretty well. In the Old Boys' World, so much common background cannot but lead to a similarity in interests and values. With this unanimity to start with, the prominent students in the Fringe and among the Old Boys' seem much less outstanding and influential than in the first two ones. There is little need either for the development of standards, which are after all a necessity primarily in relating to people who are still strangers.

Finally, we have assumed that the Professionals' World and the Streetcar World were held together in the one case by a common striving for a specific career, in the other by the limited companionship of fellow students detached from all but their studies. But are these bonds enough to justify our use of the term "world" in these cases? Here again, the question requires an answer.

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[1] Membership in the Campus World, however, is clearly determined by admission to a Fraternity or Sorority, or by holding an office, insignificant as it may be, in a large Association. Membership in the Core, on the contrary, is dependent on the time spent at the Center, opportunity to make oneself known, etc. As we have seen, students attending the Center may complain that they feel they do not belong. Not so in the Campus World. The reluctance to have anything smacking of "card-carrying" membership is typical of the principles of openness and flexibility which we have reiterated in our description of the Core--reluctance to let inter-personal relationships be defined and sanctioned by bureaucratic institutional arrangements however remote or vestigial.

It is for the two reasons cited above, then, that we are now going to examine as thoroughly as we can what the students say about the formation of the clusters which our sociometric analysis first revealed and out of which we have fashioned the professionals' and the streetcar worlds.[1]

Take, for instance, one of the clusters in the Professionals' World. Five Fall '59 entrants are all Roman Catholics, two from the same private Catholic School, two more coming from other Catholic schools. Three are sons of college graduates who start as pre-meds. One man and one woman, whose parents are at best high school graduates begin in a pre-education curriculum. One man has high entrance test scores, all the others uneven test scores. Do these data not suggest that these students met at Newman Hall and became friends there? And yet three of these students when questioned about their best discussion class, happen to choose the same one. We shall cite only the most vivid statement (the others agree in substance):

> It was Natural Science with Mrs. ______________, the two first semesters. This was the first year of college and the very first class meeting. I met kids I've gone with all through college. It was a friendly group. If anyone had anything to say they were not ashamed or embarassed to say it, so everyone participated in class quite well. (He then lists the names of the four other main members of the cluster). Two of them are still in Hawthorn, the first one and the last one.[2]

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[1] The reader may have wondered why we have focussed our analysis so far on the worlds rather than the clusters. The latter actually came first in our sociometric analysis, as explained in detail in "Analyzing the Social Fabric," Volume II. But the worlds struck as social realities more capable of description and analysis than the clusters themselves. We believe that in addressing ourselves to the worlds, we left out only the more private and the accidental aspects of interpersonal relationships in the clusters which form them. Throughout our discussion, however, we have been mindful of the existence of the clusters as individual units. Now we get a chance to transfer our attention to them.

[2] The other two transferred late into other colleges, but according to the sociometric data, the bonds between them all continued just as strong. Not only do these students indicate reciprocal current friendship among themselves, but also they also answer that they spend their free time together.

The student could have said: "There were a bunch of us that came from Catholic schools, it made that class feel friendlier than others." or: "We felt that our Faith was questioned by the course, and so we banded together." Instead, he shows that it was the discussion itself that was the starting point of the four year long friendship--the discussion with its way of bringing into the open ideas, problems, questions, and of revealing people one to the other in a mutually beneficial way.

The Hawthorn system of education conferred a unique importance on the discussion sections. Natural Science and Social Science sections each met twice a week for a one hour period. Each contained a dozen students, who stayed together for one semester. The whole freshman class in a body also attended two hours of lectures a week in each of the two divisions. The discussion group was the main opportunity a student had to get obscure points in lectures or readings clarified for him by his instructor. It could easily be transformed into a drill session where the students would make sure they found out all they needed to know to get a good grade; or into a small lecture where the instructor would be induced to pour as much as possible of his knowledge and insights into the students. Putting oneself in the students' place for a moment, one realizes that welcoming other students' presentation of their ideas or problems is not the most natural thing in the world, particularly for students from huge city high schools. Only a fine line separates contribution from disgression or sheer waste of time. Discussions are not to be construed as tranquil occasions for harmonious exchange. Even at best, by their very nature, they are awkward and, at worst, fraught with frustrations and rife with hostility.[1] Students in the same section should not be expected to become bosom friends. They might just as well end up enemies, or settle on ignoring each other outside the classroom.

But the fact remains that at least one clique started from

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[1] For instance: resentment against the student who talks too much; irritation at the parasite, the student who remains silent all the time; frustration at not being called on at the point where your idea was relevant (the instructor can't tell ahead of time whose idea is exactly what the discussion needs at any given moment). Impatience if the discussion lingers on the same topic. Disappointment if it swerves in and out of too many topics. The joy generated by a "good" discussion may well come in part from the very sense of together having achieved the impossible. The instructor who has tried to improve his technique at this difficult art (which one never masters) knows that, while important, the acuteness of his own thinking and the rapidity of his repartee are less crucial than his ability to make students feel at ease with each other, capable of intelligent comments, and challenged to push their own thinking farther than they would ever have done if on their own.

a good experience in a discussion section, the best one several of its members ever had. Smaller segments of other cliques appear in other students' answers regarding their best section. However, this source of information is severely limited. Members of a given cluster rarely happen to choose the section that brought them together as their best one.[1] Besides using this necessarily fragmentary information, then, we shall look at the complete data we have about the precise sections in both Natural Science and Social Science for which the Fall '59 entrants registered during their first semester. Poring over the registration slips of all members of the Streetcar and of the Professionals' Worlds, we find the following patterns among their cliques:

two students in same first semester Natural Science discussion section--
    Streetcar: 6 cases
    Professionals: 4 cases besides the full clique

two students in same first semester Social Science discussion section--
    Streetcar: 5 cases
    Professionals: 3 cases

two students working on the same or similar research projects under the same instructor during the second semester in Social Science--
    Streetcar: 5 cases
    Professionals: 6 cases

The discovery of each other's mind and style which the discussion section makes possible combines in several cases with previous high school ties to form a small network of the following kind:

Clique A-B-C: A and B came from the same high school
B and C worked together on research project (OR were in the same Natural Science discussion)

We also find a slightly more complex network, such as a series of acquaintances struck up in discussion classes, ending up in a clique, as in the following model:

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[1] Even these cases are relevant to our present inquiry, however, for we find that members of the same cluster who select different discussions as their best one may still mention each other as members of two or more of these (though their fellow clique members did not value that class so highly). Thus further evidence of the mutual relevance of small classes and small groups is adduced.

[2] These were almost in all cases even smaller groups than the discussion groups properly speaking. A rapid description has been given on p.211 fn.

Clique D-E-F-G: D and E were in the same Social science discussion twice in a row (by design?)[1]
E and F were in the same Natural Science discussion
F and G were in the same Social Science discussion

All of these interactions fortuitous at first or not, at length combine to help produce the skeleton of the largest clique in the Streetcar World, made up almost entirely of outstanding students, whose relationship to the faculty is discussed in detail in the following chapter:

Clique H-I-J-K-L-M-N-O: H and I in same Social Science section
I and J in same Social Science section later (I's favorite)[2]
J and K in same Natural Science section
K and L from same excellent high school and doing similar research projects
M and N in same Natural science section
K, M and N in same Social Science section (M and N twice in a row with same instructor; N's favorite section) O unconnected (as of these data).

The largest clique in the Professionals' World is made up in much the same way:

Clique P-Q-R-S-T-U-V: P, Q and R in same Natural Science section
P. and Q in same Social Science section later
Q and V working together on research project
R and T in same Social Science section later
T and V in same Social Science section (both's favorite section)
S, T and V from same excellent high school
U unconnected (as of these data).

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[1] They both choose their first social science section as their best one. Sharing their satisfying encounter with Hawthorn and each other may have created between them the ties which would have made them want to continue this kind of experience together, though under a different instructor. (Changing instructor was strongly recommended to the point of being almost prescribed, at least in Social Science).

[2] By "later" we mean the Spring of 1960, for which we have a thorough Social Science dossier. Registration data became less and less useful as students learned about procedures for transferring from one section to another (they were never discouraged to do so, on the contrary their venturesomeness increased with their familiarity and entering into full possession of their college).

The probability of all these interconnections happening by chance among small clusters of students within a total population numbering close to 360 at the start, and divided up quite arbitrarily at first into small sections of twelve students, appears to be very small. Yet, only in two clusters of the Streetcar World do these early encounters in discussion sections fail to establish a chain of relationships comparable to the ones presented above. One of the two brings together a triad of Protestant students intensely involved in religious concerns, though belonging to different denominations. Another one is a tenuous cluster in which two dyads and a near isolate, all very involved in the lively Theater department at City University, acknowledge each other's existence.

If we now ask, what has happened to all these encounters among future members of cliques in the discussion sections of their very first year, we are led to make a fascinating inventory. In both worlds we find that the ties established in Natural Science sections and around the Research projects are by far more enduring than those established in Social Science discussions. Not only do these relationships endure and flower into friendships, but in at least half the cases they are the kind of friendship in which the partners spend their free time together.

Our inventory will be given on next page. In order to get its full impact, one must have an additional piece of information concerning the relative popularity of discussion sections in the two divisions. (Here a different story emerges.) Among the thirty students from the Streetcar World interviewed in 1963, eighteen remember one of their early Social Science discussions as their best one, only two mention an early Natural Science discussion. The twenty students from the Professionals' World make a more even choice: six Social Science discussions, four Natural Science discussions are selected as the best ever attended. What could explain that the kind of discussions most enjoyed be different from the kind in which students tend to become mutual friends?

The only answer we can puzzle out is that the subject matter of the Natural Science course, especially during the first semester, was seen as difficult even arid by many students. In Chapter III, we heard students complaining that they did not have the background they needed for the study of Math and Logic. The Social Science course, on the other hand, invited the students to consider the phenomenon of brainwashing from the perspective of different disciplines. This content appeared "relevant," to use a word much abused. Students could share ideas about experiences ranging from the field of politics to that of education, discussing "free will, conscience, morality, religion," as one of them puts it. They felt they came to know each other well. But it was in facing the "dry" subject matter of their Natural Science course together that they became fast friends. Not from hearing each other talk, but from realizing that they were in the same boat, from hearing each other try to elucidate their joint problems, from forming small work groups and helping each other with their difficulties. We would

## INVENTORY[1]

| | Streetcar World | | Professionals' World |
|---|---|---|---|
| Number of clusters examined | 8 | | 4 |
| Number of students enrolled in sections | 31 | | 22 |
| Number of early encounters | 13 | | 13 |
| Encounters maintained as friendships | 9 | single | 10 |
| | 3 | multiple | 9 |
| Intracluster friendships, other origin[2] | 13 | | 15 |
| Potential intracluster friendships never made[3] | 21 | | 8 |
| Encounters in Natural Science sections maintained as friendships | 3 | single | 8 |
| | 3 | multiple | 4 |
| not maintained as friendships | 0 | | 2 |
| Encounters in Social Science sections maintained as friendships | 4 | single | 0 |
| | 1 | multiple | 4 |
| not maintained as friendships | 4 | | 2 |
| Encounters around the Research Project maintained as friendships | 2 | single | 2 |
| | 1 | multiple | 5 |
| not maintained as friendships | 1 | | 0 |

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[1] We are considering only the members of the clusters which are Fall entrants, since the Spring students did not register in the discussion sections under scrutiny. We speak of "single" encounter when two students meet only in a Natural Science discussion or in a Social Science discussion or around a research project. We speak of "multiple" encounter when two students meet in more than one of these or if they meet in only one, but also happen to have graduated from the same high school. (In two cases, acquaintance from high school days appears to have led to avoidance of a student by the other instead of mutual friendship: thus it is for the only two students who fail to remain friends after their research experience).

[2] These particular figures do not include high school ties. Actually , in each World there are four cases of two students coming from the same high school and ending up in the same cluster without having enrolled in any of the same sections. In the Streetcar World, these relations produce three friendships, in the Professionals' World only two.

[3] In the Streetcar World, if we discard two near isolates already gone for a year, the figure drops to 15.

offer this explanation as sheer hunch if it were not confirmed by our findings on the friendships developed and maintained through joint work on the research projects. For here again what was shared was the effort, the grind, the anguish, and the excitement, of having to carry out a task to its completion.[1]

Thus it appears that the students from the Streetcar and the Professionals' Worlds were coming together to study. Their definition of the situation was different than that of the students from the Core, the Fringe and the Old Boys' Worlds (in the early days these three groups were hardly distinguishable from one another). The latter, as we are told in interview after interview, would carry discussions on and on and on. As one of them says:

> At parties, people danced and they laughed and they talked and eventually at some time in the party somebody would get very involved in a discussion, and that's where I always ended up.

Streetcar and Professional students enjoyed good discussion in the classroom, but this was not their way of finding out who their friends were. Responsibly carrying out one's assignment for a review session must have been of far greater importance to them than coming up with a brand new idea. When asked about their groups' criteria for mutual respect and affection, their answers remind us of those of students in the Campus World who also care very much whether their associates follow through on their commitments. But in the Streetcar and Professionals' Worlds, a large proportion of students joined ranks around their course work, not extra-curricular activities. Whatever irritation or puzzlement they may have felt at the passion for endless conversation of many of their comrades, they would not have put it in the terms used by a student who left Hawthorn:

> They want to talk about their courses all the time. To me this isn't living. When I study I'll study hard. When I don't, I like to have some fun.

Courses involved fun as well as hard work for the Streetcar and Professional students who stayed in Hawthorn.

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[1] That for a whole fraction of the student body, friendship be born around a common task rather than through common talk is an important discovery in these days of E-groups, T-groups and the like. Many people assume that it is through verbal exchange that students can come to trust each other enough to let themselves be known, and start communicating on a meaningful level. Perhaps what small evidence we have produced will be helpful in charting paths and offering alternatives more congenial for students such as those in the Professionals' and the Streetcar Worlds.

In fact, if one searches for some statement that could apply to all Hawthorn students, whichever World they belong to, one will have to stress the quality of integration of elements which are usually kept separate: whether work and fun, or curricular and extra-curricular, or learning now and continuing to learn forever, or learning and teaching, it seems as if a lot of popular dichotomies were rejected by Hawthorn students of various levels of sophistication. An example at the higher level could be the Program of Cooperative Self Education, launched during the fifth year of the College primarily by members of the Core. These students undertook to learn from each other, one or two of them assuming the main responsibilities of an instructor (under a system of sponsorship by a faculty member). This was an extreme case. But the popularity of the Senior Colloquium among members of the Campus World, as we have already mentioned, and among the Professionals (seven out of twenty select it as their best discussion section) indicates that there was a continuum of opinion and perspective, not a chasm. Students from all the Worlds believed it was possible, valuable, and fun to learn from each other.

Where the Core and Campus Worlds Meet

Isn't the Campus World a special case, however? Haven't we listed the separation between social life and academic life as one of the basic assumptions of its prominent leaders? Haven't we suggested that they appeared to accept the established network of organizations pretty much as is , thus avoiding the task of fashioning something that would uniquely convey their own approach to their own needs and those of fellow students? We have even suggested at one point that they, especially the men among them, let their relationships with each other be ruled from the rather narrow scope of fraternity loyalty. We want to balance off any excessive emphasis we might have placed on this latter point by quoting a short statement which we discovered while looking for evidence of use made by the students of classroom situations other than the small discussion sections:

> The four of us used to sit around fairly close and we used to attend lectures together, have data sessions afterwards, mull it over.

This seems to have been the way in which one of the fraternity cliques began.[1] Hardly "collegiate" in the fun seeking connotation of the word.

Still we need to adduce more solid evidence that the general outlook of the Campus World was not "collegiate" in the ordinary sense, but rather "collegial," that is to say seriously involved in a common search full of personal risks as well as rewards. We would never have thought that sociometric data could provide such evidence. Yet, quite early in our analysis of Hawthorn's social fabric we came to recognize that there was an area of overlap between the Campus World and the Core. The reader will remember that earlier in this chapter we spoke of the Hawthorn Set and the Campus Set as two separate sets. We did not add then that a fraction of the Hawthorn Set was closely interrelating with a portion of the Campus Set. It was a puzzling phenomenon as it tended to involve the most popular leaders of both Sets. We wondered whether they were coming together at the higher echelons of student government, and we found that a small cluster of them were. But by far the main source of regrouping was joint participation in a new program launched that year by the School of Education, called TEEP(Teachers' Education [illegible] Experimental Program), which presented many of the features of Hawthorn itself: discussion groups, learning through doing, broad approach to problems from a variety of perspectives, close relationships between instructors and students. One of the leaders of the Campus World speaks of TEEP classes as being her best discussion experience:

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[1] These lectures took place in a large auditorium which gathered together the more than three hundred students of the first class. Sitting together at lectures was one of the ways some of the cliques kept in daily contact.

> We have a common goal, education. That's important. We got off the ground about education. We don't discuss specific family problems, but rather what type of society do you want the child to enter? What values should you present? Have you the right to present conflicting values to children?
>
> I think this group is so good because of the Hawthorn students and the common goal.

The heart of the TEEP cluster consisted of four students:

--one Campus leader who belonged to three other clusters: an intellectual Hawthorn cluster in a sorority; a large group in which various members of the Campus World, men and women from different fraternities and sororities intermingled; and the cluster of powerful leaders of the Association of Women students;
-- a less prominent Campus World member, who belonged to the same intellectual sorority cluster and to the AWS group;
-a prominent woman from the Core, member of the "Old Center crowd" ( a large cluster of more than twenty students), and also member of the Student Assistant Clique;
--a prominent man from the Core, a very popular figure among the "Old Center crowd."

All of these students, besides claiming each other as friends in current contact with each other also acknowledged as friends less central figures not from their own World, These were:

--one powerful Campus leader, member of the AWS leadership cluster, of the large mixed group of Campus World members, and of what we call the Brain Trust of the Campus World (students involved in the Student-Faculty Council, Pan Hell and such activities as went beyond the ordinary scope of student organizations);
--one woman in the same pattern of relationships but less extenstively; involved only in the first two of the three clusters just mentioned;
--one woman very popular in the "Old Center Crowd;"
--one woman, primarily a member of the Old Boys' World (through the Student Assistant clique and the large Jewish clique from an excellent high school), secondarily involved in the Core.

These four students, besides having strong relationships with TEEP members from their own World, also had formed at least two relations of current friendships with other members not from their World. Finally there were three additional members marginal in that, while strongly relating to their fellow World members they had formed only one friendship, or one or two mere acquaintances with TEEP members of the other World. These were:

--one woman, member both of the cluster of AWS pillars and of the Campus Brain Trust;
--one woman and one man, both members of the Core but somewhat removed from the Old Center Crowd.

TEEP's situation can readily be summarized by saying that this cluster is easily the most tightly knit of any of its size in any of the Worlds.

This, then, is the sociometric evidence. Where does this lead us? First we may ask, what was it that brought together all these students during their senior, from the different milieux where they had operated so far? It was their interest in, their passion for, education. The education they had received, the education they were going to dispense to their own students. Education understood as an interpersonal relationship, not as a trade which is mastered by means of passing courses and getting a certificate. Second, what made it so easy for them to get along with each other, though they might have been tempted in times past to stereotype each other as the "sorority girls" and the "pseudo-intellectuals" respectively? We believe that it was the genuineness of each individual. The Core members were as far from intellectual snobs as can be imagined, though several of them were by all standards excellent students. We have a long story in one of the Core women's interviews about a job she is going to have during the summer teaching swimming to retarded children, to which she applies the fullness of her intelligence as if it were one of the great traditional problems of philosophy. We cite only a few excerpts to convey to the reader a sense of the person who is speaking:

> There has been nothing written on swimming for mentally retarded children. I have been checking around, and I can't find anything. I've been talking to people who know about retarded kids and it can be done but nobody has ever recorded it, or published it anyway. And so I'm going to have to design my own program and this will be quite an experience for me. Then when I realize that I will be with these children. They are trainable, not educable, and they are from six to twenty-one years old and there will be about twenty of them...
>
> Some of these "kids" are over six feet tall, they're children not chronologically but physically. As to their mental age they are certainly children. It will be quite a thing and I wouldn't have all twenty of them in the water with me ;and there will be another gal who will be working with me.
>
> They have never done this before. So I wrote a big pep talk about the therapy of swimming, which is true because for these kids to learn anything is like conquering the world. Part of it is motor skills, and this will be a problem with these children because if they have another handicap like brain damage,it does affect motor skills...

> In working with these kids you can't just say "Watch me, this is the way you do the inverted breast stroke. . . "[1] (And she goes on to speak out how she plans to handle this).

Again, we do not have a similar, completely open ended interview to quote from in order to show that the "sorority girls" were students whose broad outlook but also intellectual sensitivity matched those of the Core members with whom they came to associate so closely:

> (What sort of person becomes a teacher at Hawthorn?)
> The faculty at Hawthorn seems to be a faculty that know their particular field very well, they are eager to talk with a student, to find out what he thinks. Some of them seem very free in their actions. They sometimes give the image that they aren't professors. They are people, they are not stagnant. Many are carrying out research and learning while they're teaching us. I think this frees the student too. Since the instructors are active in research themselves they are aware of the problems students run into in their own research, even though it's much less demanding than instructors' research.
> (What do you feel your personal role in teaching is?)
> Teaching young people the joys of living. How to stay a child in some ways and growing and maturing in other ways. By how to stay a child I mean, how to get a thrill out of the lights of a city, the expanse of a field, when it's raining or isn't--to know that people are different, and getting something special out of all of them.
> (What is it about being a teacher that appeals to you?)
> Number one, I like kids. Number two, I find their minds are challenging, even the small ones. I think there are some experiences I missed out on that I could provide for these kids. Besides, there are a lot of things they can teach me.

One of the most interesting outcomes of this intermingling of members from two worlds was a strengthening in each of them of their determination not to let the institution in which they found themselves operating (or would find themselves later) dictate what they should do, how they should think. They did not raise the cry of student power. They merely said, "you are going against your very own policy when you want us to submit to this particular rule." Often in such confrontations with a Dean or the head of an admissions office the leadership would fall on the TEEP members coming from the Core World. The transition from their responsibilities as college builders to their future role as teacher seemed to give them a greater assurance than they had ever felt before. On the other hand, the members of the Campus World, after years of thinking of themselves in their future role as teachers, were wondering whether they had made the right choice, whether they should not go into research, which now attracted them intellectually, or into college teaching. Thus from the evidence we have, they seem to be acting more as the associates of their Core partners, who must have gone through he anguish of this kind of choice much earlier, due to their association with students who were pursuing a general type of curriculum.

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[1] Elsewhere in her interview, this sophisticated senior recalls:
All during high school all my friends belonged to the Future Teachers' Club except me. I was the only one in the gang who didn't belong.
I was just going to learn, I just wanted to learn stuff, just learn anything and I was just so thirsty for it. I hadn't really ever thought about what I was going to do . There was no reason, no need for me to think. I was an honor student and I didn't have to think about anything. I had an excellent memory and I thought, 'Boy, when I get to the university I can memorize anything!'

To us, the brotherhood of TEEP stands as a symbol of the unity of Hawthorn College.[1] The sociometric analysis provides us with other signs of unity besides the big, striking one of delineating a large cluster recruited from several Worlds. For instance it reveals the "trans-world" relationships. Out of a population of one hundred and seventy-five students belonging to the six Worlds, sixty-two are involved in friendly relationships which cut accross the Worlds' boundaries. Thus for these students there is a blurring of edges, there is a common ground for meaningful relationship, there is a common language.[2]

There is a unity, but there is notan equality of access to resources nor is there an equality of contribution. As the next chapter will show, the Core and the Fringe take the lion's share of the Hawthorn faculty's time and concern. We are not suggesting that they are competing unfairly with anybody else. They take the initiative to ask for help and special attention, and they get it, and in return they spend a lot of their time trying to help "build the College." Thus it is they who are the only students who add the names of more recently entered Hawthorn students to the list of names from their own class which is provided with the sociometric test. Sixteen members of the Core add a total of eighty-one names, three members of the Fringe add a total of nineteen names, three members of the Campus World add a total of three names. This deals too briefly with the question of how the 1959 entering class came to relate to the succeeding classes. Still it reiterates the point that it is the members of the Core who jump on the occasion to recruit new associates, and at the same time who perform the chore of orienting new generation after new generation of students. "How do you think it feels to be upperclassmen for four years in a row?" one of the prominent members of the Core once remarked. But such is the fate of students who undertake to start a new college.

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[1] Again we wish that we had been alert earlier to the importance of such a phenomenon as TEEP and we urge other researchers to carefully scrutinize any situation when unlikely confluences are noticed. This is one of the ways in which the sociometric method as we have used it here can be uniquely helpful.

[2] The Ego-chart, an instrument used in conjunction with the sociometric test itself and which will be presented in the next chapter, also reveals that Core members, at the end of their senior year, are often quite involved in the City University department in which they major; conversely it shows that often Campus World members feel much closer to their fellow Hawthorners than to anybody else in their Campus organization.

## Final Comments

From our sociometric construct, we have tried to reach for the kind of "collective representations," to return to Durkheim's phrase, which are characteristic of each World, and to convey, by their means a sense of the texture and quality of the individual experience of the individual students involved in each one of these Worlds. This enterprise is full of risks, for it is both impossible and undesirable to give an exhaustive account, and thus the task of the researchers becomes primarily one of choosing an emphasis, of discovering meaningful patterns. We are sure that any member of any of the Worlds could deny what we say on the basis of his own individual experience, and that he could argue with us on the emphasis we used to present the various collective representations. We would expect him to disagree on what we say about Worlds other than his own, since stereotypes were given a good deal of currency from one world to the next. The reflective student who went through his years at Hawthorn trying to make sense of what went on in his immediate environment might well detect that, for all our sociometric rigor we have ignored some very important factors in the student life which he and his friends shared. We would be grateful if he attempted to correct our pattern by introducing into its design the missing element.

We also feel that we may be accused of having given too rosy a picture of what went on among the students of Hawthorn College, this not by outsiders but by the students themselves, who have a great talent for criticism and rather exacting standards. We think that this impression derives almost necessarily from our theoretical stance which we tried to make quite clear at the beginning of this chapter. Seeing the college as non-existant in 1959, we cannot but give the cheerful impression that it exists in 1963. Moreover, from our perspective, virtually anything contributes to building the student. body. Even behavior which appears destructive or pointless or apathetic, inasmuch as there is a team of students who take it into account, reflect on it, try (even unsuccessfully) to do something about it, becomes in the end and occasion for growth, for discovery, for strengthening of common bonds and standards. Only when there is nobody left who cares does this approach recognized social failure.

Let the reader, then, try to forgive us for what appears to be excessive self-satisfaction. Let him ask himself again what makes a college come to life.. It is not buildings, it is not schedules, it is not even lectures and readings except as they resound endlessly and tirelessly from student mind to student mind, whether in official discussion groups, in conversations at a Center, or in smaller encounters among people who are meanwhile deciding whether to become friends. Unrecorded and ungraded, this is what was really happening, during the first year, and what continued to happen, though less spectacularly from then on.. By the fourth year, there certainly existed a generalized image of the Hawthorn student--an ideal of course, but an ideal solidly rooted in practically all the students who had stayed in the College, and in quite a few who for a variety of reasons, had left Hawthorn. This generalized image had not spread full blown from catalogues and brochures. It had developed from the myriad interactions among the clusters, and within the worlds, and in the rubbing of minds from various worlds, each one contributing something, though rarely to an equal degree. That generalized image of the Hawthorn student appears to have been that of a good listener, with a sense of responsibility for the use of his mind, whether its focus be on pure research or in teaching. A person who knew that his relationships to others and his thinking could not be separated from each other--a knowledge bolstering his resistance to pressures toward conformity but also preserving him from isolating himself from his fellows. A person fascinated with the process of education. A person who hoped he would never stop learning, and who had some idea of how to go about it. A person, shall we add, who would most probably advance socially, but only as a result of doing something worthwhile.

On the basis of the sociometric evidence, and of our reflection on it, we would tend to agree, that the dream of the community had failed to become actualized. But, in conjunction with the experiences going on in all the worlds of Hawthorn, that dream of the community had fulfilled its function, which was to create a college, which students could later join knowing a little more what to expect. By the same token, these latter generations of students would never know the excitement, the challenge, the aches and triumphs and the final teasing mixture of a sense of success and of failure of the first class.

What part the faculty played in all this has been evoked in passing in this and previous chapters. We now turn to another network of relationships which too helped constitute the college.

# CHAPTER V

So far we have examined the College careers of the 1959 Hawthorn entrants. We have probed differences between men and women, between students handicapped and students privileged in their background and their preparation for College. We have seen how within Hawthorn, they related among themselves, forming clusters of friends and engendering different worlds. We have often brought the faculty into the picture, but always in passing. Now, with all this accumulated knowledge at our disposal, at last we can address ourselves to the nature and the quality of the relationship between instructors and students at Hawthorn, the heart of our study of the education process.

When asked what they thought their college teacher would be like over half of the students entering Hawthorn in 1959 expected to have informal, personal, friendly relations with their college teacher, though only one third described him as liking people, as friendly.[1] One in three expected impersonal treatment. The remainder said they didn't know, or answered, "It depends." or, "..each will be different."[1]

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[1] He is more demanding, more objective, less nurturant, less of a spoon-feeder than the high school teachers. Almost one in five of these students see little difference between high school and college teacher. These students point to the excellence of their high school, their teacher's advanced degrees; said that much of their high school work was college level. They do see differences between college students and high school students who are slow, not serious, who goof off, who do not want to be in high school.

The college teacher's outstanding characteristic is his intelligence; he is a learned man, he knows his subject matter thoroughly. One third of the students think he cares about his subject, he is interested in what he's doing, he wants to get ideas across, he is dedicated. Half as many speak of him as an educator, as a person interested in teaching, interested in having college-age students; as skillful in discussion, as competent in his job; as doing what he wants to be doing and not just doing a job.

## Recruitment of Faculty

The handicaps which members of Hawthorn College faced were enormous; recruitment and sustaining of a staff which would be academically acceptable and which would be willing to face as its principal task the training of undergraduates; constructing a curriculum which could prepare the specialist for his profession or particular interest and which would have the generality of purview, the coherence of development, and the richess of materials which would make this set of sequences a plausible alternative to the longstanding and matured programs of a score of departments.

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[1] Fellows with college educated parents expected to have informal relationships with the faculty, and tended to see the university teacher as dedicated, they underemphasized the faculty's learned character, which the girls, who tended more often to expect formal relationships, tended to emphasize. Girls of similar background stressed the university teacher's role as an educator, a role underplayed by the fellows. Both understated his liking people and being friendly. Students, neither of whose parents went to high school, perceived the college teacher differently. Their main notion of the University teacher was as someone who is friendly. They emphasized his intellectuality and learnedness rather than his enthusiasm for learning and for his subject matter. They were the only group who more often than not expected to have formal, impersonal relations with the staff.

A program spread over four years designed to take no more than half of an ordinary student's time had to compete in quality and interest with that portion of a student's studies devoted to a dogged preparation of a profession or the exploration of discipline or subject matter. Could a genuine society with its own life, recognizable values and standards, teaching processes, and participants survive within the anonymous, highly impersonal complexity which is the overall university structure? Could the subgroup withstand the pressure of limited involvement, hurry, early focus which the vocationally-oriented student adopts as his way of coping with the difficult task of earning 120 hours of credit in the anonymous, impersonal institution which is the City University?

The establishing of Hawthorn College, its meshing into the larger structure and its chances of attracting an able staff were enormously aided by its two major officers being men of long and outstanding service in City University, and by giving the new unit independence in selection of staff, policy-making (curriculum, standards, student-faculty relations) and budget.[1]

The faculty of Hawthorn College are its chief instruments of change. Students, however independent they may become, get cues from the faculty as to what is significant and not in what they are learning, the standards and values which really count, the valuing and devaluing of the pursuit of a given career. This is particularly true in a new college where there is not the mediating influence of an established student culture.

What were characteristics of those nineteen who were on the staff of Hawthorn College in the first formative year?[2] What did they bring with them in training, experience, academic status? The modal faculty member in the first year of Hawthorn College's existence came in as a PhD candidate and had spent five years full time in graduate school.[3] His training was in a ranking graduate school.[4]

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[1] As independent as the other units of the University which are all subject to the long term policies of the University as decided by its elected Board of Governors and as financed by the state legislature.

[2] Tables presenting various characteristics of the staff will be found in Exhibit C at the end of Chapter V.

[3] The staff average was 5.9.

[4] Characteristically in one of the first six of the twenty listed in Keniston's Graduate Study and Research in the Arts and Sciences, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959.

He had been trained in several graduate schools, most often experiencing both private and public control. Half of the staff had not taught full time in college before, though they had been teaching assistants while in graduate school. Those with experience averaged more than four years teaching. All but three staff members were familiar with huge urban universitites, all but two with state universities, less than half were familiar with small colleges. Three members of the staff were familiar with City University. Two members of the staff came from the major state university, the rest were from out-state, two driving with their families from the West Coast. It can be believed that these were not a staff hastily collected from people conveniently accessible. There is good reason to think that these men and women came for a special purpose, just as they had been recruited with care. The college would largely be what they made it. There were no precedents. They were bound only by the general guide lines of class size, number and orchestration of semesters per staff, together with certain values: interpenetration of knowledge, student independence.

Over the years, twenty-five new staff members came to Hawthorn College, others left (for short leaves and for good). The modal type over the few years of the Hawthorn College experiment was a PhD candidate who had spend five years full time in graduate school. His training was in a graduate school of high rank. He had not taught full time in any college prior to this teaching experience.[1] Only thirteen were familiar with non-elite urban city universities although two-thirds had studied in metropolitan settings.[2] And of the forty-five, forty had experience with state universities, but only twenty with small colleges. Twelve came from the major state universities, five from City University, the rest were from out of state.

Most of the faculty being newcomers to the area had to find a place to stay. It might be significant to note that as many chose to live on campus as chose to live more than an hour away. Almost half chose to live within easy reach (20 minute drive) of campus.

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[1] More than half of the staff had taught full time at the college level- the staff average was: 1.6.

[2] Metropolitan setting = cities with at least 1,500,000 population
Non-elite urban university = non-residential, inexpensive or public universities (e.g. CCNY, Boston University, London, Paris or City University itself.)

The faculty was predominantly stable. Of the thirty-two who were in contact with the class of 1959-60[1] in the basic courses twenty were still on the staff in 1963.[2]

## The Curriculum

This able staff, drawn principally from the major state university and the major private regional university, was attracted primarily by the unique chance of building a curriculum from scratch, an undertaking challenging enough to offset the pro-graduate level work and anti-teaching bias of contemporary American academia. The liberty to build not only a curriculum but the necessity to be actively concerned with giving life to a collegiate subculture, with fostering a genuine life sytle, proved irresistible to the Social Science staff, whose heaviest single contingent was made of action anthropologists and many of whose members were former student leaders.

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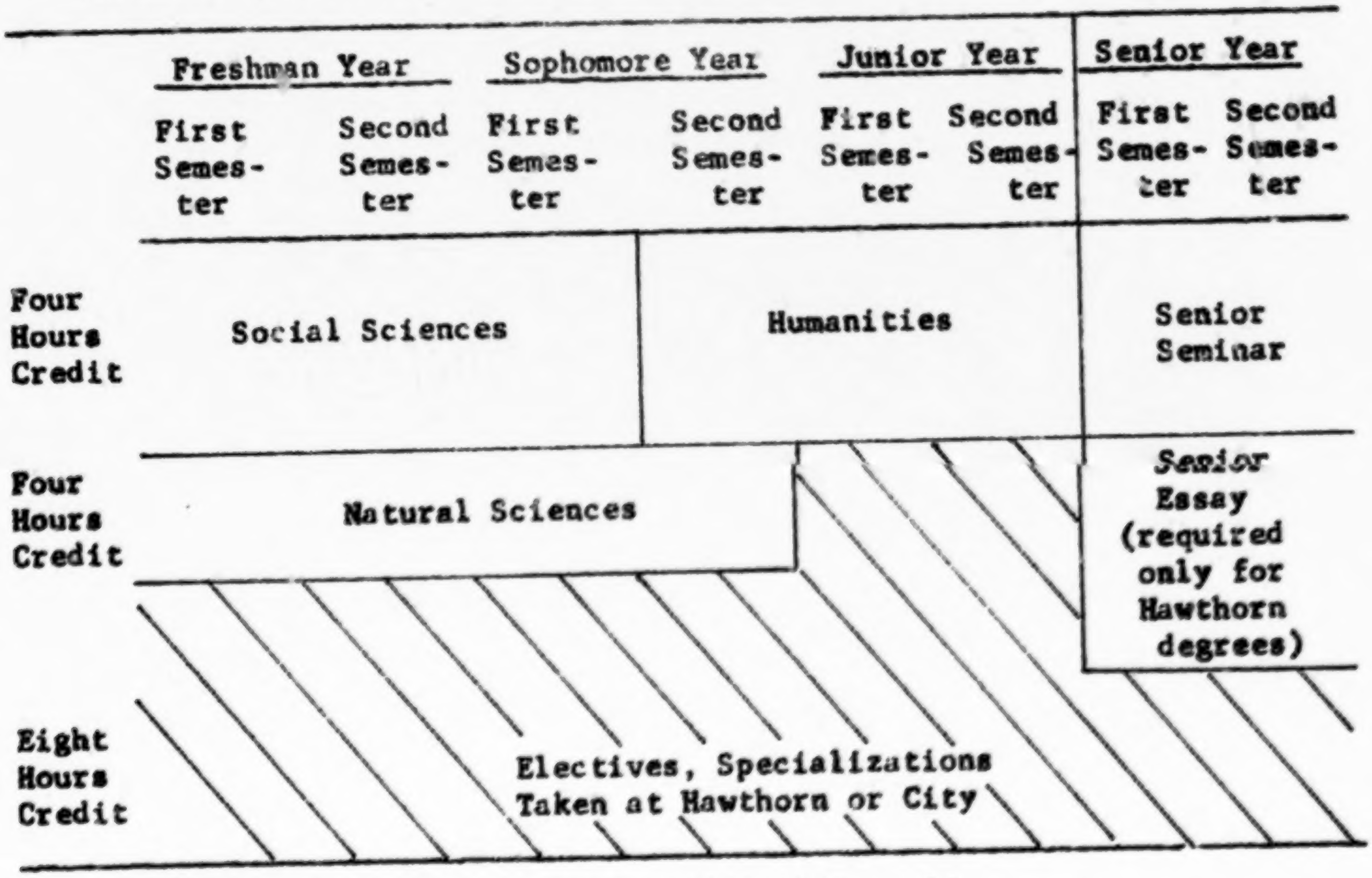
[1] Since much of our discussion will be in terms of this class we use contact with this class as our gauge of "opportunity to have an influence" when we attempt to assess the impact of teaching and teachers.

[2] I am not including one person with a very protracted leave of absence, but I am including two people whose leaves of absence were interspersed with sporadic returns to campus.

The turnover had a different pattern in each staff. It was especially visible in the small Humanities staff. In Social Science it was heaviest among PhD candidates who had finished their theses while at Hawthorn, though three did stay on after completing their theses. Natural Science staff members who left were primarily those who had only come for a short time.

Within the limits chartered by agreement with the several professional schools and colleges, medicine, law, engineering, education and business administration, and consonant with the plan to spread the basic work of the college over four years' time rather than making it the principal task of the lower classmen, the college designed a set of courses best portrayed by the chart below:

HAWTHORN BASIC COURSES PLUS ELECTIVES AND SPECIALIZATIONS*


Freshman Year
Sophomore Year
Junior Year
Senior Year
First Semester
Second Semester
First Semester
Second Semester
First Semester
Second Semester
First Semester
Second Semester
Four Hours Credit
Social Sciences
Humanities
Senior Seminar
Four Hours Credit
Natural Sciences
Senior Essay (required only for Hawthorn degrees)
Eight Hours Credit
Electives, Specializations Taken at Hawthorn or City

* Source: College Bulletin, 1961-1962, p.14

Natural Science, after a semester on mathematics and logic, turned to a succession of long term development in scientific thought such as: cosmology, Newton's system and recent challenges, and Evolution. The social scientists elaborated on ever more complex view of man in society starting with the notion of relation and ending with that of civilization. Humanities applied a vocabulary of the arts to the seminal moments in Western Civilization. Senior Essay and Senior Colloquium were designed to permit the student a unique focus and intensification of four years learning, and a shared recapitulation, review and projection on the new problems of insights and analytical schema acquired earlier.

For the rest, a given student could spend 68 hours in chemistry, follow a rigorous pre-medical program, earn a teaching certificate in one of a dozen areas or, if he wished, pursue the exploration of a problem which covered several disciplines by means of tutorials and seminars offered by Hawthorn College's staff.

## Student Allocation of Time between City and Hawhthorn

Most Hawthorn College students spent half of their time in classes in other parts of the University. A wide range of courses were available to students who had a two hundred and fifty-four page catalog to consider in making their selection. Hawthorn College students indeed spread through the many departments of the University. A census taken in the Winter of 1962, when Hawthorn College at last had its first full complement of students, shows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Hawthorn College basic sequences | 823[1] |
| " senior year courses | 302 |
| " special courses and tutorials | 128 |
| Liberal Arts 200 courses | 847[2] |
| Liberal Arts 300 and 400 courses | 196[3] |
| Education courses | 72 |
| Other professional courses | 123 |
| Language courses | 143 |

Some students perceived college credits as the legitimate return on their expending money and energy and were like good shoppers alert for a bargain; others consistently took difficult courses, courses much more demanding (term papers, reading) than others, courses out of their particular area of specialization.

We might expect students spending half their time in non-Hawthorn classes to form relationships with peers met in these classes. We would expect this particularly of seniors, many of whom were filling out a major or already pursuing the first steps of a professional career. However, when we asked our seniors to compare their contacts with fellow students at Hawthorn College and elsewhere in the University we find a strong preponderance both in frequency of contact and in a more personal quality of contact of relationships with Hawthorn College peers.[4]

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[1] Students are counted more than once if they are registered for more than one course in any of the several categories of courses.

[2] Predominantly Natural Science and Social Science areas.

[3] Predominantly Social Science.

[4] Cf. Ego Chart (more fully discussed on p. 299).

| | Most frequent contact | Most personal contact | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hawthorn College | .48 | .60 | (exclusive | .15 |
| | | | (preponderant) | .44 |
| Both Hawthorn & City | .10 | .03 | | |
| City University | .27 | .15 | (exclusive | .04 |
| | | | (preponderant) | .10 |
| Neither (off campus) | .16 | .22 | | |
| | 101 | 100 | | |
| | N = 134 | 131 | | |

Students of course, also differed among themselves in response to the opportunities offered by Hawthorn College. Some took tutorials, more did not, a sixth used the Center intensively, another sixth used the Center little, if at all. A handful of students lived on campus, although each campus apartment had a penumbra of constant visitors--people who dropped by. Student activities at Hawthorn reached thirty percent of the students. One in ten was involved in one or other informal activity like The Journal or the Show, one student in five played some role in official student affairs, though a third of these were very active indeed.

Hawthorn students belong to University student organizations (63% signed up for at least one organization). They participated particularly in religious groups[1] (40%), university student government (30%) and social fraternities (25%). A third of the students who joined organizations were elected to a major office, offices which included the President of the Student Body, the head of Pan-Hellenic, the all-campus Women's Organization, the campus-wide Men's Organization, the head of the Religious Clubs' Coordinating Committee. Between 1959 and 1963 Hawthorn students have held every major undergraduate student office in the university except editor of the campus newspaper. Fewer than five percent worked for the university's daily newspaper or belonged to an athletic team.

We will examine later what relationship early official salience, as well as salience in informal contacts has to student life and on Hawthorn's institutional process.[2] We will also examine the impact of the intensive contact fostered in tutorials and special courses on student self-evaluation and on their intellectual aspirations.

## Staff Organization

We have already seen that the teachers who worked with these students over four years time were predominantly young men from universities other than City, either new PhD's or men completing their theses. Most came from universities which ranked high in the nation and from excellent departments, all but a few had had fairly extensive research experience in their chief area of interest.

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[1] Largest membership Hillel, followed by Newman Club and the Lutheran Student movements.

[2] Is there a "set" taken by the student which corresponds to his first experience in college? We might expect this to be true especially of those students who are the first members of their family to have contact with college. We intend to examine the relative importance of first contact, most frequent official contact, informal contact and most recent contact.

Many had experience in several different university settings, though most were familiar only with state universities. Few had taught full time elsewhere but almost all had had experience as teaching assistants. They looked like the younger members of any staff in a good college. A number, particularly in Social Science, were unusual in having participated in student organizations, and in having experience in small colleges.

The staff were unusual more in their perception of their task, their desire to have a good deal of contact with undergraduates, their enthusiasm for the idea of general education, their willingness to work as a staff rather than as individual entrepreneurs.

The several staffs differed in recruitment, in ways of organizing their material, in pedagogical approach, in life style. The Social Science staff had a heavy nucleus of graduates from the major regional university; the Natural Science favored the major state university; whereas Humanities was both more local (several City University people joined the staff) and more catholic, attracting people from the East rather than primarily from the Middle West. The Social Science staff designed the most integrated curriculum, produced the most syllabi of readings, was most insistent on empirical research experience for students; while the Natural Science staff stressed the importance of a mathematical and logical propaedeutic for which it produced its own text, then adopted a development of knowledge approach to certain key problems in the history of science. Humanities was most concerned with critical concepts considered as organizing principles for the examination of the great eras of Western Civilization. All staffs departed somewhat from their original orientation but the general stress of each staff remained the same, though there was a tendency for modifications to be made as new members joined and others left.

The pedagogical approach of the Social Science staff stressed the variety of discussion styles, attempted to make the students skilled consumers of good teaching, underplayed grades (often seen as a necessary evil), though having the most elaborate examination system. Their major thrust was to promote student reflection on his own experience, to perceive the many possible schemes applicable to various facets or levels of society. Their relationship to students could be thought of as an apprenticeship developing into a virtual partnership.

The Natural Science staff's subject matter lent itself to quizzes. An attempt was made to make vivid to students the immense perspectives of the history of science, the vicissitudes of an idea or concern through centuries of organized thought, but also to acquaint them with the growing edge of contemporary science, communicating some of the excitement of alternative systems both having plausibility, devoted advocates and detractors. The subject matter in its precision, immensity and in the respect, if not awe, it elicited from its followers lent itself to more ordinary student-teacher relations where the teacher's function as authority and guide was clear and where discussions were used as times of clarification of ideas developed in a lecture; where a student developing his own explanation was not viewed as a realistic or responsible objective. Natural Science quite naturally appeared as strict and demanding.

Humanities, too, staggered under the load of the treasures of the past: great men, great works, great ideas. Again problems of coverage, a sense of the teacher's responsibility to initiate, the need for a college student to become acquainted with masterpieces and geniuses dictated discussions which were aimed at understanding the form or place of a great work, to furnish experience with art forms, particularly music, to give an initial familiarity with the most seminal periods of our civilization. Strenuous efforts were made to train the observer's eye, to sharpen the listener's ear, to give insight into the demands of the creative process. Pedagogically this staff presented itself as expert, and was seen as expert, possessing vast funds of valuable knowledge. Inevitably, they took their place in the gamut of discussion between the relatively relaxed, comparative, and experiential approach of Social Science and the more abstractly conceptualized precision of Natural Science. They shared the experiential with the one, the burden of history with the other.

The staffs also differed in life style. Again the Social Scientist more relaxed, accessible, seemingly endlessly interested in the welter of city life, in politics, in student identity, constantly stressing, "it's up to you , think and look for yourself and tell us about it", contrasted with the more formal, even though nurturant, relationship of the Natural Science staff where differences between teacher and student role rarely allowed for (even hypothetically) the "now let us see" position. The Social Scientists were overwhelmingly practitioners of their discipline, much less so the Natural Scientists who were more theoretically minded, more philosophers and historians of science than lab and field research men. Humanities again took its place between the two. Practitioner and critic both shaped the course. As in Natural Science, the vastness and respectability of their subject matter, the implausibility that student contribution could be other than fictional or practice, meant that the goal of Humanities was intelligent consumership rather than even modest mastery.

## Responses in the Natural Science Division

The staffs differed in their approach to students. The following excerpts from Zelda Gamson's study summarize these differences as they appeared to an observer who had contact with the Hawthorn staff in 1962 and 1963.[1]

> The natural scientists from the beginning defined their task narrowly (relative to the social scientists) and expected to have limited effects on their students. Their job, as well as that of the College, was to affect students intellectually, which meant not only transmitting information, but also broadening interests and developing critical abilities. Any attempts to have deeper and more pervasive effects on students were seen as illegitimate and doomed to failure. The descriptions of students and of effects on students were in line with these conceptions. When asked to describe the students in general, natural scientists emphasized cognitive qualities and low work motivation. The "ideal student" had superior intellectual ability, interests and diligence. Students were seen as not very malleable; when some effects were described, these were usually intellectual effects.
>
> The norms which developed governing student-faculty relations supported these conceptions. In order to achieve their objectives, natural scientists felt that they had to maintain their legitimate authority over students, particularly in the area of grading and evaluation. Getting too close to students could corrupt faculty authority and produce "favoritism" and the loss of "standards." Therefore, the natural science staff stressed the importance of keeping distance between themselves and students (effective neutrality), of keeping the boundaries between the two roles clear and distinct (specificity), and of using the same standards for all students (universalism).
>
> In general, the natural scientists' behavior fit these norms. Compared to the social science staff, the natural science staff evaluated students with a minimum of strain and discomfort. The natural scientists had limited contact with students outside of class, and what contact did occur was within the boundaries set by the school. In everything they did, the natural scientists

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[1] Zelda Gamson, Social Control and Modification: A Study of Responses to Students in a Small Non-Residential College, Disertation, Harvard University, 1965, pages 261-262, 267-270.

were directed toward the mass of the students at the College; they went to great lengths to avoid developing student cliques, clienteles, or disciples. When they were asked to nominate students for fellowships, they used outstanding performance as the primary criterion."

The type of social control preferred by the natural scientists was sanctioning; the sanctions used almost exclusively were grades. The natural science staff resisted any use of grades which would transform them into normative controls. They gave few incompletes, refused to change grades, discouraged students from shopping around for compatible instructors, and based their evaluations almost entirely on students' products. Natural scientists made minimum use of normative controls as alternatives to grading. They kept their classes close to the subject matter and had few contacts with students outside of class. They opposed using insulation, particularly recruitment selectivity and selectivity in student contacts.

## Responses in the Social Science Division

An entirely different chain of events occurred in the social science department. From the beginning, the social scientists defined their task broadly and expected to have pervasive effects on the students. Their job, as well as that of the College, was not only to affect students' minds, but their attitudes, values, and personal identities as well. The personal effects of learning were inseparable from the intellectual effects; indeed, they facilitated cognitive change. Social scientists felt that they should harness these effects. In accordance with these aims, the social science staff saw students as needing their help and as being "lost" and "vulnerable", i.e., students were seen as malleable.

There were two sets of conceptions and norms on the social science faculty which co-existed amicably for several years. One group of faculty members- those I called the "ideologists"- focussed primarily on affecting students' values and attitudes, centering particularly around intellectual values and attitudes toward the intellectual life. The second group felt that this was not enough; in order to have intense effects on the students, it was necessary to promote shifts in students' personal identities. I called this orientation "the identity-maker."

Both groups felt it was necessary to transcend the traditional student-teacher relationship, and to establish close relationships with students. This meant, for the identity-makers, that students see them as "peers" or as "older brothers" in contexts outside of the College. Indeed, they felt that the formal structure of the College undermined the establishment of intimate relationships with students. The ideologists, on the other hand, were satisfied with the opportunities the College provided for informal contacts with students. They were more likely to stress seeing students at the Student Union, through advising, and by attendance at extra-curricular activities. Though there were differences in degree, both groups stressed the importance of getting close to students (effectivity), of minimizing the boundaries between the two roles (diffuseness), and of fitting their behavior to individual students (particularism).

Social scientists had more frequent contact with the students than did natural scientists, with the ideologists specializing in seeing students on campus and the identity-makers specializing in off-campus contacts. Students reported their contacts with social scientists as being personal, intense and meaningful. The faculty were selective in their non-class contacts with students, and had a definite student clientele who both solicited and were solicited by the faculty. These students were most actively involved in and committed to the College and, compared to their class as a whole, had the characteristics which best supported the College. When asked to nominate students for fellowships, the social science staff drew most of their nominees from this group or chose students who resembled the members of the "Hawthorn community." These were the students who, with the support of the social science staff, tried unsuccessfully to change the natural science and humanities courses and successfully split the senior seminar.

Social scientists, as a group, differed from the natural scientists in the difficulty they experienced in evaluating students. When forced to grade, they were much more likely to give grades which had reward value to the students. They did everything they could not to give poor grades. By giving many incompletes, changing grades of students who wanted to improve, encouraging shopping around for instructors, and using retroactive grades, the social scientists hoped to motivate students to "internalize" the material; in other words, they tried to convert a means of control which was ordinarily used as a sanction into a normative control. Although they controlled the flow of communication in their discussion classes, social scientists allowed students to roam more widely in areas not directly related to the course than the natural scientists did.

The social scientists, therefore, relied primarily on normative controls and insulation, and occasionally, on inducement sanctions to control students. On the whole, these means "protected" the social science staff from student influence; that is, they were effective social controls. Unlike the natural science staff, they were not faced with large numbers of students who were dissatisfied with their grades. Their student clientele was not a source of pressure on them; rather, they validated the faculty's objective and norms.

## Allocation of Staff Time, Salience[1]

Staffs differed not only in approach and manner but in salience. In the first year Social Science started off with twice as many staff members as Natural Science, although they had only fifty more students. This imbalance of contact with Fall entrants lessened in the second semester when the Social Science staff undertook to give a double course to those seventy-eight students entering in the Spring. The Humanities staff, whose phasing-in occured only in the fourth semester, was totally absent, even its chairman having left for Europe.

Staff saliency differed also in actual contact with students, with over half of the Social Science staff spending vast amounts of time at the student center, indeed keeping the student center open at night, while only one member of the Natural Science staff spent an equivalent amount of time in informal contact with students. On the other hand, the smaller size of the Natural Science staff meant that more students knew each of them as teachers. This was balanced by the Social Science massive contact with the entering Spring students and by their assigning two staff members to each student. during the Spring term. In Social Science virtually each member of the staff took the lecture platform, there were occasional apanels wherein several staff members debated each other on research approach, their understanding of "system", etc., thus giving every student a chance to identify, at least by sight, each member of that staff. This was not the case in Natural Science where three lecturers took the massive load on their shoulders.

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[1] A more extensive account is taken of this later. Cf. P. 290.

Thus the Social Science staff member in the first year of Hawthorn's life had a very good chance of being a recognizable figure but less of a chance of having any particular student in his class. He was much more conspicuous in informal contact with students in and around the Student Center. The Humanities staff member was conspicuous in his total absence from the scene. On the other hand, the Social Science staff was phased out at the end of the third semester, the Natural Science staff continued to the end of the fourth semester, and the Humanities staff beginning in the fourth semester, alone, maintained contact with the student in his third year.

This difference in salience continued throughout the four years, 1959-1963, although the relative disproportion of numbers was reduced as Natural Science expanded its staff and as the Humanities staff joined the college. In the Spring of 1960, students were confronted with the full array of pedagogical styles and values. That the Social Science staff maintained its great disproportion in informal student contact was undoubtedly a factor which did much to shape the student expectations as to student-faculty relationship, and the students' understanding of the aims and spirit of Hawthorn. Social Scientists wittingly or unwittingly served as pace setters, style leaders; they shaped the rhetoric of student life and the tenor of student-faculty relations dominant everywhere except within the actual classroom or lecture hall, where individual faculty and staff style were displayed.

From the beginning, members of this staff had a greater variety of non-teaching assignments than did other faculty. This staff's members acted as members of the Hawthorn College research team; they acted as official advisors to the college student government, half helped out in second year recruitment. Several special long-term college programs were chaired by them. They produced twenty-seven volumes of readings, organized a committee charged with the construction and review of exams. They were salient in non-staff teaching, two of them taught in the other staffs. They handled twenty-six out of forty-four senior essays of the first graduating class.[1]

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[1] Special courses offered by staff members and tutorials requested by students (activities which could take place in the fifty percent of the student's time not pre-empted by Hawthorn's required courses) were another area of relative staff salience. Here again the overwhelming weight (nine-tenths) of the offering came from Social Science. Of the twenty-three who took the special courses 17 took them from Social Scientists who taught 30 students of the total thirty-eight participants. These might well be considered most favored settings for intensive intellectual work, particularly rewarding to the student who is discovering his interests, and to the staff member who can follow closely a student's development.

Many social scientists were active in formal and informal student affairs many of which were the subject of discussion at staff meetings. Members of this staff often presented themselves to the faculty as a whole as those with a good deal to say about students partly because of the amount of informal contact, partly because they were particularly articulate about what students were doing, quick to state what impact a given measure (faculty supervision of the student newspaper or moving the Student Center to another building) might have on students and on the institution. They, though strangers to City University campus, began early and continued late to expand on the principles about the relationship of the college to the university, indeed, they were soon concerned with the relationship of college to the city, to the academic world in general. They proclaimed loudly and repeatedly that the college would be judged by its graduates and took great pride in placing graduates interested in social science in good graduate schools. Numerous, opiniated, highly visible, comfortable with students, sure of their mission to the academic world, this staff did much to mold the college, sometimes at the cost of being accused of wishing to mold their colleagues, of being laissez-faire, of wishing to impose a college style without their peers' consent.

The Natural Science staff, overwhelmed from the beginning with a disproportionately high student load both in actual numbers and in terms of having to field four semesters, not three, in their basic sequence, also published some two volumes, which had the éclat of being original works. They had the burden and the possibilities of an extra semester, justified because "surely logical training is useful in all subsequent disciplines". Younger, less experienced in student affairs, less broad in academic background, this staff poured its energy out in classrooms, accepted with resignation that its subject matter was neither as immediately perceptible and interesting as social science nor its secrets as readily accessible to the neophyte student.[1] Some staff members served on college committees, one acted as temporary staff chairman, one was an advisor to the university student body, but, on the whole, this staff's relationship to the student was less informal, more official in nature, and took place in official settings, offices and classrooms. A series of lectures by exceedingly distinguished visitors was sponsored by them and they offered several special courses, some of which were outstandingly popular (those not directly concerned with science, but with law or urbanism).

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[1] This first attitude speedily changed as the Natural Science staff began to work vigorously in the area of science and technology, the impact of science on men and society, ethical and political aspects of the proliferation of knowledge and its computerization. The second attitude remained substantially unchanged.

The staff's impact was primarily intellectual, their value rigor, their message one of the serious analysis of the far-reaching impact of successive scientific revolutions.

The Humanities staff, smallest of the three, met much larger discussion sections, rationalized in the original scheme of the college as being bearable because the increase in student independence implied a decrease in the students' need for faculty attention. This relationship proved to be spurious inasmuch as the subject matter of Humanities being new, students easily fell back into the neophyte's role and even the independent student could easily be even more demanding on a teacher's time and resources, having better questions to ask and being ready to propose larger areas for exploration. This staff produced a book of essays, contributed delegates to several university committees, one member acted as temporary chair man of the division. Most of the staff's energy went into day-by-day meeting of regular student demands, but several members nevertheless managed to give special courses, several of which were highly successful. Meeting the students for the first time only in the last half of the Sophomore year, this staff could be expected to have little impact on shaping student culture. They did present demands as to editorial standards of their students' work, although they, like the Natural Science staff, were not conspicuous in their support of student creative work. Serious, earnest, hard-working, their stress was on the immense wealth, breadth, intricacy of Humanities; the limited grasp which even the hard-working beginner might hope to achieve. They too could not but appear cautious initiators and guardians, as conscious of their responsibility to pass on the heritage of Western Civilization, as Natural Science was of its obligations to Science.

## Salience, the Deployment of Staff

How salient were the different members of the staff? We might define saliency variously; those who by lecturing most often were given official recognition before the class as a whole; those who by having the most sections had the most official small group contact; those who were longest at the college and hence who had the most chance, to become part of the sub-culture and tradition; those who taught the most special courses and who showed the most enterprise; those who acted as sponsor or adviser in student affairs, who had a high degree of contact with student leaders; those most accessible to students, whose open door policy invited the student in the corridors to drop in; those with high academic status; those with high institutional status.

Staff members who handled early sections can be thought of as prime initiators, while those who handled sections in junior year could be thought to have the visibility of recent contact.
Limiting or multiplying official access is one of the ways an institution can implement policy. It is hence relevant to ask which

staff member was given access and who did not, who sought supplementary access, who contented himself with his official task?

## Official Access: the Lecture Platform

Lecture scheduling was a staff responsibility. What image was given by a staff to its students in its handling of official access? Reliance on one lecturer for a sub-theme would seem to imply an expertise, a specialist's role. Reliance on several lecturers within a course segment might point to a sharing of concern and of responsibility for that segment. Having the man of highest academic status, the whitest hair so to speak, take the largest share might imply the subordination of the rest of the staff.[1]

In a conventional university setting where the professor gives the magisterial lecture and the TAs the "quiz sections", giving lectures does define a given individual as pace setter, navigator for a course. The three staff chairmen re-enforced this definition by doing a good deal of lecturing themselves. Not all members of the staff were equally presented on the lecture platform.[2]

We devised a method to compare staff members' official conventional saliency on the lecture platform, that is an average of lectures given by each staff member per semester.[3] A late-comer could be very salient in the one semester he was present and could be compared both to a four year man who lectured in several courses and to another late-comer who never officially confronted a given class.[1]

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[1] The presence of staff members at all lectures also could be variously defined as peers instructing each other, censors vetting a performance, the master teacher giving the crucial notes of the course.

[2] The Natural Science staff showed the greatest variation in dfficial prominence. Three staff members did not lecture at all to the 1959-60 entering class; three others gave over forty lectures apiece; two members between them gave fifty percent of the lectures. The Social Science staff had the most lecturers, but not the most visible ones. The Humanities staff had relatively high visibility.

[3] Official salience was defined as number of lectures given in the basic sequences to members of the class entering in Fall, 1959, (members of that class who did not keep up the pace had a different selection of lecturers) divided by the number of semesters a given staff member had official access to that class (thus we did not count the lectures given by staff members in sequences in which they had no discussion sections). Thus it is an average of lectures given per semester. Salience varies from no lecture given in two semesters' contact to an average, over four semesters, of fifteen. Of the thirty-two staff members in official contact with this class, six had very low salience (less than one lecture per semester), six low salience, eight had moderate salience, six high salience, five very high salience (ten lectures or more per semester).

What relationship does official saliency have? Does it enhance other relationships: discussion leader? model? Does it underpin friendship between student and teacher? Does it allow a staff member to be meaningful to a student who has not had him for class? What are the unplanned repercussions of this official prominence?

We find that saliency is not related to being singled out as best discussion leader[2] nor do we find a relationship between salience on the lecture platform and entrepreneurship of special courses. Apparently, official lecturing is a capacity distinct from leading a discussion section of a basic sequence, or handling one's own course, or attracting tutorial clients.[3]

Though official prominence on the lecture platform does not seem to have a marked relationship to prowess in other forms of teaching, it is related to being thought of as a friend, as a model, and to being singled out as "most meaningful" by students.

Saliency seems to be a condition of friendship,(only one person with low saliency was high in friendships,)but saliency alone did not make for friendships, half of those with marked saliency were low in relative proportion of friends. One did have to be officially introduced before one could be thought of as a friend, but friendship did not follow on saliency though imitation might. Indeed, saliency was highly relevant to being chosen as a model. It would seem that one can exhibit qualities deemed worthy of imitation on the platform, though this may not lead to establishing either a friendly relationship, or one which the student thinks of as having been most meaningful to him.

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[1] This method underestimates the actual number of times a person lectured but it does allow us to gauge the opportunity each staff member had of being known to a given class.

[2] However, lack of salience does seem to cut down on one's chances of being thought a good discussion leader. Only one-third of those with little salience are selected as best discussion leader, while two-thirds of those with high salience, are so thought of , but six out of seven of those thought of as outstanding discussion leaders have only moderate salience. This finding holds across the staffs.

[3] In only one case high official salience does go with marked entrepreneurship.

Saliency is necessary but is not sufficient to be selected by the students as "most meaningful".[1] Only one person with low saliency was highly meaningful, but those with high saliency were found as often among those who were relatively unmeaningful as among the most meaningful. A closer examination shows that moderate saliency is the best position for meaningfulness.

Thus the sort of contact most professors in undergraduate courses in large public institutions seem to have is useful to make a faculty person known to students seeking out models, but is not sufficient to do more than permit the friendship, and does not lead to the more meaningful relationships which might make the admired qualities real and the model one to be identified with.

### Official Access: the Discussion Section

The second official assignment a staff member has is to his discussion section. Although these do not give him the overall visibility of the lecture platform he does get a chance during the sixteen weeks' contact to know the students with whom he will work and they get an unusually good chance to know him. Here informal contact is optimized, both student and teacher have a chance to work together long enough and in sufficiently varied circumstances for each to get some measure of the other. The student has the advantage of a small group of peers who can help him understand his mentor as they discuss class at the student center.

The discussion section had as its objective helping the student achieve early independence. The small discussion section is the place where ideas can become integrated, interpretations tested, nuance developed. Here the student can become critical of his thinking as he consciously participates in the discussion. Hopefully having established some self-confidence, some skill in handling discussion, readings and essays, the student is better equipped to make his own way.

Only one in eight of the Hawthorn staff considered meaningful by students graduating in 1963 were staff members who were not those students' discussion leaders in the basic courses.[1] A third of the students met their most meaningful staff member in their first semester, over half in their first year.[2]

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[1] Kolomogrov-Smirnov test
for two sample $p < .05$.
Five very highly meaningful people tended to be Social Science staff members of moderate or low salience, one other outstandingly meaningful faculty member was from another staff and had very high salience.

A student's first few discussion sections shaped much of his future life at Hawthorn. In their first semester a third of the students found their principal model, a fourth of them their best discussion leader, two in five had found a faculty friend. By the end of the freshman year almost a half had found their principal model, three-fifths had met their best discussion leader, over half had found at least one friend.[3] Some staff members, however, (one model in five and one friend in four) had never had (and would never have) the student in class. These staff members, who despite lack of official contact with students in discussion sections, were though of as model or friend are the same few people who are also very often selected by their own students. We do not have a division of labor, those most meaningful and closest to their own students are also those chosen by other students. There seemed to be a tendency for a staff member to overlook students who came to Hawthorn before the staff member did. This may be one reason why some turnover may be a good thing, since if staff members remain in contact with their former students (and we know that they do) there is some difficulty in finding room for the newcomer whose claim to attention and care may seem less real than that of the student who is already known and who turns up later. A staff member meeting a student in his first semester discussion group may well incur an additional seven semesters' obligation to him (if the student graduates on time!) during which he may well find the student asking for advice on courses to take, on graduate school, telling him of his own difficulties in selecting the right vocation, etc., etc.[1]

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[1] Half of these few choices of staff members not encountered in discussion groups were centered on one person.

[2] It may be interesting to notice that in the one case where two kinds of relationships were offered the student, research adviser and discussion leader, it was the discussion leader that the student selected as most meaningful.

[3] Two-fifths of those chosen as models were first year discussion leaders, as were almost half of the staff members thought of as friends.

Of all of the staff members in 1963, graduates thought of as people to whom they had the most access, almost a third were the faculty members they met in their first semester discussion groups. Almost half were discussion leaders from the first year. Interestingly enough, only twice in fifty times were they staff members whose discussion section students were in after their second year. It seems that prime access is won early and maintained rather than following upon more current preoccupations. One in ten when asked with whom they had the most contact thought of members of the faculty they had never had in class, here access came without the formal introduction (and claim) of being one's student. As we have noted for model and friend, it is the same persons who are heavily chosen by their own students who are also selected by other men's students. It seems clear that the responsibility of contact as well as of exemplar and friend is borne overwhelmingly by some members of the staff, almost not at all by others.

Some members of the Hawthorn faculty are underchosen, seem to have been avoided as models, unsought as friends. This does not seem to have been due to a lack of willingness for contact (two of the most underchosen went out of their way to meet students informally), nor was it briefness of encounter (several students selected a staff member with whom they had the possibility of only one term of official contact- he was only at Hawthorn for that brief period). Nor is concern with one's own affairs the reason, (one remembered as the most accessible was writing his thesis and preparing to go elsewhere). Nor was it disparity of age (several of those most in contact were relatively senior members of the staff). A gregarious manner did not seem to be necessary (several of the shyest and most retiring staff members were among the most selected). A signal seems to have been given, received and re-transmitted of temporariness of assignment and cursoriness of commitment. Members of the staff coming to Hawthorn on short term contracts (even though subsequently they stayed on several years) were conspicuously underchosen as accessible, friend and model. There seems to have been a tacit understanding which was soon established that duty alone was performed here, no more commitment was offered or expected.

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[1] A very different obligation than that of his colleague whose first contact may only take place in the third semester and who thus not only has fewer semesters entailed, but less liklihood of being selected by the student.

The "cool" signal was given by students as well. One graduate in seven said that he did not consider any member of the staff to be a friend, one in twelve said, "No one", when asked if there was any member of the staff whose qualities he would like to have. A closer inspection shows that in these cases friendship had overtones of an intimacy which was being rejected. Staff members were not "buddies". In the case of modeling being denied, often the question itself seemed foolish to the student. "Who would want to be like anyone else? After four years of college had one not forged one's own personal characteristics and individuality?" The tone was not defensive, not ungenerous or disdainful but rather sounded the definition of oneself as an independent person.

While both sorts of official access, lecturing and discussing, are relevant to students preceiving a faculty member in his professional role and more personally, it seems clear that the lecture platform, however honored in tradition, is much less effective in establishing a relationship than the more lowly discussion section. At most the lecturer is signalled out as someone on the staff whom the student might find relevant to his current interests. There seems to be overexposure in lecturing as well as underexporsure. This is not so in the case of discussing, which never seems to pall. Early salience in lectures does not seem specially significant, if anything there is some tendency for those who lecture later in the student's college career to be more meaningful. Early contact in discussion does seem very important for establishing other kinds of ties with the faculty member.

## Official But Not Prescribed Access

Over half of the faculty members, over and above their obligations to the basic courses, proposed seminar-like courses for students to take, and agreed to take on a number of students for tutorials. Those proposing courses to students followed their own inclinations and interests; those guiding tutorials[1] were responsive to student initiative. Staff members often gave both sorts of instruction although it soon became clear that some preferred the more traditional seminar, others the more improvised tutorial format.[1]

---

[1] Over a four year period approximately one quarter of the Natural Science staff were engaged in this type of entrepreneurship, two-thirds of the Social Science staff and three-fourths of the Humanities staff. In two of the three staffs this type of instruction was given to students who were not routinely in a given staff member's official purview, i.e., had not yet qualified for his sequence or had already finished it.

For both students and faculty the special courses were an occasion for contact extending one's range beyond people met in basic courses rather than a prolongation of initial contacts. Half of the students who graduated in 1963 had taken advantage of this opportunity and half of all the faculty members so selected had not had the student in one of the basic courses . Only once in five times did students take a special course from the professor he found meant most to him. Those offering special courses were, on the whole, also those who ranked high on friendliness,[2] and those whose qualities students thought worth imitating.[3] Although the stalwarts (as accessible, as discussion leaders and as friends) were again present among those offering special courses, here we found those staff members, particularly Social Scientists, who joined Hawthorn relatively late. The special courses seemed to be the late-comer's special entrepreneurship. A third of all special courses reported by the students were offered by staff members not present the first year. It seemed as though this was a way of catching up with the procession, becoming an old boy a little sooner.

Students are asked to write a long essay in their senior year. This Senior Essay takes up approximately a quarter of their time for three consecutive quarters and is supposed to be a final occasion for them to pursue in some depth a problem of particular interest to them. Senior Essays often stem from papers written for some earlier basic course, often too from a tutorial. Students seek out staff members to work with who will guide them through their entire work, independent though most students are by this time. The relationship of a senior essay advisor and his student has a gratuitousness on both sides. Students may seek out anyone they think they'd like to work with; staff members feel quite free to refuse to sponsor a student's effort. There is no pressure on the staff member to take his quota, if anything there is some attempt made to bolster a faculty member's resistance to taking on too much. Approximately a third of the students have never previously had their senior essay sponsor for a class (either basic or special). Two out of five of all the staff members present in the senior year were asked for this service; three-fourths of those asked had had responsibility in the basic courses those seniors had taken. Although four stalwarts in leading discoussions and in giving special courses are also prominent in directing Senior Essays, four others are much less conspicuous, and two new figures become prominent for the first time. Guilding a Senior Essay, a long range scholarly undertaking paced very much by the student, seems to be perceived rather differently than brillance in tutorial or in discussion. People most selected, though not all, seem to be somewhat less relaxed and more demanding, somewhat more inclined to be alert to ordinary scholarly standards.

---

[1] There seemed to be some tendency for the Natural Science and Humanities staff to prefer offering more formal courses. Most Social Science staff members gave tutorials, fewer offered their own courses.

[2] $X^2 = .01$

[3] $X^2 = .01$

Thus both types of officially approved, but unscheduled professional relationships open to staff and student are grasped, each by rather different people than those so prominent in officially allocated duties. Teaching at Hawthorn opens a broad range of alternative roles, lecturer, discussion leader, entrepreneur of special courses, guide for short term tutorial or sponsor of long term Senior Essay. Different people gravitate to different roles and no one achieves prominence in all of these facets of the teacher's role, though ten staff members are such many faceted people. Another ten staff members remain invisible whatever the role being examined. Volunteering nothing special, unnoticed too in the carrying out of their routine duties, they are conspicuous only in their absence from all but staff rosters and on occasional brief appearance in the lecture hall. The function of these invisivle ones may well be quietly carrying on a common task, their impact despite having escaped our notice may well have been real but we have been unable to find its trace. Their colleagues have been more visible to students although as heavily burdened, although equally or more humble in academic status or glamor of provenance, staff members who stayed but a year are remembered three years later, but some, invisible though still in Hawthorn with three years and four years of service, are ignored. Neither age, nor sex, nor health, nor family preoccupation seems to furnish a clue to their conspicuous absence.

## GENERAL CONTOURS OF STUDENT-FACULTY RELATIONSHIPS

Material for this section comes from a chart where the 1963 seniors were asked to indicate their usual pattern of relationships to various sorts of people: other students (Hawthorn, other City, peers, not peers, etc.), staff members (Hawthorn, other City, social science, natural science, humanities, etc.), etc. We also allowed for contacts at work, at home and furnished space for "other."

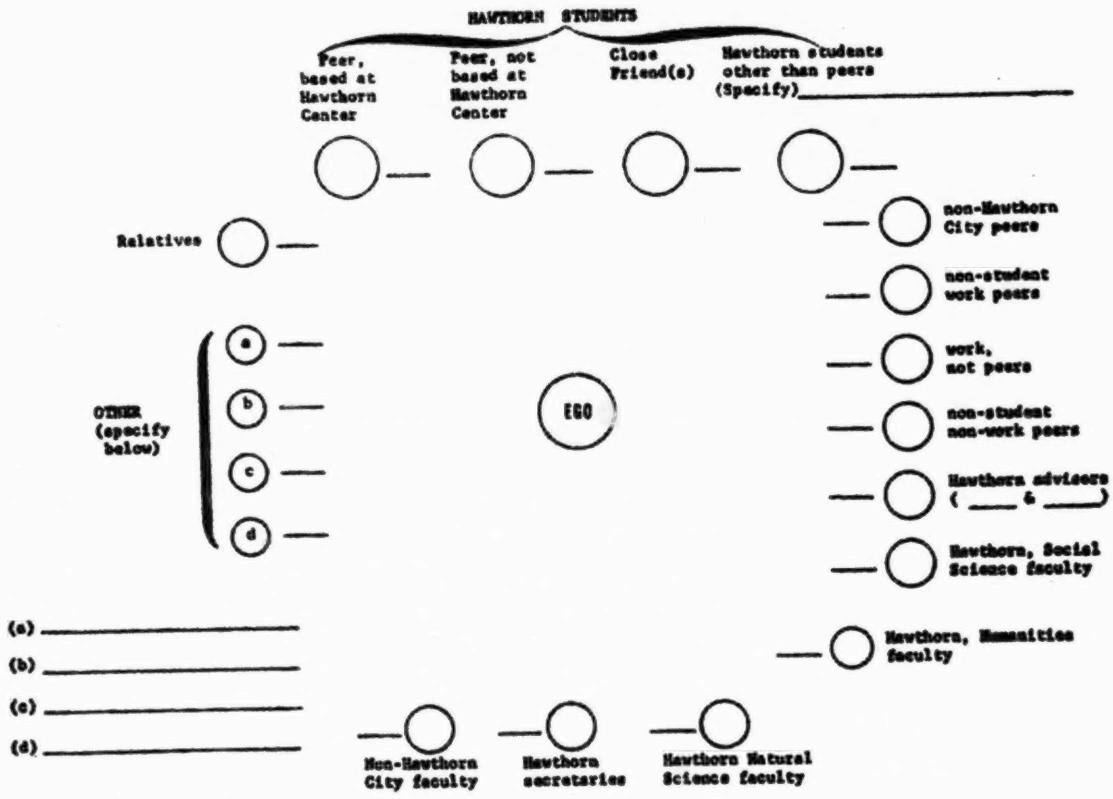
HAWTHORN STUDENTS
Peer, based at Hawthorn Center
Peer, not based at Hawthorn Center
Close Friend(s)
Hawthorn students other than peers (Specify)
Relatives
OTHER (specify below)
a
b
c
d
EGO
non-Hawthorn City peers
non-student work peers
work, not peers
non-student non-work peers
Hawthorn advisers ( & )
Hawthorn, Social Science faculty
Hawthorn, Humanities faculty
(a)
(b)
(c)
(d)
Non-Hawthorn City faculty
Hawthorn secretaries
Hawthorn Natural Science faculty

DIAGRAM #5

We asked them to give an estimate of the frequency of their contact with people in each given category "in the last week"[1] and furthermore to give an estimate of the number of these contacts which they considered to be "personal".[1]

---

[1] The "week" referred to differed, although we defined the period as "characteristic week" when asked about vacation or exam weeks. Still the period covered overlapped approximately the period of the intensive interviews and enables us to situate this very careful, many sided questioning about the student's relationship to his college within a broader context of his relationship to the university. We could check inconsistencies and see if the person who in his interview was lamenting being out of touch also portrayed himself as having personal contacts with none of three Hawthorn staffs, or if the person thinking himself as central and key also was relatively high in his numbers of contacts. We could relate his global mapping of his contacts with peers on the Ego-chart to his actual checking of names of peers on a list given in the sociometric test reported in the previous chapter to get some sort of range on the relative deployment of student time, energy and interest.

This method, developed with Bevode McCall, allows for a summary view of a person's links to the university institution. It allows us to perceive not only the strength and type of each individual's link to the university situation and to non-university situations, but (by super-imposition) to see the relative links of certain types of students (i.e., prospective graduates, slow-downs, etc.), as well as the ties of students of this class as a whole to the institution taken as a whole.

This method has the obvious flaw of a cursory map- some relationships are finely subdivided (Hawthorn peer center-based, Hawthorn peer not based at the center, Hawthorn friend, Hawthorn non-peer); while others are not subdivided (each staff presented as a single option- we could have subdivided this into senior-essay advisor, discussion leader, other). Not all students filled this chart out as it, together with all other cooperation with Hawthorn research, is optional.

City University and Hawthorn can be characterized as Streetcar colleges- a transient world. Hawthorn,however,deliberately tries to counter this environmental influence. How well it succeeds can be grasped in some measure by contrasting the relative friendliness of Hawthorn-based relationships both with students and faculty with the quality of the Hawthorn student's relationships to non-Hawthorn faculty and students.

---

[1] Exact instructions attached to the Ego-chart were:
Turn then to the diagram, consider it in terms of your usual pattern of relations to others, at Hawthorn and elsewhere.

a. Draw a line between ego and any of the other circles representing kinds of people with whom you usually interact.
b. Notice that each circle has a dash next to it. For each circle you select, write at the top of the dash your estimate of the number of interactions you have in a week; at the bottom of the dash the number of such interactions you consider to be personal or close. (This was a mistake, we should have asked the student to write the total number of interactions as the denominator and the personal interactions as the numerator, thus giving ourselves a directly intelligible fraction.)

## Quality of Relationships

| | Staff | | | | Students | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hawthorn | % | City | % | Hawthorn | % | City | % |
| Personal | 44 | 36 | 31 | 25 | 94 | 76 | 77 | 63 |
| Impersonal | 26 | 21 | 45 | 37 | 22 | 18 | 31 | 25 |
| None | 53 | 43 | 47 | 39 | 7 | 06 | 15 | 12 |
| N | 123 | | 123 | | 123 | | 123 | |

Generally we observe that student relationships are friendlier than are faculty relationships, that Hawthorn relationships more often are personal ones than are equivalent relationships outside of Hawthorn.

Combining relationships by environment and by role and then comparing all Hawthorn -based relationships to City's, all student relationships to those Hawthorn students have with all their professors we observe:

| Milieux | | | | Quality | Roles | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hawthorn Staff+Students | | City Staff+Students | | | Faculties | | Students | |
| | % | | % | | | % | | % |
| 40 | 33 | 29 | 24 | Both personal | 19 | 15 | 73 | 59 |
| 58 | 47 | 50 | 41 | Personal with only one | 37 | 30 | 25 | 20 |
| 8 | 07 | 14 | 11 | Impersonal with both | 13 | 11 | 17 | 14 |
| 11 | 09 | 20 | 16 | Impersonal with only one | 29 | 24 | 7 | 06 |
| 6 | 05 | 10 | 08 | No contact with either | 25 | 20 | 1 | 01 |
| 123 | | 123 | | N | 123 | | 123 | |

Hawthorn students as often find personal links within their own college as they do among all their peers. Students are seldom completely out of touch with each other but surprisingly often out of contact with the faculty.[1]

---

[1] I am not counting official college advisors. Eight of the twenty-five students out of contact with professors are seeing the Advisers.

One of the advantages Hawthorn points to is being able to benefit from the variety and specialization of the distinguished staff of a large university while enjoying the personal acquaintance and stimulation of the friendly and accessible professors of a small college. While two students out of five have contact with both staffs only a handful have personal contact with both of them. Indeed the students distribute themselves surprisingly evenly in the various stances made available to them as the table below details.[1]

What students hold these various niches? What advantage or disadvantage is it to enter fully into both contexts or to select one and forsake the other? What draws students to stay aloof and what results from their diffidence? What of those who are out of contact, are they simply away or have they removed themselves from contact while continuing their college careers?

Taking position does not seem haphazard. Each student world furnishes a contingent to particular positions. The Core world furnishes substantial numbers to positions of personal contact with Hawthorn (position 1 and 5), the Campus world to those in close personal contact with City (positions 3, 4 and 7). The Old Boys play it cool and stay in contact with both (position 4).[2] The Intellectual Fringe favors Hawthorn and takes positions 2 and 5. The Streetcar world is present at the two extremes (position 1 and positions 8 and 9). The Professionals take positions 3 or 8.

Various Positions Taken by Hawthorn Students Toward Their
Professors at Hawthorn and at City University

| Degree of Contact | N | Cumulative Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Personal with both | 19 | 15 |
| 2. Personal H, contact C | 13 | 26 |
| 3. Personal C, contact H | 3 | 28 |
| 4. Contact with both | 13 | 39 |
| 5. Personal H, No contact C | 12 | 49 |
| 6. Personal C, No contact H | 9 | 56 |
| 7. Contact H, None C | 10 | 64 |
| 8. Contact C, None H | 19 | 80 |
| 9. Out of Contact | 25 | 100 |
| N | 123 | |

---

[1] Many Old Boys play it cooler still. Forty percent of those who refuse to fill out the Ego chart are Old Boys.

Turning still more closely to Hawthorn we find the following pattern:

|  | Staff Contact |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| Student Contact | Personal | Impersonal | None |
| Personal | 40 | 18 | 36 |
| Impersonal | 3 | 8 | 11 |
| None | 1 | 0 | 6 |

Students more often have close links with fellow students than with staff. Let us examine further the forty who achieve a close relationship with both; the "cool customers", the nineteen who hold their peers at a distance[1]; the thirty-six who while close to students seemingly avoid staff entirely,[2] and the four who portray themselves as closer to staff than to their peers.

Those who have personal relationships with staff and students do well in both Hawthorn and City classes, make a lot of A's and graduate on time. They test high both on the Graduate Record and on the TCT. They tend to be those who came in with high test scores and

---

[1] Hawthorn students are even more likely to hold their City peers at a distance. Hawthorn's relationships at City furnish us with this pattern:

|  | Staff Contact |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| Student Contact | Personal | Impersonal | None |
| Personal | 29 | 26 | 22 |
| Impersonal | 2 | 14 | 15 |
| None | 0 | 5 | 10 |

[2] One student explains this oddity this way:

"The time I have for interaction at present is very meager. Unfortunately I am employed full time at a convalescent home. The hours I work are 11-7. I am also carrying 16 hours this quarter. After work I return home to prepare for school, after the school day I generally return home and sleep until around 8:30 or 9:30, and then study. The remainder of my studying that is not completed at home is performed at work. I usually see my close friends on my off-days, that is, if I don't have too much studying to accomplish. This has not always been the case. Upon my entrance to City and Hawthorn my relationship with the students and faculty members were more well rounded. It seemed I had more time. I think that perhaps my lack of time is due to the odd hours I work."

Another in a nearby medical school explains that he sees close friends at Hawthorn and that several of his present classmates are ex-Hawthorn students. Still other Hawthorn students are out practice teaching.

who improve. They are apt to change their curriculums. A third have left their original professional option for a liberal career. Relatively few (six) remain faithful to their original professional vocation, twice as many have changed to different professions.

They perceive students as setting high intellectual standards for themselves, but as unsystematic, as thriving on difficulty but not particularly trying to pull up low grades. Students do spend hours in intellectual discussions.[1] They belong primarily to the Core world. The vast majority have known their professors long and well, since their freshman year. They know many professors and have friendly access to them, often taking advantage of special courses.

Those students we called the cool customers are often women, often the children of college educated parents. Although two in five graduate on time, they do poorly, few make good academic records; only one in five does well on the Graduate Record. Most stuck with their original option on entering college, those who do change curriculums are more apt to change to a profession than to a liberal option.

They are most apt of the three groups we are comparing to report that the courses are tough needing intensive study, going well beyond the mastery of the text book. They are least apt to report that students are serious. Though students do discuss a lot they don't set high standards for themselves. Students do try to improve their grades but the professors don't push them to capacity. They are the group least willing to acknowledge that professors might have qualities they would like to have; they are also by far those who are least knowledgeable about even that professor who they say is most meaningful to them. It is perhaps not surprising that these students belong primarily to the Streetcar world.

Over half of those who are friendly with students while avoiding contact with professors graduate but they do not cope as well in their two university settings. Only one in five earns a sizeable number of A's. Of those who make gains on the TCT, twice as many are those who originally did poorly.

Though few entered in a general program almost half have transferred into a liberal curriculum. This is the group which shows most change in vocational option. They belong primarily to the Campus world and to the Professional world. This may be why they know relatively few professors, often have not had the advantage of knowing a staff member they value since freshman year.

---

[1] This information comes from the CCI test which brings out each student's perception of Campus life.

Two-thirds of them say that the professors' standards are not hard to meet. Among them, however, are the lone dissenters to the opinion held by 95% of their whole class that a good paper will get an A grade if it disagrees with what the professor says. These are also the students who perceive their peers as serious, as working systematically, as striving to raise their grades. They do not perceive their engaging in long intense intellectual discussions.

Life is stressful and a great deal of effort is demanded to make it through school.

Let us now take a closer look at the student's contact with his peers.[1] We ask him to respond separately to those Hawthorn students he thinks of as close friends, those of his peers who are based at the Hawthorn Center, those not based at the Hawthorn Center, those Hawthorn students who are not his peers (usually members of another class). We ask him about his fellow non-Hawthorn City peers.[2] We find:

LINKS WITH PEERS

| | Hawthorn | | | | City Non-Hawthorn |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Quality of contact | Close friend | Center Peer | Non-Center Peer | Non-Peer | Peer |
| Personal | 63 | 17 | 40 | 10 | 58 |
| Impersonal | 13 | 4 | 27 | 10 | 25 |
| None | 19 | 74 | 28 | 75 | 12 |
| N | 95 | 95 | 95 | 95 | 95 |

Clearly the student is related more closely to his Hawthorn peers who are not based at the center ($p<.005$). This difference is

---

[1] To sharpen our analysis we will focus in on the ninety-five students who are neither extreme in being committed to a heavy professional school program nor out of step having joined the 1959 entering class a semester late, (the Spring students).

[2]

| Significance level | Close friend vs. Non-Center peer | Center vs. Non-Center | Center vs. Non-peer |
|---|---|---|---|
| Overall | $p<.005$ | $p<.005$ | Not significant |
| Some v. no relation | $p<.06$ | $p<.005$ | Not significant |
| Personal vs. other | $p<.01$ | $p<.005$ | Not significant |

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|---|---|---|---|
| Overall | $p < .005$ | $p < .005$ | Not significant |
| Some v. no relation | $p < .06$ | $p < .005$ | Not significant |
| Personal vs. other | $p < .01$ | $p < .005$ | Not significant |

significant both for personal relationships ($p < .005$) and overall relationship ($p < .005$). Among Hawthorn students as might be expected he is most personally related to his close friends, least to his non-peers. More students are linked to their City peers than to their Hawthorn Center peers ($p < .005$) both in personal relationships and in overall relationships. There is no significant difference however, in the student's relationship to close Hawthorn friends and to non-Hawthorn City peers.[1] A refined analysis shows that although the Hawthorn student who is in contact with City peers and his own close friends at college will meet his City peers more (e.g., ten times a day vs. twice a day), he will meet his Hawthorn close friends on a personal basis more often.[2]

Let us now examine in more detail the students' relationship to faculty. The general picture first:

| | Hawthorn | | | City |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Contacts with teaching staff | Social Science | Natural Science | Humanities | |
| Personal | 32 | 11 | 13 | 26 |
| Impersonal | 15 | 13 | 17 | 34 |
| None | 48 | 71 | 65 | 35 |
| N | 95 | 95 | 95 | 95 |

It seems clear that among the students reported all but a third see themselves having some link to non-Hawthorn staff members though those links are predominantly impersonal. Half see themselves as having a link with Hawthorn Social Science, a third seeing this link as personal. A third see themselves as linked to Humanistic Studies, and a quarter to Natural Sciences, in each of these cases the link is more often than not described as impersonal.

---

[1] Remember here we are simply counting number of links and identifying these as none, impersonal (i.e., no personal link) and personal (whether the proportion of personal is 10% or 100%). We do not distinguish a link constituted by a single contact from a link made up of ten contacts. It might also have been helpful to ask the student to distinguish those of City peers who were in his field of concentration from others.

[2] Fifteen out of the ninety-five students map these two relationships identically (8/10 and 8/10, 2/2 and 2/2) whereas in only a few is there a marked discrepancy such as 3/20 and 1/4, 40/200 and 7/10, 0/5 and 10/28, 10/75 and 0/75.

Differences between contact with Natural Science and Humanities staffs are not significant. But the differences between contacts with each of these staffs and with the Social Science staff is significant at the $p < .005$ level. The difference is significant both in the relatively high level of personal contacts in the Social Science staff ($p < .005$), and in the overall proportions of some kind of contact compared to non-contact ($p < .005$ SS-NS; $p < .025$ SS-HS). The difference between each of the Hawthorn staffs and the non-Hawthorn City faculty is significant (NS-City $p < .005$; HS-City $p < .005$; SS-City $p < .01$). But they differ in opposite directions. The difference between SS-City is significant in City's relatively high proportion of impersonal contacts ($p < .10$). The differences between non-Hawthorn City faculty and each of the other Hawthorn staffs are significant both in City's more frequent overall contact ($p < .005$) and in City's relatively high proportion of personal contacts (City-NS $p < .025$; City-HS $p < .05$).

Given the high proportion of these students who are seniors majoring in some academic subject it is not surprising to find that their actual contacts with non-Hawthorn faculty is heavy. It is interesting to find that their contacts with non-Hawthorn faculty is also relatively more personal than with two of the three Hawthorn staffs. This is particularly the case with those students who are still in the Humanities sequences- often those we call Slow-downs. We will be able to pursue this question further a bit later.

In order to get a more precise sense of what contact with staff might mean we turn to students and faculty in their out of the classroom and relatively unofficial relationships.[1] For those Hawthorn staff members named as meaningful we found that students' contacts varied from the very frequent discussion of class material in the staff member's office to relatively rare visits to the staff member's home or by the staff member to the student's home.

---

[1] We asked a number of questions in the Spring interview about the person who the student named as most meaningful to him in order to get some sort of notion about the student's actual contact with this individual.

We found the following:

| | Never | Rarely | Occasionally | Often | N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Discussed course material in his office.[1] | 04 | 22 | 39 | 35 | 113 |
| 2. Talked about course materials outside his office | 06 | 19 | 44 | 31 | 113 |
| 3. Discussed ideas not directly connected with the course. | 09 | 12 | 29 | 50 | 113 |
| 4. Have had coffee or had bull sessions with him | 28 | 18 | 31 | 24 | 114 |
| 5. Attended the same parties. | 56 | 16 | 23 | 05 | 113 |
| 6. Have been to his house. | 71 | 09 | 11 | 09 | 114 |
| 7. Have had him home. | 87 | 05 | 06 | 03 | 114 |

Thus, three-fourths of those students naming Hawthorn staff members as those whom they had found most meaningful have seen the person occasionally or often in official or quasi-official relations. Four-fifths have been able to speak to him in still more informal circumstances. Only a third have been more than rarely at the same social occasions (it might be worth remembering that we cannot distinguish Hawthorn parties and extra-college parties). Only a fourth have ever visited the staff member's home and half that number have had a staff member visit them.

A closer look shows that the Humanities staff members' style seems to favor the first three levels of contact and is markedly unfavorable to going to the same party or visiting the students or receiving them at home. The Natural Science staff also favors the first three levels of contact and is markedly in favor of parties but not visiting. The Social Science staff is markedly strong on parties, markedly strong on coffee and bull sessions and on discussing ideas not connected with the course. Thus, the Social Science staff member has the best chance of knowing and being known informally by the student, the Humanities staff member the least chance. The Humanities staff member's marked availability in his office for official business may be a reflection of the proportionately very large number of students who have a call on his time. It is interesting to notice that Natural Science is the only staff which has a zero under "never" for contact at the same parties. This may point to the usefulness of Hawthorn College parties as an intermediate level for student-faculty contact.

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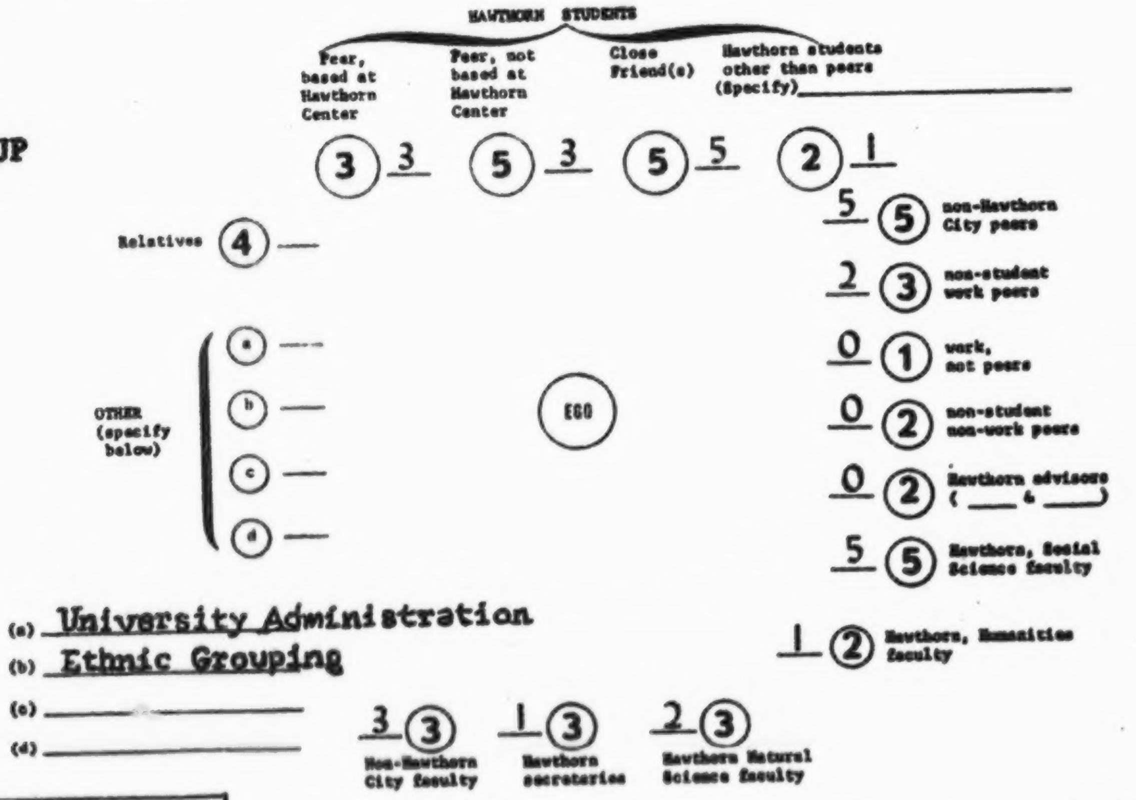
[1] We found elsewhere that visits with such staff members have a mode of 4-7 times a semester.

## STUDENT-FACULTY RELATIONSHIPS: TWO EXAMPLES

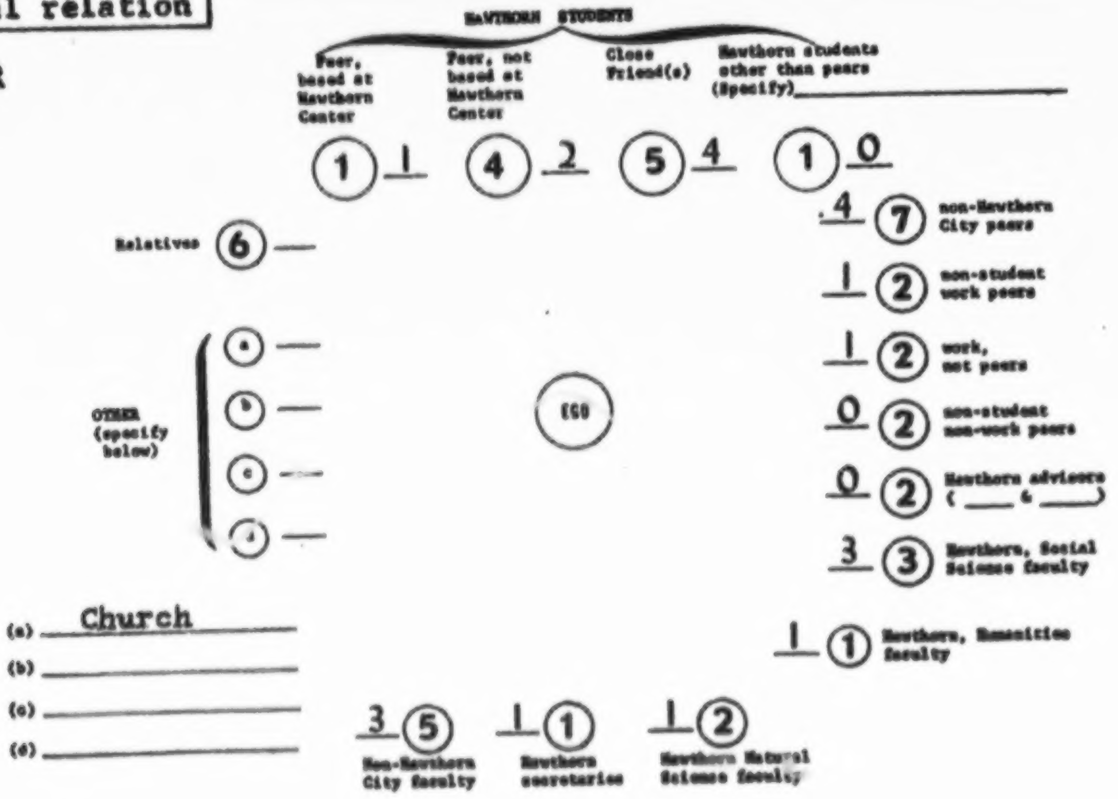
We can make the contours of Hawthorn student-faculty relationships precise in another way by detailing the relationships actually established by students in two small cliques, one from Hawthorn Core World, the other made up of good students from the Streetcar World.[1] Both cliques are similar in having a substantial number of students from poorly educated homes, both have students who do well academically.

**CORE GROUP**
**N= 5**


HAWTHORN STUDENTS
Peer, based at Hawthorn Center
3 3
Peer, not based at Hawthorn Center
5 3
Close Friend(s)
5 5
Hawthorn students other than peers (Specify)
2 1
Relatives 4
OTHER (specify below)
a
b
c
d
EGO
5 5 non-Hawthorn City peers
2 3 non-student work peers
0 1 work, not peers
0 2 non-student non-work peers
0 2 Hawthorn advisors ( & )
5 5 Hawthorn, Social Science faculty
1 2 Hawthorn, Humanities faculty
3 3 Non-Hawthorn City faculty
1 3 Hawthorn secretaries
2 3 Hawthorn Natural Science faculty
(a) University Administration
(b) Ethnic Grouping
(c)
(d)

○ absolute figure
___ personal relation

**STREETCAR GROUP**
**N= 7**


HAWTHORN STUDENTS
Peer, based at Hawthorn Center
1 1
Peer, not based at Hawthorn Center
4 2
Close Friend(s)
5 4
Hawthorn students other than peers (Specify)
1 0
Relatives 6
OTHER (specify below)
a
b
c
d
EGO
.4 7 non-Hawthorn City peers
1 2 non-student work peers
1 2 work, not peers
0 2 non-student non-work peers
0 2 Hawthorn advisors ( & )
3 3 Hawthorn, Social Science faculty
1 1 Hawthorn, Humanities faculty
3 5 Non-Hawthorn City faculty
1 1 Hawthorn secretaries
1 2 Hawthorn Natural Science faculty
(a) Church
(b)
(c)
(d)

---

[1] The whole set of relationships taken together is dealt with later in this chapter.

Differing markedly in personal style as well as in student culture, still students in both cliques seem to profit from their Hawthorn education. A careful analysis of the many professors they relate to, the various facts of the professor's role they attribute to one or another should do much to fill out the bird's eye view of student-faculty relations the Ego-chart catches so well.

First on the Ego-chart we notice that although the Core clique has fewer members it has as many or even more personal relationships with each university role position, and more relationships and more contact with all faculty positions except for the City faculty, and even there the Core clique has a higher proportion of relationships and far more frequent contact.[1] Some of the contact runs as high as five or six times a day, if we count on a five-day week. None of the Core clique is completely out of touch while two students in the Streetcar clique are. It seems clear that the Core clique has a more personal style, is more in touch with all staffs and more often in personal contact with all but the Humanities staff.

Next we see that the Streetcar clique's fewer contacts cannot be accounted for by a greater commitment to an outside job or even to off-campus leisure activities, indeed the smaller Core clique has two specific outside commitments to the Streetcar clique's one.

To push our analysis further we turn to data available in the interview. The following gross summary of each clique's relationships comes from examining the nine questions specially aimed at various facets of the faculty's role.

Various Student-Faculty Relationships in Two Cliques
Number and Average

| | N Streetcar | $\bar{X}$ | N Core | $\bar{X}$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Meaningful | 21 | 3.0 | 24 | 4.8 |
| Friend | 17 | 2.4 | 25 | 5.0 |
| Accessible | 7 | 1.0 | 7 | 1.4 |
| Model | 8 | 1.1 | 15 | 3.0 |
| Relevant to Hawthorn | 17 | 2.0 | 21 | 4.2 |
| Best discussion section | 6 | 0.8 | 6 | 1.2 |
| Special courses | 5 | 0.7 | 9 | 1.8 |
| Number of different faculty | 17 | 2.4 | 21 | 4.2 |
| N | 7 | | 5 | |

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[1] Interaction with faculty in the two cliques (personal/total)

| | Streetcar | | | | | | | Core | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nat. Sci. | 0/2 | 1/1 | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0/1 | 1/3 | | 3/10 | 0 |
| Soc. Sci. | 1/2 | 1/1 | 1/2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2/4 | 2/15 | 1/2 | 5/30 | 2/2 |
| Hum. Stu. | 2/4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1/5 | 0 | 0/3 | 0 |
| City | 1/5 | 0/1 | 1/4 | 1/3 | X | 0 | 0 | 0/3 | 1/5 | 2/3 | 3/20 | 0 |

We see that in almost every respect the Core clique, though smaller, has more faculty contact. In the case of accessibility the Core clique still averages slightly higher, as it does with respect to staff named leader of the students' Best Division section.[1] The Core clique averages twice as many friends[2], three times as many staff members with qualities the students would like to have.[3]

Pursuing the comparison of the Ego-chart data and our more detailed interview data one step further we find that there is also a striking convergence in the data on the relative distribution of relationships among the three Hawthorn divisions in both cliques.

Ratio of friend to all relationships: by division (friend/total)

| | SS | NS | HS | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Core Group | 18/34 | 4/7 | 3/6 | 25/47 |
| Streetcar Group | 13/21 | 2/7 | 3/6 | 18/34 |

In both groups the Social Science staff outweighs the other two staffs put together in total relationships and in their share of friends.[4] Thus having seen that our additional interview data bears out the findings from the Ego-charts[5], now let us examine the detailed patterning of student-faculty relationships.

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[1] This despite these Core students' tendency to name the Colloquim Nostrum as their best section.

[2] If we take "friend" as the equivalent of "personal", then there is a convergence in our data in that the Core clique has more faculty friends both absolutely and on the average than the Streetcar clique does.

[3] Four out of seven students in the Streetcar clique refuse to name any faculty as having qualities they would like to have.

[4] In the interview data there is a greater similarity between the two groups, however, on the total number of relationships with the other two staffs than there is in the Ego-chart. However, there is a slight difference in that on the Ego-chart the Streetcar clique has an equal number of personal relationships with both staffs whereas in the interview data students have only two friends in Natural Science and three in Humanities.

[5] No small triumph for an instrument which can be administered in fifteen minutes!

## The Shapes of Consensus

The five Core students and the seven students in the Streetcar clique weave twenty-five faculty members into their discussion of Hawthorn.[1] The gross pattern of selection of faculty is shown in the following table:

CONSENSUS IN SELECTION OF STAFF BY MEMBERS OF TWO CLIQUES

| | Total | Social Sci. | Natural Sci. | Humanities |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chosen by both cliques | 13 | 8 | 2 | 3 |
| Chosen by several | | | | |
| from Core | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| from Streetcar | 3 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| Chosen by single Core member | 6 | 4 | 2 | 0 |
| Chosen by single Streetcar | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | 25 | 16 | 6 | 3 |

Almost three-fourths of the selections are made by at least two students and more than half are made by members of both cliques. Given that these students had forty-seven Hawthorn staff members[2] to select among this is already a sign of an abiding agreement among Hawthorn students on the relevance of certain staff members. This convergence is the more striking given that we had selected our cliques from two sharply contrasting worlds, one at the heart of student involvement, the other quite disengaged from student concerns and peripheral to every kind of campus activity. We might easily have found little overlap between faculty chosen by the two cliques, and in the case of the Streetcar clique, so varied in academic interests, little overlap among the selections made by its members.

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[1] During the long interview at the end of this senior year, (an interview which we have already said inquires into many facets of the student's relationship with faculty) each student was asked about professors who meant something to him, professors he would consider his friends, those to whom he had most access, those who had qualities the student would like to have, those who make Hawthorn the kind of place it is, those who led the student's best discussion section, those who gave him special courses. (Cf. P. 322 ff.)

[2] Although the students did choose four staff members who had no official salience (i.e., had never had them in any basic sequence), still official salience strongly underwrites this consensus. Thus the average number of courses in which the staff member was officially in contact with this class declines from a high of 3.0 for staff members selected by both cliques, to 2.2 for those selected by several students in a single clique, to 1.7 for the seven staff members chosen by a single student, to 0.8 for the remaining, unchosen members of the Hawthorn staff.

## Between Group Agreement

Thirteen staff members are chosen by both cliques- the focus of thirty-six choices by members of the Core group and of twenty-six choices by the Streetcar clique, examining not trait by trait but the patterning of all traits attributed to each staff member, we find that there is substantial agreement between the two cliques on six of the staff members, substantial disagreement on the other seven.[1] In both cliques more choices go to staff members about whom there is substantial agreement than to those whose role is perceived differently by the members of the two cliques.[2]

The pattern of agreement looks like this:[3]

| | Meaningful | Friend | Accessible | Model | Hawthorn Builder | Best Discussion | Special Course |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SS1 | + | + | + | + | + | + | 0 |
| SS2 | + | + | ? | + | + | + | 0 |
| SS3 | + | + | ? | + | + | + | ? |
| NS1 | + | + | + | + | + | 0 | ? |
| SS4 | + | + | ? | + | + | ? | ? |
| HS1 | + | + | 0 | + | + | 0 | ? |

+ = both assert, 0 = both deny, ? = one asserts, other denies

Six staff members then are perceived by members of both cliques as meaningful,as friends, as models and as making Hawthorn what it is. Three of them are also agreed by members of both cliques to be the leaders of the best discussion they have had, two as most accessible to members of both cliques, one as accessible to neither clique. Four of them have given special courses to members of one clique or another.

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[1] The average official salience of the first six is 3.50, of the last seven 2.57.

[2]

| Thirteen staff members Selected by both | Core | $\bar{x}$ | Streetcar | $\bar{x}$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| number of choices | 36/13 | 3.00 | 26/13 | 2.00 |
| substantial agreement | 26/6 | 4.33 | 15/6 | 2.50 |
| substantial disagreement | 10/7 | 1.42 | 11/7 | 1.57 |

[3] We count as agreement (+) when at least one member of each clique asserts for a given professor the existence of a trait. The complete data on these two cliques' selection of staff members on these seven attributes is given on the following page.

These six staff members form the nucleus of these cliques' relationships to the Hawthorn staff.[1] These students have solid links to each of the staffs. They have close personal relationships with people some of whose characteristics they would like to have. Still further, they have found not only personal relevance and friendship but they are in friendly contact with people who are institutionally relevant, those who make Hawthorn the place it is and hence presumably are prime mediators between college and student, prime guides as to the intentions and effective capacity of the institution itself, its ability to deliver the goods.

| CORE | | | | STREET CAR | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PFA | MH | SC | | PFA | MH | SC |
| 555 | 52 | 55 | HS1 | 245 | 22 | 55 |
| 555 | 52 | 51 | | | | |
| 215 | 42 | 55 | | | | |
| ++0 | ++ | 0+ | | ++0 | ++ | 00 |
| 215 | 35 | 55 | HS2 | 555 | 51 | 55 |
| 511 | 55 | 55 | | 555 | 51 | 55 |
| | | | | 555 | 51 | 55 |
| | | | | 245 | 51 | 55 |
| +++ | +0 | 00 | | ++0 | 0+ | 00 |
| 555 | 51 | 55 | HS3 | 215 | 55 | 55 |
| 000 | 0+ | 00 | | ++0 | 00 | 00 |
| 555 | 11 | 55 | MS1 | 515 | 55 | 55 |
| 211 | 21 | 51 | | 111 | 11 | 55 |
| 245 | 11 | 55 | | | | |
| 555 | 11 | 55 | | | | |
| +++ | ++ | 0+ | | +++ | ++ | 00 |
| 255 | 55 | 55 | MS2 | 255 | 55 | 55 |
| +00 | 00 | 00 | | +00 | 00 | 00 |

| CORE | | | | STREET CAR | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PFA | MH | SC | | PFA | MH | SC |
| 215 | 55 | 55 | SS1 | 215 | 51 | 55 |
| 111 | 11 | 55 | | 555 | 51 | 15 |
| 215 | 21 | 55 | | 215 | 51 | 55 |
| 211 | 55 | 25 | | 215 | 35 | 55 |
| 211 | 42 | 55 | | 141 | 22 | 55 |
| +++ | ++ | +0 | | +++ | ++ | +0 |
| 115 | 25 | 55 | SS2 | 111 | 55 | 15 |
| 215 | 25 | 55 | | 255 | 51 | 55 |
| 215 | 52 | 55 | | 251 | 25 | 55 |
| 215 | 21 | 25 | | | | |
| 215 | 41 | 55 | | | | |
| ++0 | ++ | +0 | | +++ | ++ | +0 |
| 215 | 31 | 15 | SS3 | 245 | 51 | 55 |
| 245 | 51 | 51 | | 211 | 21 | 15 |
| 555 | 25 | 55 | | 555 | 51 | 55 |
| 555 | 51 | 55 | | | | |
| ++0 | ++ | ++ | | +++ | ++ | +0 |

| CORE | | | | STREET CAR | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PFA | MH | SC | | PFA | MH | SC |
| 211 | 25 | 55 | SS4 | 215 | 21 | 11 |
| 515 | 55 | 55 | | | | |
| 255 | 55 | 55 | | | | |
| 555 | 51 | 55 | | | | |
| 555 | 51 | 55 | | | | |
| +++ | ++ | 00 | | ++0 | ++ | ++ |
| 111 | 55 | 55 | SS5 | 255 | 55 | 55 |
| 215 | 45 | 55 | | | | |
| +++ | +0 | 00 | | +00 | 00 | 00 |
| 555 | 55 | 51 | SS6 | 111 | 55 | 51 |
| 555 | 52 | 55 | | | | |
| 000 | 0+ | 0+ | | +++ | 00 | 0+ |
| 115 | 55 | 11 | SS7 | 555 | 55 | 51 |
| ++0 | 00 | ++ | | 000 | 00 | 0+ |
| 515 | 55 | 55 | SS8 | 555 | 55 | 15 |
| | | | | 555 | 55 | 51 |
| 0+0 | 00 | 00 | | 000 | 00 | ++ |

KEY■ P= Meaningful, F= Friend, A= Access, M= Model, H= Hawthorn Builder, S= Best Section, C= Special Course

■ += has attribute, 0= does not have attribute

■ 1= first one named, 2= selected thereafter, 3= came as an afterthought, 4= imputed trait in another of the nine faculty questions, 5= not imputed the trait

Thus students in both cliques can be thought of as having achieved not only a niche in a particular student world, but that very clique membership brings with it meaningful protection in each sector of the strange world of Academe (remember that most of these students are the first in their families to go to college) and the assurance of desirable and friendly personal relationships with professors who are after all the rulers of Hawthorn.

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[1] As we shall see later, four of the six form the nucleus of student-faculty relationships at Hawthorn.

Members of the two cliques both select seven additional staff members but don't agree on the roles assigned each of them. The pattern of disagreement looks like this:

| | Meaningful | Friend | Accessible | Model | Hawthorn Builder | Best Discussion | Special Course |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| HS2 | + | + | ? | ? | ? | 0 | 0 |
| SS5 | + | ? | ? | ? | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| S S6 | ? | ? | ? | 0 | ? | 0 | + |
| SS7 | ? | ? | 0 | 0 | 0 | ? | + |
| N S2 | + | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| H S3 | ? | ? | 0 | 0 | ? | 0 | 0 |
| S S8 | 0 | ? | 0 | 0 | 0 | ? | ? |

+ = both assert, 0 = both deny, ? = one asserts, other denies

It is clear that, though there is at least one area of positive agreement for all but two of these seven staff members, their total of seven agreements is a far cry from the twenty-nine agreements amassed by the first six. But although these staff members are not all-purpose giants like their first colleagues, some are important not only in being selected by both cliques but in their own right. They are important either to a single student like the three staff members who are named as the most meaningful staff member, or their importance lies in a single function like the staff member whom four of the seven students of the Streetcar clique see as a Hawthorn builder, a distinction unacknowledged among the Core group, though two of them are willing to call him friend. These staff members' importance seldom derives from their personal qualities being considered desirable by the students, perhaps because these are relatively unnoticed, given these professors' inaccessibility.

Their personal qualities may not be considered desirable by students, but two staff members' professional qualities are acknowledged by members of both cliques who have sought them out for special courses. Twice as many agreed-on staff members have given special courses but these professors' particular courses did not attract members of both cliques although there is consensus on their outstanding professional competence in official courses,

We would expect to find consensus about staff members in a

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[1] Note that only three members of the Streetcar clique agree to designate any Hawthorn staff member as having desirable characteristics.

small college and a large Streetcar college to be characterized by its students scattering their choices among the huge staffs which serve them. The only convergence we would expect here would be from student upper classmen selecting professors in their major field. Here we have seniors with widely differing majors showing the convergence typical of the small college.

Among the thirteen staff members chosen by both cliques we find the following distribution of traits:

| Meaningful | Friend | Access | Model | Hawthorn Builder | Best Discussion | Special Courses |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12 | 12 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 6 | 7 |

The vast majority of "consensus" staff members[1] are asserted to be meaningful and to be friends. Only in designating leaders of the students' best discussions do the members of the cliques we are examining not point to a majority of the consensus group.

We will first examine the patterning of choices among staff members of the three Hawthorn divisions. Precise consensus on specific attributes of specific divisions' people look this way:

CONSENSUS ON SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THIRTEEN STAFF MEMBERS CHOSEN BY TWO CLIQUES, BY DIVISION

|  | N | Meaningful | Friend | Access | Model | Hawthorn Builder | Best Discus. | Special Courses |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Soc. Sci. | 8 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 2 |
| Nat. Sci. | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Humanities | 3 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
|  | 13 | 9 | 7 | 2 | 6 | 6 | 3 | 2 |

We see that the Social Science division accounts for most of the consensus, overwhelmingly so as models and Hawthorn builders, exclusively so in the two teaching roles. This could be interpreted as pointing to the nuclear role of that staff.

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[1] i.e., Hawthorn staff members chosen by members of both cliques.

Total Consensus[1]: There are two ways to agree.

So far we have been considering only positive consensus, that is the agreement on a given professor's possession of a given characteristic or set of characteristics. However, members of two cliques can also agree that a given member of one of the staffs does not have a given trait. The following chart displays the exact consensus between the two cliques both by division and on the thirteen staff members taken together.

Consensus on traits of the thirteen faculty members chosen by both cliques (+ = both agree trait present; ? = disagree about trait; 0 = both agree trait is absent)

| | Meaningful | | | Friend | | | Access | | | Model | | | Hawth. Build. | | | Best. Disc. | | | Spec. Course | | | Total | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | + | ? | 0 | + | ? | 0 | + | ? | 0 | + | ? | 0 | + | ? | 0 | + | ? | 0 | + | ? | 0 | + | ? | 0 |
| Soc.Sci. (N = 8) | 5 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 23 | 19 | 14 |
| Nat.Sci. (N = 2) | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 7 |
| Hum.Stu. (N = 3) | 2 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| Total (N = 13) | 9 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 2 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 6 | 35 | 27 | 20 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 91 | | |

The Social Scientists furnish the greatest controversy, Natural Scientists the least, Humanists more than their share. When the thirteen staff members are arranged by the order presented in our agreement and disagreement chart, we find the following sequence of agreements on those traits where a staff member had an option to perform or not to perform.[2]

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[1] Agreement on possession of a trait plus agreement on absence of a trait.

[2] This was not the case either of discussion groups since not all staff members had students of both cliques in his class or of special courses which were taught by relatively few staff members.

| SS1 | SS2 | SS3 | NS1 | SS4 | HS1 | HS2 | SS5 | SS6 | SS7 | NS2 | HS3 | SS8 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 4 |

We see that although Social Scientists provoked the most controversy, and SS6 was the least agreed on of all thirteen professors, the Humanities is most controversial despite having one member on whom both cliques completely agree. Natural Science shows the sharpest agreement though one total agreement is wholly positive, the other is almost wholly negative.

For the thirteen staff members selected by members of both cliques on the five characteristics which are open to all staff members we find an actual agreement of forty-six out of a maximum possible agreement of sixty-five (5x13).[1] Clearly there is substantial agreement. The consensus is not uniform with regard to each of the five traits. The strongest consensus is on who is or is not a model 11/13, the weakest on who is a friend or not 8/13. There is substantial agreement on who is meaningful and who does and does not make Hawthorn the place it is. On the other hand, only five out of the thirteen faculty are jointly considered not to be accessible and two to be accessible.

### Broad Concensus, Inclusiveness

The Core group, though less numerous, chooses consensus staff substantially more often than does the Streetcar group as can be seen from the following chart:

| | Meaningful | Friend | Access | Model | Hawth. Build. | Best Disc. | Special Courses |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Core | 22 | 23 | 7 | 14 | 20 | 4 | 5 |
| Streetcar | 17 | 14 | 6 | 8 | 15 | 5 | 4 |

Only in the cases of HS2 and SS8 do fewer members of the Core select a given staff member than do members of the Streetcar clique, while the latter group is more reticent on seven staff members (SS2, NS1, SS3, SS4, HS1, SS5 and SS6).

---

[1] Agreement on existence of a trait plus agreement on absence of a trait

This could be interpreted as a sign of the Core's greater actual contact as well as a sign of its greater readiness to acknowledge a variety of relationships (particularly friendship) with the staff. The fact that all of the five members of the Core have made a liberal change of curriculum could also be an argument for this group being particularly susceptible to Hawthorn and Hawthorn's staff.[1]

## Within Group Agreement: Variety Within

Our analysis so far showed that many of the same professors were selected by members of the Core group and members of the Streetcar group, who often agreed on assigning these individuals a number of specific qualities. What about the twelve professors they did not agree on?

Five are selected by more than one member of either clique. Three Core clique members select one, SS9, but point to only one sector of activities, teaching. Two have had him for special courses, one thinks he is a fine discussion leader.

## Lone Choices

We repeatedly gave the student occasion to talk about staff. In addition we did not put all the questions on professors in one section, but took care to disperse them throughout the interview, seeking rather to give the student fresh contexts within which to discuss staff. It would seem odd indeed if all members of however powerful or valued a clique limited their inclusion of staff to those relevant to some other clique member.

An additional seven staff members are each selected by a single student, six by three members of the Core clique who each add two professors to the pool; one student names his two (NS5 and NS6) as friends; another sees one (SS12) as personally meaningful, another (SS13) as having given him a special course; the last student remembers his long-gone first year teacher (SS14) as meaningful to him and (SS15) as having taught him a special course.

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[1] In the Core clique, but not in the Streetcar clique, the total number of staff members chosen by each student corresponds to his sociometric status; i.e., the more popular the student with his fellows, the more staff members he chooses. In both cliques, markedly so in the Streetcar clique, Jewish students choose the most staff members, in the Core clique each chooses ten, while the line Jew in the Streetcar clique chooses nine, the next highest number chosen there being six. The number of choices made does not seem to relate to parents' education, entrance test scores or to academic record.

The single member of the Streetcar clique who lonehandedly adds a professor sees SS16 as a friend. Thus the seven professors recalled by a single student are each recalled under a single rubric, three as friends, two as having been personally meaningful, two as having given that student a special course.

It is striking that none of the four students consider any of the seven professors they add to their cliques' resources as model or as a Hawthorn Builder, or at least discussion leader - roles which may require more substantial interpersonal validation than others we've considered.

Non-Hawthorn Presence

Eighteen City professors are included by students of the two cliques when they speak of student-faculty relations.[1] Using the same set of questions for all faculty reduces the number of Hawthorn staff selected from twenty-five to twenty-three and slightly modifies the consensus between the two cliques.[2] Thus agreement on three of the thirteen professors selected by members of both cliques depended on their specific Hawthorn contribution and we no longer have a majority of staff agreed on (13/25). Still there remains an obvious difference between the students' response to Hawthorn staff and to their City professors. The students' selection of fifteen Hawthorn staff is backed up by his peers, only once is this the case for a City professor.

CONSENSUS IN SELECTION OF STAFF
BY MEMBERS OF TWO CLIQUES

| | Hawthorn | City |
|---|---|---|
| Chosen by both cliques | 10 | 0 |
| Chosen by several | | |
| from Core | 2 | 1 |
| from Streetcar | 3 | 0 |
| Chosen by single Core | 5 | 7 |
| Chosen by single Streetcar | 3 | 10 |
| | 23 | 18 |

---

[1] Questions on Accessibility, being a Hawthorn builder and taking Hawthorn special courses specifically direct the student's attention to the Hawthorn staff. The other four questions allow the student to speak of any faculty member, particularly question 31- "If you think about the faculty members you've had contact with at Hawthorn or in LA, who are the ones that have meant something to you?"

[2] The two professors excluded by our using only these four questions are each selected by a different student in the Core clique. Two of the three professors who are excluded from being the objects of consensus between the two cliques gave members of both cliques special courses and each was a meaningful friend to a particular student in each clique but irrelevant to the other clique. The last was a Hawthorn Builder for a student in the Streetcar clique, a meaningful friend to a student in the Core clique.

We find the widest scatter when the students mention their City professors. We have elsewhere noted many Hawthorn students, particularly upper classmen, as heavily engaged in one or other academic major. Students in our two cliques show in their Ego-chart that they are indeed members of both worlds, City and Hawthorn.

What is surprising is that given their frequent and vocationally relevant contact with City staff, how the Hawthorn staff, usually met in the less prestigious roles of teachers of under classmen, keeps its clientele's respect and loyalty. Only one City staff member is mentioned twice, both by members of the same clique. He is an LA professor who is prominent on City University's student faculty council.

Here, as in the Ego-charts, we see that the Streetcar clique is more in contact with City than with any Hawthorn staff which is not the case with the Core clique who are in as much contact with two of the Hawthorn staff as with City. All Core students select at least one City professor, but two of the Streetcar clique mention no City professor at all, one of them saying "I don't have much contact with LA after class." He is the same student who mentions nine Hawthorn staff members, three as friends.

The students' contact with City staff is not trivial. We find the two cliques distributing their choices in the following way:

| | Meaningful | Friendly | Model | Best Discussion | N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Core | 8 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 8 |
| Streetcar | 9 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 10 |

All but one of the ten City staff are mentioned as meaningful by the Streetcar clique; two of them indeed are singled out as most meaningful. Three Streetcar students select City staff as models. One member of the Streetcar clique mentions only City staff when asked who is meaningful and who on the staff has qualities he would like to have. Another student mentions as meaningful a young history teacher he had as a sophomore but whose name he cannot recall.

All eight of the City staff members selected by members of the Core clique are thought of as meaningful, one is most meaningful. Three are seen as friendly. Thus, as in the Ego-chart, though Streetcar students have more contact with City professors, the Core students shade them in having friendly relations with them. On the other hand, Streetcar students more often select City professors as models than do Core students, only one of whom selects any City professor as model.

We have examined in some detail the reactions of the two cliques toward the staff. Let us now consider the whole set of questions probing each student's relationships to his teachers as he reviews his college career.

## BASIC FACULTY DATA (HAWTHORN STAFFS AND CITY FACULTY) FROM SENIOR INTERVIEWS, 1963 (N=149)

| | Natural Science | | Social Science | | Humanistic Studies | | Unspecified Faculty | City Faculty | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | % | % | N |
| What faculty members have meant (1st) | 35 | 25 | 91 | 65 | 15 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 141 |
| something to you? (others) | 58 | 18 | 191 | 58 | 59 | 18 | 0 | 0 | 331 |
| Who on the Hawthorn faculty would you say really makes Hawthorn the (1st) | 19 | 14 | 84 | 60 | 31 | 22 | 04 | 0 | 140 |
| sort of place it is? (others) | 36 | 17 | 128 | 60 | 39 | 18 | 02 | 0 | 214 |
| Do you feel that you have made friends with any of the faculty (1st) | 19 | 19 | 70 | 68 | 9 | 09 | 03 | 02 | 103 |
| members? Who? (others) | 29 | 18 | 100 | 64 | 15 | 10 | 0 | 05 | 157 |
| Who is the Hawthorn faculty member with whom you've had most con- (1st) | 28 | 21 | 93 | 69 | 11 | 08 | 0 | 0 | 132 |
| tact outside of class? (others) | 3 | 09 | 25 | 71 | 5 | 11 | 0 | 03 | 35 |
| Are there any faculty members who have some qualities you would (1st) | 30 | 23 | 59 | 46 | 18 | 14 | 04 | 13 | 128 |
| like to have? (others) | 23 | 17 | 79 | 58 | 24 | 18 | 0 | 05 | 137 |
| What was the best discussion section you were every in? | 15 | 10 | 75 | 52 | 20 | 14 | 22 | 02 | 144 |
| Have you ever taken a Hawthorn special course, tutorial, civilization (1st) | 6 | 10 | 47 | 80 | 5 | 08 | 02 | 0 | 59 |
| and the like? (others) | 2 | 06 | 20 | 61 | 7 | 21 | 03 | 09 | 33 |
| Did you work with anyone in picking your topic (for senior essay?) (47 answered question "Not appropriate") | 7 | 15 | 26 | 55 | 11 | 23 | 02 | 04 | 47 |
| Has anybody on the faculty affected your thinking about what you want to do when you finish? Name. | 5 | 10 | 26 | 51 | 4 | 08 | 10 | 22 | 51 |
| Who helped you decide where to go (to grad school?) (50 answered question "not appropriate") | 2 | 11 | 9 | 47 | 1 | 05 | 11 | 26 | 19 |

## GENERAL RECAPITULATION OF FACULTY SERVICE

The data for this table comes from interviews with one hundred fifty-one students who came to Hawthorn either in the Fall of 1959 or Spring of 1960 and who were still at City in the Spring of 1963, though not necessarily at Hawthorn[1], and who were willing to be interviewed.

A third of these students are not yet fully in their senior year and are hence still in active contact with the Humanities staff. The students had a fourth semester in Natural Science and only three in Humanities and Social Science.

In as much as we are concerned with faculty's part in the Hawthorn process we inserted ten questions about faculty in the Spring Interview.[2] These questions were inserted in different portions of the interviews and came up in different contexts. The students were not given a list of names to refresh their memories. We probed for more names by asking "anyone else?". In coding the replies we took special notice of the first person named; for some questions we allowed another name, in others for two more, in others for five more. We also did not count a faculty member when we got a derogatory remark (since here we are exploring positive contributions). When a person said "all of the Hawthorn faculty", it was so recorded; if when pressed he refused to be specific we made a note of it; when he mentioned "the faculty" unless the question was specifically aimed at Hawthorn we coded it faculty (Hawthorn and City); when we came across an unknown name we looked up the relevant department, then the City University's telephone directory. If the person was still not identified we made further inquiries. If we could not unearth the person then we coded the response non-faculty.

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[1] We interviewed fifteen students who after having entered at Hawthorn in due time transferred to Education or Business Administration, all but four had three semesters of Humanities, one had only two semesters of Humanities.

[2] Three additional questions are included here, though not reported on earlier because relatively few students thought them applicable to themselves:

Has anybody on the faculty affected your thinking about what you want to do when you finish? (only 51 answered)

Who helped you decide where to go (to grad school?) (50 answered question "not appropriate")

Did you work with anyone in picking your topic (for senior essay)? (47 answered question "not appropriate")

## Contact in Routine and in Special Courses

When students were asked about their best discussion sections they mentioned Social Science staff members twice as often as the rest of the staff combined. It is noteworthy that here one student in five felt it impossible to judge, and that only two percent of the one hundred forty-four students answering this question pointed to a non-Hawthorn class. This last fact may be due to "discussion section" being a Hawthorn term in the student's vocabulary. On the other hand, seven chose their senior colloquium which no staff member regularly attended.

Four-fifths of the fifty-nine students who took special courses mentioned Social Science first, and three-fifths of the thirty-three students who gave more than one name mentioned a social scientist second. Nine percent of these also mentioned a non-Hawthorn course second although the question used explicitly referred to Hawthorn. We do not know whether these students referred to courses they thought had a Hawthorn quality or if this reference was simply made by a student who was not paying sufficient attention to the question.

Slightly over half of the students who said they received help in choosing their senior essay topic said this help came from a member of the Social Science staff. More said they received help from the Natural Science staff than from the Humanities staff. We have reason to think that this question may have been interpreted by the students as help volunteered by the staff member, that students often did not refer to help they had asked for.

## Other Services from Staff

Two-thirds of the students named as their first choice members of the Social Science staff when asked if they had made friends with any faculty members; this was more than twice the proportion for the other two staffs combined. It is interesting to note that only two percent named members of the non-Hawthorn City faculty first. The same relationship holds for other than first choices in Hawthorn, although slightly more non-Hawthorn City faculty are named.

When students were asked who on the Hawthorn faculty they had the most contact with outside of class, almost seven out of ten students named a social scientist first, two out of ten students named a Natural Science staff member and less than one in ten mentioned a member of the Humanities staff. When we analyze other than first named we find that Social Science is named seven out of ten times, Humanities and Natural Science each approximately once in ten tries. Despite the explicit Hawthorn reference we find three percent of the additional replies referring to members of the non-Hawthorn City staff.

The Social Science staff accounts for three times as much contact in discussing the future than both the Natural Science staff and the Humanities staff put together, and twice as much as the non-Hawthorn City faculty. Fewer students reported being helped by anybody with decisions about graduate school, but these were again helped by Social Science staff members three times more often than by members of the other two staffs combined, though non-Hawthorn City faculty helped slightly more than half as often.

When asked if they would like to have the qualities of any faculty member we find almost half of the students naming a social scientist first, almost a fourth naming a natural scientist, one in seven naming a member of the Humanities staff, almost as many as named a non-Hawthorn City faculty member. It is interesting to see that the relative proportions shift somewhat when we examine allocation of other than first mentions. Social Science's proportion mounts to almost three-fifths, Natural Science and Humanities' proportion increases slightly.

A crude interpretation might be that the students are sensitive to qualities of people even though they may not feel that they are friends with them or even particularly in contact.

When asked, "Who on the Hawthorn faculty really makes Hawthorn the place it is?", three-fifths of the students named a Social Science staff member first, this proportion held up for other mentions. The salience of the Social Science staff in building Hawthorn as a total institution seems clear.

We might expect that this question would be answered by a reference to the highest-status figures in Hawthorn, the visible wielders of power, the Administrative Council.[1] Actually we find mention of:

| | |
|---|---|
| All three members of the Administrative Council | 9 |
| Two members of Administrative Council | 21 |
| Single member of Administrative Council (often "& staff") | 53 |
| Staff but no member of Administrative Council mentioned | 46 |
| Unable to distinguish among faculty | 5 |
| Unwilling to distinguish among faculty | 5 |
| | 151 |

Mentions do not seem to follow actual rank, or even length of time at City or at Hawthorn. Some few students mentioned staff members who had been at Hawthorn for only two years.

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[1] Two members of the Administrative Council each took year-long Sabbaticals during the four years of the students' experience. This may well account for the disproportionately high number of mentions of the third member of the Administrative Council who was present four years to their three.

## The Two Cliques' Share, The Six World's Share

Does each clique focus on a few professors, dividing up the staffs' resources in time and academic services of one sort and another?

Were the resources of those professors both cliques selected therewith exhausted so that these men and women, so important to our Core clique and our Streetcar clique, become as it were background to other clique's relationships with faculty or were these staff members actors in other cliques as well?

Our two cliques' share in each of the thirteen staff members' relationships:

A. HIGH CONSENSUS CHOICES (Cliques' N/Total)

|  | Meaningful | Friend | Access | Model | Hawthorn Builder |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SS1 | 9/63 | 7/51 | 4/28 | 7/43 | 7/55 |
| SS2 | 8/51 | 6/46 | 2/18 | 5/46 | 3/46 |
| SS3 | 4/24 | 4/17 | 1/2 | 3/19 | 6/64 |
| NS1 | 3/38 | 4/31 | 2/15 | 4/43 | 6/44 |
| SS4 | 3/48 | 3/40 | 1/31 | 2/23 | 3/47 |
| HS1 | 2/27 | 2/21 | 0/7 | 2/16 | 4/27 |

B. JOINT CHOICES, BUT EACH CLIQUE SELECTS
OUT DIFFERING ASPECTS OF ROLE

|  | Meaningful | Friend | Access | Model | Hawthorn Builder |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| HS2 | 2/11 | 3/8 | 1/1 | 1/9 | 4/40 |
| SS5 | 1/4 | 1/6 | 1/5 | 0/5 | 1/5 |
| SS6 | 3/17 | 2/11 | 1/5 | 1/3 | 0/3 |
| SS7 | 1/16 | 1/12 | 0/7 | 0/10 | 0/16 |
| NS2 | 2/14 | 0/4 | 0/3 | 0/2 | 0/4 |
| HS3 | 1/21 | 1/13 | 0/6 | 0/20 | 1/16 |
| SS8 | 0/6 | 1/6 | 0/0 | 0/1 | 0/1 |

It is evident, particularly of the first six high consensus staff members, that these two cliques of able, active students absorbed a relatively modest share of what these staff members were prepared to offer their students. This is less true of the other seven professors. We notice that accessibility is in shortest supply.

Of the twenty-seven teachers routinely assigned to students of the class of 1959, four outstanding professors are each referred to by at least one third of the students. Only eight of all the students interviewed did not refer to at least one of the four. Nine other professors, equally salient in their official contact with students, are scarcely referred to at all.

A professor may be selected by a broad range of students in his many roles; another may be selected by a broad range of students in one of his roles, but avoided by as many in their discussions of another role. Still another teacher may be selected by a small group of students in all of his roles, by another huge number of students in a single phase of the professorial role.

Taking "most meaningful" as a key personal relationship, and "best discussion leader" as the key professional relationship, how do the four most selected professors distribute their services among the six worlds which make up the Hawthorn student body?

EACH WORLD'S SHARE IN THE FOUR MOST SELECTED PROFESSORS
(Most meaningful = P and best discussion leader = S)

| | Total P | Total S | Core | | Fringe | | Old Boys | | Streetcar | | Professional | | Campus | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | P | S | P | S | P | S | P | S | P | S | P | S |
| SS1 | 18 | 27 | 4 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 6 |
| SS2 | 12 | 18 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 6 |
| NS1 | 15 | 12 | 7 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| SS4 | 22 | 29 | 10 | 13 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 |

Only one of them, SS4, serves the Intellectual Fringe, and another NS1 does not serve the Campus World. Both give the lion share of their services to the Core students, this is markedly less true of SS2 whose services go to the Streetcar and to the Campus Worlds. On the whole these outstanding teachers' services are widely available.[1]

## The Pre-eminent Four

The students seem willing to focus on different aspects of the teachers' role and have a high level of agreement among themselves on particular teachers.

Some students select a teacher globally- accept him as teacher, friend, model and think the institution turns around his axis. Another may, on the other hand, be universally considered an excellent professional but equally universally shunned as a model. Another, widely accepted as a model, may not be thought of as friendly or accessible, and may be only a better than average teacher. Still another may be thought of as crucial to the institution and a very competent teacher but not be seen as particularly accessible or friendly.

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[1] Not so with SS3 whose services are primarily available to the Streetcar World and SS7 who is overwhelmingly selected by the Intellectual Fringe.

A few are the complete academic man; good teacher sought after for special courses, accessible and friendly, central to the institution, and having desirable qualities. One person, SS1, the most experienced full time teacher in the college, is outstanding in all these characteristics. Another teacher, SS2, rivals this first in all of these qualities except as giver of special courses. Another two shine in complementary parts of the overall role; one, SS4, being superb teacher, much sought after for special courses, outstandingly accessible and friendly but much less often selected as model. The other, NS1, is very often selected as model but is not so markedly singled out as an outstanding discussion leader, nor is he as outstandingly accessible and friendly.[1]

Now let us examine these four outstanding teachers hoping to understand more about their phenomenal centrality as Hawthorn teachers. Did each attract a huge contingent, who felt a kinship with him as their coreligionist; or the person most apt to understand their particular vocation, as the person most interested in their particular level of activity in Hawthorn? Did girls seek out the prominent woman professor and so on?

We checked through a sizeable number of variables for each set of students selecting a given professor along each of three lines: as meaningful, as model and as discussion leader. Thus we would hope to see if a student's poverty led to his receiving short shrift from staff, or whether a reverse prejudice accorded the working class student superlative opportunities. Was one staff member the luminary for the gifted and well trained students, the child of college graduates and another teacher the refuge of the low-tester, the inner city student, the one from an immigrant home?

Was a professor meaningful to one group but model to another Was one group's judgement of the professional competence of an individual teacher, by their selecting him as best discussion leader, not matched by their choosing him as personally meaningful?

We also present for each of the four most prominent staff members two sets of data. First a distribution of all choices made of him along each of seven dimensions: as personally meaningful (P), as having qualities the students would like to have (M), as friend (F), as most accessible (A), as best discussion leader (S), as purveyor of special courses (C). Secondly, we give for each of the four staff members the percentage of choices made of him in combinations of meaningfulness[1] and being selected as model- selected for both = PM, selected as model but not as meaningful $M\bar{P}$, selected as meaningful but not as model $P\bar{M}$, and selected only for institutional prominence or professional service = HB and/or S and/or C. Thus for each professor the reader can compare for himself his percent of the broad choice PM, and particularly of the $P\bar{M}$ choice, a choice which means that though the students value him as a person, they show considerable reticence in wanting to be like him.

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[1] This is a relative statement comparing the last two professors to the first two. NS1 is friend to thirty-one students and accessible to fifteen, SS4 is model for twenty-three students.

Thus, two professors' patterns:

|  | PM | $M\bar{P}$ | $P\bar{M}$ | HBSC |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| SS4's | .21 | .05 | .51 | .22 |
| NS1 | .27 | .29 | .27 | .16 |

show that while both SS4 and NS1 have over a fifth of the students who choose them as both meaningful and as model, still SS4 total percent of P is .72 (.21+.51) and of M is .26 (.21+.05) which is only a third as high. While NS1's total percentage of P is much less- .54 (.27+.27), his percent of M is twice as high .76 (.27+.29). Also SS4 model is associated with his being meaningful, whereas NS1 has the single model relationship with .29 of the students, almost six times as high a proportion as SS4's .05.

We will now deal successively with each of four outstanding professors[2], ordering them by sheer number of students he or she relates to.

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[1] Meaningfulness very often is found with friend and/or access. We have pooled these; thus P in this instance stands most often for PFA, PF or PA, but can also stand for P alone, F alone or more rarely A alone. This corresponds to a dimension which we examine more closely in the section on quality of relationship to staff, where we analyze the student's "best relationship" to the faculty.

[2] Twenty-six students select all four of the outstanding professors. These students tended to come from good high schools, to have college educated parents, and to be those who entered in an academic curriculum. They were often females, often active students prominent in Hawthorn Center life. Those who did not choose all four tended to deny that they had any friends in the staff, these students did not budge from whatever curriculum they entered in, and those in education.

SS1[1] is particularly meaningful to students whose parents have a middling education, to those who do well in school. He is meaningful to women, to religious Catholics, to religious Jews, but not to less religious Jews or to the few who say they have no religion. Spring entrants and those planning on a business career think him meaningful, but not engineers. Students who say they have no friends on the staff or who refuse to endow any staff member with desirable qualities choose him relatively infrequently. Students, who in their Freshman interview in the Spring of 1960 singled him out, almost without exception single him out again in Senior year.[2]

SS1 uniquely is taken as a model by every kind of student . In not a single category is he markedly low. He is particularly often chosen by those who are poor and from blue-collar families, by females and by Jews, students whose parents are college graduates and who sought intellectual goals, or unusual goals in coming to college,[3] those from good high schools, those who came to Hawthorn without being officially invited, those who came in the Spring of 1960. Those who began by making poor grades as well as those who ended well choose him; students in academic programs but also those interested in business and engineering. He is a model for the active student, for the student assistant. Those who choose him as model believe they have an impact on the college.

SS1 is valued as a discussion leader by active students, by those who came from a good high school and by those who do well in school, by females and those from more comfortable homes, less so by Jews and blue-collar students.

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|  | P | M | F | A | HB | S | C |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [1] Distribution: (N=91) | 62 | 43 | 50 | 31 | 55 | 14 | 12 |

|  | PM | $\bar{M}$P | $\bar{P}$M | HBSC |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pattern: (%) | .36 | .11 | .37 | .15 |

[2] As we shall see later this almost total fidelity is very unusual, even these very prominent professors usually lose sight of some of their students in the four years.

[3] Goals defined as neither intellectual or vocational, e.g. "personal development, serving mankind, meeting new sorts of people......"

SS2[1] is chosen as meaningful staff member by blue-collar students and those who are financially impoverished, but not by students from a very poor educational background. She is often chosen by women but by no means only by women. A Catholic, she is thought meaningful particularly by Jews and by less religious Protestants, but not by agnostics and atheists; students who come to Hawthorn on their own[2], or who came in the Spring select her, as do those who are active in student affairs and those who have a job in the college. She is meaningful to pre-meds and to students who do well in college.

SS2 is outstanding as a model. Chosen by poor and blue-collar students and by those whose parents have only grammar school or some high school; she is a model for females, for Protestants- religious or not. She is a model for both those in academic pursuits and those professionally concerned with education and business administration. Students who do well, who are active in college affairs and those who feel they have made an impact on the college choose her as model.

SS2 is thought an outstanding discussion leader by those from a good high school, those who do well academically, by females and by those who are children of college graduates, but not by those whose parents have had very little education, nor by students who are relatively devout.

SS4[3] is particularly meaningful to children of college graduates but not to poor students or those from blue-collar homes. He is chosen by those with exclusively intellectual goals but less often by those from good high schools. He is meaningful to those with no religion, to religious Jews but not to religious Catholics. He is meaningful to business administration and education students, not to engineers. Those who are

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[1]
|  | P | M | F | A | HD | S | C |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Distribution: (N=86) | 51 | 46 | 45 | 17 | 45 | 14 | 3 |

|  | PM | $M\bar{P}$ | $P\bar{M}$ | HDSC |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pattern (%) | .36 | .18 | .36 | .10 |

[2] Without being officially invited.

[3]
|  | P | M | F | A | HD | S | C |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Distribution: (N=81) | 48 | 23 | 40 | 31 | 47 | 19 | 17 |

|  | PM | $M\bar{P}$ | $P\bar{M}$ | HDSC |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pattern (%) | .21 | .05 | .51 | .22 |

active at the Hawthorn Center and who believe students made an impact on Hawthorn think him a meaningful person as do those who are earnest student assistants.

SS4 is often selected as a model by those at Hawthorn Center but is much less often a model than he is chosen as meaningful. He is often passed up as model by the blue-collar students, the poor, the females, the religious Jews and by those preparing for business. Nor is he often selected by those who are loners, those saying they have no friends on the staff or by those who do well in school.

SS4 as discussion leader is thought outstanding by those who abandon an initial professional program to enter an academic curriculum, but not by those who originally chose an academic program. Protestants think him a great discussion leader as do those who are active in student affairs, and those who seek relatively unusual college goals.

NS1[1] is thought meaningful by men, not by women, by those with college educated parents but also by those who are financially impoverished, by those who, when asked what they seek in coming to college, select only intellectual goals. A Jew, he is meaningful to religious Catholics but not to religious Protestants, to agnostics and those with no religion. The Spring students don't select him. He is often thought meaningful by pre-professionals in business administration, medicine, and engineering but not by those in education. Those highly visible around Hawthorn Center think him meaningful as do those holding jobs in the college. He is relatively under-chosen by those with poor entrance scores, by those who say they have no friends on the staff.

NS1 is not taken as a model by blue-collar students or by students who are po[illegible] He is taken as model by men, by religious Jews and by religious Catholics. Pre-meds and engineers choose him as do those with either intellectual or mixed (intellectual and practical) goals.[2]

NS1 is less outstanding as a discussion leader.

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[1]

| | P | M | F | A | HB | S | C |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Distribution: (N=74) | 38 | 43 | 31 | 15 | 44 | 8 | 4 |

| | PM | $M\bar{P}$ | $P\bar{M}$ | HBSC |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pattern (%) | .27 | .29 | .27 | .16 |

[2] It is astonishing how little of a match there is between the background of professor and that of students who tend to select him. Catholics select Jews, Protestants, Catholics, etc. The discrepancy is particularly striking in the choice of model. The students think in terms of discrete qualities when they answer this question, and mention qualities they wish they had. It is when they speak of their most meaningful teacher that they think of the whole person. But even then, we find students attracted and inspired by instructors often of a completely different background from their own.

## Core and Streetcar Cliques' Responses: Hawthorn Builders

The question remains as to what these students mean when they speak of someone as "really making Hawthorn the sort of plaze it is." These two groups of students have such broadly different experience with Hawthorn and with City University that they probably differ in their sense of the institution and of what type of action brings it to life, steadies it in its development.

But just let them speak for themselves. First the Core group which is most broadly in contact both with students deeply involved in Hawthorn student affairs and with University student activities and indeed, through NSA, with colleges everywhere.

We will order our responses starting with those who give the clearest behavioral sign of knowing the academic side of the institution, accomplishment of its various sectors, something which takes the ability to perceive the different nuances of professors, departments and colleges, and ending with those whose burdens in various high University offices have, at least for a time, caused them to lose their stride in classwork.

QUESTION: "Who on the Hawthorn faculty would you say really makes Hawthorn the sort of place it is? Why do you say him/her?"

ANSWERS:

84. "SS1, NS1, SS3.
I can say about all of them that they have a significan impact on Hawthorn and its student body. Not only in specialized areas, but they influence the college in all aspects."

84. "SS1, NS1, SS3, SS2, HS1. SS1 and wife, mainly for their interest in students, their appreciation of people's activities in wide fields. SS3 for her great capacity for work, her sympathy and understanding."

84. "NS1, SS2, SS4--socially.
More people know them regardless of whether they've taken courses from them than any of the other people. Also HS1 is coming up now that SS4 has left."

84. "Let me see now. I wish SS4 were here. He I would classify as making Hawthorn what it really is. Also SS3, SS2, SS1, HS1, and SS6. (SS4 ?) I don't know--he was here when I first came to Hawthorn. When people asked us who we had at Hawthorn we used to **describe him** as one of the types of teachers here. (How?) Oh, his Indian background and his informal discussions with us at Hawthorn Center. (SS3 ?) Because she was head of the Social Science department, she was the type of person who impressed us very much and we were a little in awe of her. She grasped things so quickly and gave us so many types of information it as overwhelming. (SS2?) Are we going through all these people? She's the type of person you instantly like when you meet her. After that you also realize she was an excellent teacher at the same time. But this was the second thing you learned. Students who don't like her like her **after** they meet her."

84. "SS10, NS1, HS3.
(SS10) He seems to characterize the political, student-interested, social science faculty. NS1, in somewhat same sense. He's in Natural Science and atypical of his department because he's student-oriented. And HS3, who projects the sort of full professorish kind of image that Humanities seems to project."

* * *

The Core Students note:

1. Staff's relatedness: interest, appreciation, sympathy, understanding, informality, likeableness.

2. Public figures: well-known, expressive, archtype of professor, the ideal image of a department full professor.

3. Impact: broadly influential on students and on college.

4. Various personal characteristics: politcally aware, capacity for work, quick grasp, well informed.

5. Key role: excellent teacher.

Now let us hear from the Streetcar clique chosen because it is marginal to Hawthorn activity but which brings together some very hard working, bright students. We would expect these students' responses to reflect their own strong vocational interests, their own commitment to learning, their day-in and day-out effort in classroom and lab. Again we head our list with those who do well in both academic milieu and end with those who do well only in L.A.

**QUESTION:** Who on the Hawthorn Faculty would you say really makes Hawthorn the sort of place it is? Why do you say him/her?

**ANSWERS:**

84. "SS3 and certain other social scientists and certain humanistic teachers. Social Science is the core of Hawthorn, and she is the Social Science ideal in teaching."

84. "NS1, HS2 and SS11
They have a love of knowledge. It's a part of them. They don't take it seriously and yet they do. They make work- what they're doing- dynamic."

84. "HS2 has the uppermost hand in everything. SS3 and NS4 along with him. [He was thinking of concrete power in determining set-up and development of the college. So I repeated the question.][1] Those I mentioned earlier as influencing me most." [question 81].

84. "HS2, SS1, SS3, HS1.
HS2 - I should imagine he organized the entire program. From SS2, SS3 and HS1 is where I have gotten my main idea of what mine is."

84. "NS1, SS2, not much faculty left, SS4.
They sort of brought the Hawthorn atmosphere with them and they are evocative, is that the word, they tell everyone about it--state views publicly. There are many more who do this too, i.e., SS1 is a very good supporter of Hawthorn too."

84. "SS1, HS2
HS2: The whole thing was pretty much his idea. He's done a lot of traveling to find things out that would be important to Hawthorn."

84. "SS1. [Anyone else?] No.
I think when a job gets bogged down, he is the one who gets it straightened out." [Anything else?]

* * *

The Streetcar students note:

1. Original team, those whose idea it was, who organized the program, those who have remained.
2. Examplars: teachers, lovers of knowledge, evokers of Hawthorn ethos.
3. Power and effectiveness: uppermost hand, making work dynamic, fixing bogged down situations.
4. Personal effectiveness: made me understand main idea, influenced me.

Those who have power speak of personal influence; those at the periphery speak of legitimacy and control. Both speak of excellence in teaching. Those who are more central speak of capacity for work; those at the periphery speak of making work dynamic as though without Staff effort it would be static, dull. Those who are student leaders speak of student-centeredness; those who are peripheral speak of relevance to them individually.

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[1] Interviewer's remarks on interview schedule are put in brackets.

The peripheral Streetcar student comments about SS4 "not much faculty left", and a Core student reflects that "HS1 is coming up now that SS4" has left. Core is apt to name teaching staff, the peripheral Streetcar set is more apt to allude to administrators; two of the three people they alone mention are administrators; all three of the people only Core students think of as Hawthorn builders, are teachers.

It is evident that there is agreement on many dedicated teachers and that Hawthorn is understood in a very complex way: as an organization to be kept running smoothly, as a social movement to which one bears public witness, as distinctive staffs, as complementary understandings, as linked to the rest of the world, and to the political scene, as a setting for students' personal engagements.

## Hawthorn Student and Faculty Power in City University Setting

One of the most interesting dimensions of the student-faculty relationship is that of power. At first sight there seems to be little room for it in a high educational setting. The discipline problem which may plague the elementary and even secondary schools does not present itself, partly due to the students' age, partly due to the fact that they do not have to be in college unless they want to. The instructor addresses his teaching to a class taken as a group. Should conflicts of any kind arise, a student may generally transfer to some other class. The very appearance of the university is that of a crowd of young men and women who at short intervals settle down in ephemeral contact with each other and with an instructor with a minimum of "law and order" apparatus. The clock alone seems to reign over this kingdom and behind the clock the calendar.

Yet power is a crucial part of the system of relationships. This is partly because the faculty has something that the students want, whether it is seen as knowledge, skills, or prestige. And, unlike other commodities, this is not bought with money (at least not primarily with money). Something else has to be put forth by the student and it is up to the faculty to judge the value of that something. It can be compared to a market: a market where items for sale do not have a price, and the salesman can demand from his buyer the performance of sertain acts in exchange for a given object. The University, indeed, does not deal in objects but in performances. That is, objects like degrees, grades, scholarships are only the symbols of talents, the ability, the knowledge which the University imparts to the students. The students are supposed to learn the ability to perform from the instructors. How? Basically by seeing them perform, and trying by various means to do as they do: see as they see, speak as they speak, think as they think. Thus the system is predicated on a double assumption: first, that the students do not have what the faculty has, that they want it and will do all that is demanded of them in order to get it; second, that the students basically have what it takes to get what the faculty has, and that time, exposure, trial and error will enable them to develop their incipient abiltiy to perform.

This set of assumptions puts a great deal of power in the hands of the faculty. First, they are allowed (possibly obligated) to push the students as hard as they can, so that their inchoate native ability will develop into a polished disciplined ability to perform. Second, as long as they haven't given the final stamp of their approval on a student's performance they may (possibly must) keep treating him as not having what they do have: they remain supreme judges of the success of his efforts. Throughout, the goal pursued remains an intangible, which only the cognoscenti can appreciate and evaluate.[1]

Yet, no matter how deeply this definition of the power situation is entrenched the same assumptions could jell into a very different image. If the students are basically endowed with what it takes to be able to perform they surely can exercise their capacity, potential as it may still be, by judging the faculty performance which is presented to them day after day. And if they are treated by the faculty as "not having got it yet they can ask whether better faculty performance might not have succeeded in enlightening them earlier. And those exalted, intangible goals which are held high above their reach might conversely be judged to be obscure, impractical, inconsistent. One can see that a simple switch in tempo or in attack alters drastically the definition of the situation in terms of claims, of rights and responsibilities and, generally, of power.

The whole apparatus of the University as an institution, of teaching as a profession, of public opinion in its regard for education, tends to stabilize the first image; the one which puts power in the hands of the faculty. A certain equalitarianism, the importance of the roles of consumer and spectator in our culture, the self assurance of students coming from exceptionally good high schools, and the spirit of anti-intellectualism in America might be some factors (admittedly an odd assortment) which would make possible a switch to the other image.

How do Hawthorn students react to this complex power situation? In order to study this important question, we shall listen again to the students from the two cliques, Streetcar and Core, who have been our guides up to now. They are students who have done exceptionally well, hence their comments cannot be ascribed to bitterness or retaliation. They are speaking of the differences they found between taking courses at Hawthorn and elsewhere in the University.

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[1] One is reminded of the fable of the Emperor's clothes or closer to us of the stories of brainwashing. While a recognition of the value of knowledge makes these allusions improper, one should recognize that it does not diminish their relevance to the power element in the educational setting. Nor is the impact of this factor of power lessened, I believe, by the absence of the apparatus for restraint which may exist in the lower grades. Rebellion, the assertion by the student of his own power, has little to focus on.

By and large, one finds indications of two main attitudes. One, held by a minority of the students, seems to contrast the normal, regular setting of the large Liberal Arts college with the experimental character of Hawthorn. They may consider both congenial, though different, or feel more at ease in the institutional setting which is more organized, less full of surprises, of unexpected demands (e.g., in Hawthorn "we should be given more background or a prerequisite"). This kind of student expects the instructors to exercise power. Therein lies his own security.

The majority position implicitly uses Hawthorn as the norm, and judges the rest of the University by its yardstick. A particularly striking comment is that of the student who speaks of Hawthorn courses as "much more eclectic, much more disorganized, much more interesting." A few questions later, he says that LA has some "very interesting courses." Thus it would appear that he considers Hawthorn courses "more interesting" inasmuch as they are "much more eclectic, more disorganized." This refers indirectly to the theme of power. More direct are the comments that "LA presents material to memorize and recite back, self-learning is not emphasized," or that "papers in LA are pretty structured, and I mean this in a detrimental sense." Here, the will of the instructor is seen as detracting from the student's opportunity to learn. Sometimes the very thought of the unequal confrontation between instructor and student generated sheer anger and insulting comments ("LA is a factory and teachers are mechanics," --even they are not free; "they are boring, intellectually constipated").

The more violent comments do not come from members of the Core clique, but from a few very articulate members of the Streetcar clique. The former tend to take the big University in their stride, to use what it has to offer without making too much of an issue of the contrast. The latter, who prize the more infrequent opportunity they are given to speak as intellectual peers to their Hawthorn faculty, generally find it hard to adjust to "busy work" and inflexibility.

We now present Exhibits A and B. In Exhibit A, a Hawthorn Senior describes the position of Hawthorn students in LA. He is a Core member of Hawthorn, and popular among students and faculty in his LA Department.

Exhibit B presents two series of answers from the 1963 interviews conducted among the 1959 Hawthorn entrants. Their exact responses will help show more clearly the complexity of their attitudes toward LA and Hawthorn. Only after a careful perusal of these replies will the reader appreciate what the student really feels about his experience at Hawthorn.

As a complement to the presentation of student views, we have prepared a summary of basic information on the faculty members who taught the 1959 entering class. This is found in Exhibit C.

## EXHIBIT A

## A CORE STUDENT SPEAKS

On Hawthorn students and the College of Liberal Arts......

In most ways, when attending classes in the College of Liberal Arts, Hawthorn students "look" like the rest of City students. That is, they walk into a class, sit down, take notes from the lecturer, and leave. Indeed, most Hawthorn students- especially those who are taking combined programs with other colleges, those who have lists of particular classes to take- look upon classes, as do most liberal arts students, as blocks of time to be spent on the way to a degree. In terms of class participation, some people have noted that Hawthorn students discuss more in their classes, than do liberal arts students (in those classes), but I don't think the difference is that crucial. Paul S. noted that in the TEEP program, some of the Hawthorn students who had been fairly quiet in Hawthorn classes, took the lead in discussions in the TEEP program, over non-Hawthorners.

On the other hand, among those Hawthorn students who spend greater amounts of time within the Hawthorn College context, there probably are differences in methods and attitudes toward classes outside the College. It is hard to know whether this is mostly among people I know, or whether it's characteristic of those who spend much time with other Hawthorn students, or whether who are most committed to the "Hawthorn philosophy" of integrated education rather than separate courses. Nevertheless, the following discussion refers, in general terms, to Hawthorn students, nonprofessionals, spending either extended time in the Center or having extended contact with Hawthorn professors.

In the first place, since Hawthorn students do not usually have a prescribed list of Liberal Arts courses which they are required to take, they are freer in their choice of those courses. For example, the factors which go into course selection are usually course title (or content), teacher, time of meeting, place of meeting (i.e., State Hall or basement of Old Main). When a student knows he must take certain courses during certain semesters, most relevant factors become time and place of meetings, since setting one's program up is important for job schedules and travel schedules. But when he is not limited by "which" course "when" a student can more easily make a viable schedule considering those particular courses and professors he is interested in, and choosing from them those which best fit his schedule. Hawthorn students, therefore, tend to select their L.A. classes more on the basis of course content, and professor, than do other students. Indeed, if certain professors are particularly prized, (e.g., ______ in Political Science, _______ and _____ in History), students have taken certain classes with little regard to the particular subject covered, since no matter what course is taught, the professor's philosophy, style and knowledge will pervade. It is similar to the way Hawthorn students select discussion leaders for Hawthorn basic courses. After the knowledge of who is good for such-and-such is diffused among the students, there is little matching of particular courses with particular teachers (except in Natural Science where professors give blocks of lectures in their specialties- then it is best to get the lecturer as your discussion leader, because he can explain best.) A is A and B is B no matter whether teaching Humanities, Social Science or a special course.

The information concerning who are the better teachers, especially in liberal arts, is diffused in a number of ways. Most City students pick up news and gossip from other City students in their classes, in Mack Hall over coffee, from old high school friends, and the like. The Hawthorn student obviously also has these same facilities at his disposal. In addition, Hawthorn students have other Hawthorn students and a place in which to meet them. Spending enough time in the Center, one is bound to pick up information concerning who is taking which course from whom- by watching the books people are carrying and reading, by over-hearing discussions, epithets, and so forth. If one is not sure, it is easy to ask, "Who knows someone who has taken this prof in such-and-such a course?" If there is anyone around who can help, the information is freely given, perhaps even a used textbook exchanged. If a student's concentration is known, he is usually considered an important informant on his department. Hawthorn faculty members serving as advisors often refer their advisees to other Hawthorn students who have taken particular courses or professors. When the information comes up that a particular prof is the only one to teach a given course, and he's bad, Hawthorn students are aware that they can get similar material covered in an independent-study tutorial (they know this even if they never take the tutorial or the course, but the knowledge allows them to put off taking the bad prof).

One factor which complicates matters for Hawthorn students is that a relevant factor in course selection is, is the prof a friend or foe of Hawthorn College. It is very difficult to keep the information that one is a Hawthorn student away from a prof for a whole quarter, and when he does find out, many things can happen. Unless he knows almost nothing about the College, there is no neutral reaction. The first time a prof has a Hawthorn student in his courses, he seems to watch him very carefully, in terms of seeing whether he fits the sterotype (that the prof may have picked up) whether he talks too much, whether he thinks he has learned it all at Hawthorn, etc. I have picked up this information from LA profs, for whom I was their first Hawthorner, and from LA students in classes with Hawthorners. I would not make the accusation that profs who are known to be anti-Hawthorn (as an institution- "they are taking away all of our good students"....."they get too much money"......."they duplicate our courses".....etc.) are harder on Hawthorn students, but certainly the Hawthorn student himself thinks about this as a possibility when he takes the class, or doesn't take it. Faculty members who have recently come to the University are usually a better bet to be friendly to Hawthorn than are those who have been here a long time. (It might pay the College, to the advantage of its students, to ask new LA faculty over to get acquainted- certainly it's not done in the LA college, and seldom in LA departments- having new faculty get acquainted with students informally before getting them in classes.)

Hawthorn students, probably because of the greater informality within the College and the lesser sacrosanct regard for the bureaucracy, are less hesitant to drop courses in the middle if they don't like them, or to take incompletes when pressure for delivering final papers comes up. Hawthorn students seem to approach LA profs more easily than do other LA students- probably because Hawthorn students have more experiences being with faculty. This is most true (and perhaps the distinction is only valid) in introductory courses. After majors have been declared, LA students tend to spend much time with their faculty advisors, or others within their departments.

"Is it helpful to be in LA?" People in LA do not usually see themselves in that college. Rather they are City students. Hawthorn students likewise are City students "and entitled to all the advantages thereof". Often Hawthorn students are accused of a double allegiance to City and to Hawthorn (especially in student activities) but once a student is in a class (in LA) everyone begins equal, and all's fair- and this is open competition. This question should probably be, "Is it a hindrance or a help to be in Hawthorn?" and that is difficult to determine objectively.

## EXHIBIT B

## HAWTHORN AND LA.
## DUAL ALLEGIANCE OR EMBATTLED PARTIALITY?

### A. Students' Perception of Academic Milieus: Questions Series A

You have all taken courses in Liberal Arts and Hawthorn,

26. Do you think that Hawthorn is pretty much like the College of Liberal Arts at City or different from Liberal Arts at City?

    26a. In what way? (F12)

30. What are some of the advantages of taking Liberal Arts classes?

31. What are some of the disadvantages of taking Liberal Arts classes?

### B. Students' Response to Academic Situation: Questions Series B

27. If you think about all your courses (Liberal Arts and Hawthorn), where would you say you've done your best work? (S19)

    27a. Why is that?

28. Is there any truth to the story that Hawthorn students get different treatment at Liberal Arts?

    (IF YES) 28a. Could you tell me a little about it?

    (IF NO.) 28b. How come the persistent rumor?

32. Where do you really feel comfortable, like yourself, in Liberal Arts classes or in Hawthorn classes?

33. Do you find yourself responding as you would in a Hawthorn discussion when you are in a Liberal Arts class?

    33a. Can you think of an example?

34. Do you find yourself responding as a Liberal Arts student when you are in the Hawthorn class?

    34a. Can you think of an example?

Within each clique students are ordered by their performance in both milieus, doing well in LA. and in both Hawthorn basic courses and special courses comes first; doing less than outstanding work (getting less than 10 hours of A's in each given situation) comes last. If there is a tie, then the student most central to the clique is placed first.

## CORE STUDENTS' PERCEPTION OF ACADEMIC MILIEUS

CORE NO. 1: Excellent Record - does well in LA., does well in Hawthorn basic and Hawthorn special courses, has a point average of 3.6

SAME? DIFFERENT?

Quite different.

a. Would you like me to write you a book? (No). I may yet write one. Hawthorn: more opportunity to say what you think, but must justify what you say. At higher levels, 5 and 600 courses, (it's) much the same. Hawthorn exams (are) more comprehensive; test what (the) student has learned and how he's developed. LA less opportunity to become friendly with faculty member; this refers to the first and second years of college. Courses in LA (are) more well defined.

ADVANTAGES LA?

A comparison, so you can answer these questions? I've been asked similar ones for four years. A better appreciation of Hawthorn education. Provides a broader base for better education. (ae?) In my own case, better contacts for the rest of my life than Hawthorn. Because of my specialty area. This is true in my case, (but is) not true for everyone.

DISADVANTAGES?

Some are an awful waste of time, busy work. For example, the Introductory Speech course that I took. Also (an) Accounting course. Maybe they have to teach Accounting this way. In LA you're a number. Here I'm a person, ______ ______, whoever that is. I'm surprised they don't tape this to get all of my asides.

CORE NO. 2: Excellent Record - does well in LA., does well in Hawthorn basic and Hawthorn special courses, has a point average of 3.7

SAME? DIFFERENT?

Different- in terms of personnel, contact, size, interest in students, purpose; we've covered all that.

a.The faculty is much more available to the students and interested in the students as students, i.e., interested in the students themselves, not merely interested in the students in relation to their (the faculty's) own subject matter. There is the difference in terms of size; LA is bigger. There is the difference of purpose- at LA they're more interested in their specific subject, therefore it's more specialized there.

ADVANTAGES LA?

They have good professors. If you can get a course with them, good. It widens your contact, and you may want to specialize, major. Some kids may want to compare the way something is taught at Hawthorn with the more specialized approach at LA.

DISADVANTAGES?

Big, too big. Often taught by someone who isn't too interested in students or often you are in a class with other students who are taking it because they have to and don't put out much toward the success of the class. Teachers there are more inclined to be bureaucratic, or to be interested in their own career rather than in the students.

CORE NO. 3: Does poorly in LA and in Hawthorn basics, does well in Hawthorn special courses, has a point average of 2.4

SAME? DIFFERENT?

(Respondent didn't want to answer, felt it was repetitious)
Different.

a. Hawthorn has basic courses, not little courses from a list. Hawthorn has better basic courses. (For example?) Natural Science. They have an unusual synthesis in basic courses at Hawthorn. Hawthorn has a smaller class size. The faculty at Hawthorn are generally more accessible. There's something to build on here; as you progressed, people knew what you'd had before and could go on from there.

ADVANTAGES LA?

Our faculty doesn't know everything. There are some bright people in each department whom one really ought to have contact with. It's good to have a major, a concentration. It gives you direction and it helps you get in graduate school.

DISADVANTAGES?

A lot of them are awfully large. Papers are pretty structured, and I mean this in a detrimental sense. (?) That is, you don't get a chance to work things out that might be interesting.

CORE NO. 4: Does poorly in LA and in Hawthorn basics, is beginning to take Hawthorn special courses, has a point average of 2.6

SAME? DIFFERENT?

Different.

a. The discussion classes, in LA it's impossible. You have one or two who participate. The rest just don't. When there are only 12 in a class (sic: at Hawthorn) it's kind of hard to sit there and not open your mouth.

ADVANTAGES LA?

I'm glad you asked that. An advantage of Hawthorn is that you can take LA. You encounter different courses, classroom procedures. You can utilize the best courses in LA and the most qualified instructors because you don't have to take the Introductory courses.

DISADVANTAGES?

You have to take Psychology 200 which is horrible. You have to repeat some of the same areas you covered at Hawthorn. Hawthorn does not have a wide enough range of courses as LA. In LA there is no one to go to if you need help. You don't get to know your instructor very well, especially in the advanced classes. Also, there is no discussion class.

**CORE NO. 5:** Does poorly in LA and in Hawthorn basics, and specials, has a point average of 2.4

SAME? DIFFERENT?

Different.

a. The presentation of material is significantly different, especially in Natural Science where you have no laboratories and you're dealing with concepts, and this idea is an excellent one, especially for people not going on into the sciences. You find very few classes in LA that are sufficiently small to approximate the size of the discussion groups at Hawthorn and the benefit of this kind of program is not found until you reach the graduate level of LA.

ADVANTAGES LA?

You get a chance to specialize and do laboratory work that's not available at Hawthorn. In addition, you can take course work that's not covered at Hawthorn.

DISADVANTAGES?

In some there's quite a bit of busy work which can distract you from your Hawthorn work. Other than that I see no terrible disadvantages.

## STREETCAR STUDENTS' PERCEPTION OF THE ACADEMIC MILIEUS

STREETCAR NO. 1: Excellent Record, does well in LA, does well in Hawthorn basics and specials, has a point average of 3.4

SAME? DIFFERENT?

Different

a. Because of the grades and because no LA course has "that Hawthorn thing" evident in Social Science courses. Outside of courses, there are the usual differences about attendance, and sort of work. (Pause) Hawthorn is nonspecific.

ADVANTAGES OF LA?

You can learn something in your specialty; really don't learn anything in your specialty at Hawthorn unless (you) do 10 tutorials. Infinitely numerous numbers both ways, both advantages and disadvantages.

DISADVANTAGES?

(There are) too many classes such as German. Five years from now you'll not have gotten anything out of it. If (you) learn general things and can manipulate and think; if specifics, have forgotten.

STREETCAR NO. 2: Excellent Record, does well in LA, does well in Hawthorn basic and special courses, has a point average of 3.0

SAME? DIFFERENT?

Completely different.

a. LA is a factory and most of the teachers are mechanics. I'm talking about the lower courses, 1-400 levels are pretty much the same. They teach in a conventional way; they're boring, intellectually constipated and emotionally too. Because they go hand in hand. There's hints of this in Hawthorn, but classes are smaller and closer knit; a more personal relationship with teacher, more freedom to say what you want. They don't condemn you for thinking as they do in LA. If you go out on a limb, you won't get chopped down.

ADVANTAGES LA?

You work on a specialized level in your field. This is its main advantage, generally. You can major. (ae?) No, I don't see any.

DISADVANTAGES?

You run against a lot of poor teachers, thousands of them. That's the greatest disadvantage. You run against a lot of poor students too; not mark-wise, just attitude-wise. You wouldn't believe it. (ae?) No.

STREETCAR NO. 3: Excellent Record, does well in LA, does well in Hawthorn basic and special courses, has a point average of 3.8

SAME? DIFFERENT?

Much different.

a. Partly is due to the size of LA and partly due to necessary specialization, but mainly because LA is substantially like a regular college.

ADVANTAGES LA?

Take courses in your specialties.

DISADVANTAGES?

(I) can't think of any.

STREETCAR NO. 4: Excellent Record, does well in LA, does well in Hawthorn basics and specials, has a point average of 3.2

SAME? DIFFERENT?

It depends upon the department. I haven't had enough LA classes to match department for department. In Social Science we should be given more background or a prerequisite course. Natural Science went along fairly smoothly. Humanities I think because of Dr. ___'s absence and then his illness, wasn't organized when we took it. It wasn't tied up into any unified whole. LA has an advantage because it's organized. Everything's upset this year for everybody (City and Hawthorn) because of the quarter system.

ADVANTAGES LA?

A lot of courses (are) not offered in Hawthorn, we have to supplement. They have their departments well established over there, have research facilities. On the whole they have a more organized program than we had the first time through. (I) don't know about later classes.

DISADVANTAGES?

Impersonality in certain fields because of large lectures, except where you have lab classes, you only meet in large lectures. You don't get a chance to get as close contact with the instructors.

**STREETCAR NO. 5:** Does well in Hawthorn basics and in LA, not in Hawthorn specials, has a point average of 3.1

SAME? DIFFERENT?

Different.

a. Refer back to questions we discussed; whatever I said. LA presents material to memorize and recite back. Hawthorn (is) interested in personal initiative to learn on (your) own and to mimic instructors.

ADVANTAGES LA?

In terms of gaining more detailed knowledge about specific subjects; more intensive rather than extensive, period. Self-learning is not emphasized; just repeating what the instructors say. (The) instructors in both LA and Hawthorn know their fields.

DISADVANTAGES?

General Physics; we go to a discussion section. Put that in quotes. (The) teacher tells us about problems, tells us what to do, asks for questions and dismisses us. (I) feel that this is because undergraduates or recently graduate students are used, not too familiar with teaching, do job, conscientious and not too experienced. In Hawthorn you go to a discussion and you have a discussion.

**STREETCAR NO. 6:** Excellent Record, does well in LA, does not do well in Hawthorn basics, did not take any Hawthorn special courses, has a point average of 3.1

SAME? DIFFERENT?

Very different.

a. Well, their philosophy of teaching; the way they organize their courses; that fact that the courses are well integrated. In LA quite often you get the feeling, that the persons teaching related courses hardly even associate with the other or care how the other is teaching the same course. I'd say that expresses it fairly well.

ADVANTAGES LA?

Obviously, there are a lot of things you can't get in Hawthorn that you can get in other colleges at the university. (ae?) No.

DISADVANTAGES?

The only way you can state that is in comparison with Hawthorn courses. If the course content is the same in the LA course and the Hawthorn course, it would be a disadvantage to take the LA course, because the LA course would generally have a more limited viewpoint while the Hawthorn course would have integration with other fields. (ae?) I think that in a larger majority of LA, and other schools, the instructors are more prone to pedantry. (Any other?) No.

**STREETCAR NO. 7:** Does well in LA, does not do well in Hawthorn basics, did not take any Hawthorn special courses, has a point average of 2.7

SAME? DIFFERENT?

Different.

a. Much more eclectic. Much more disorganized. Much more interesting. (ae?) No.

ADVANTAGES LA?

They offer some courses you have to have to graduate. Also have some very interesting courses not offered at Hawthorn.

DISADVANTAGES?

Never thought about that. (I) don't see how there could be any. You just take the courses you either need or want.

## CORE STUDENTS' RESPONSE TO ACADEMIC SITUATION

CORE NO. 1: Excellent Record, does well in both LA and Hawthorn

BEST WORK?

I have to make (a) decision between the two? Best in last two years in LA, first two years in Hawthorn.

a. (During first two years?) Because I was still taking survey courses in LA. Senior Essay is going very well, though (during last two years) courses in LA (are) more well defined.

PREJUDICE?

Used to be; I don't know for sure now. I'm recognized as a Hawthorn student.

a. (It) depended on the individual student and individual instructor. Some professors are jealous and some don't agree with Hawthorn. I have heard cases where there has been discrimination for or against. I haven't been in, anyway, although they know I am a Hawthorn student.

COMFORTABLE?

Right now, either. As a freshman and sophomore, in Hawthorn.

RESPOND HAWTHORN IN LA?

Now I do. Classes are smaller. I've made friends with students and faculty (members) in these courses.

a. (Example?) (A) course last Spring, Economics of Public Finance, 7 students and faculty member, two hours of lecture and discussion. I had (the) faculty member before and knew two or three students; I felt at ease.

RESPOND LA IN HAWTHORN?

I'm not a LA student and can't respond as one if I knew how one would. How much wood would a woodchuck, chuck? (Laughs.)

a. Not applicable.

CORE NO. 2: Excellent Record, does well in both LA and Hawthorn

BEST WORK?

Outside of classes, within the Hawthorn context, but outside class. (?) In my writing, both for the Journal and for the "outside."

a. I'm freer here. There's less pressure than at LA and then when I write, I'm working out something I am interested in. I'm not just writing down something to please a faculty member. When I am writing on my own I really have to work things out. Otherwise I get away with too much.

PREJUDICE?

If a student is really identifiable as a Hawthorn student, yes. That is, if the faculty is aware that he comes from Hawthorn.

a. Some faculty may make fun of the Hawthorn students, or else they may expect more of them but also not really want them to come through. Some LA faculty are anti-Hawthorn. It may be because Hawthorn is a threat to LA or a drain on their good students. Some expect better of Hawthorn students. These faculty would have a good image of Hawthorn students because of good contact with prior Hawthorn students.

COMFORTABLE?

Hawthorn, although in LA I have felt as comfortable as at Hawthorn. To feel really comfortable I have to know the people I'm in a class with. At LA it is hard to know people in your classes. This sort of situation is more likely at Hawthorn. But you can get it in LA seminars and there I feel comfortable.

RESPOND HAWTHORN IN LA?

Yes, I feel that the techniques and attitudes and outlooks carry over.

a. (Example?) In LA I use the supplementary reading lists and try to read widely.

RESPOND LA IN HAWTHORN?

The difference lies in class discussion. The Hawthorn student doesn't feel he's buttering up a professor if he is active in class discussions. The LA student is basically uncomfortable in a discussion situation. I am comfortable in small classes.

CORE NO. 3: Does well in Hawthorn special courses

BEST WORK?

I suppose Hawthorn.

a. I could tailor my work a little more to my interests. The faculty held my personal considerations and comments as important. Research at Hawthorn wasn't research, but search and introspection.

PREJUDICE?

In many cases they don't know that you're Hawthorn. In some cases it is the Hawthorn students who are always asking the questions or challenging the professors.
(Effect?) I don't know. I don't think it's too important either way.

b. (Rumor?) There isn't that much of a rumor.

COMFORTABLE?

In faculty offices.

RESPOND HAWTHORN IN LA?

(This answer was very disjointed, but I couldn't get more.)

a. Depending on the size of the class and the disposition of the instructor. I'd rather not raise my hand. I prefer to interject things. I don't feel as comfortable asking questions in a more formal question-answer situation. In LA if you make a speech it's not looked on the same way as here. (?) Here it's accepted.

RESPOND LA IN HAWTHORN?

No.

CORE NO. 4: Does not do outstanding work in either milieux

BEST WORK?

I'm most satisfied with my work at Hawthorn.

a. I felt I've learned more at Hawthorn that has been helpful later on and more worthwhile. It is not the one I got the best grades in, though.

PREJUDICE?

That's very hard to answer. I've only been in two courses where they were aware I was in Hawthorn. One instructor said, "Oh, one of those." But the remarks were not negative. If anything, the treatment was better.

b. What rumor? I don't know. I have a feeling it's from the students who were dissatisfied with their grades, but this is just conjecture. (Student throws hands in air.) I haven't heard it in the last year.

COMFORTABLE?

Probably Hawthorn, but I can think of several instances where I felt just as comfortable in LA.

RESPOND HAWTHORN IN LA?

Definitely and these are the ones in which I feel most comfortable.

RESPOND LA IN HAWTHORN?

I don't know what a LA student is like, so I really can't answer that question.

a. I really don't know.

CORE NO. 5: Does not do outstanding work in either milieux.

BEST WORK?

My best work in biology was done in LA. My best Social Science work was at Hawthorn. (Why?) Because I enjoy it.

a. You don't get laboratory work at Hawthorn (in reference to doing his best work in biology in LA).

PREJUDICE?

Some truth.

a. It hasn't happened to me. There was a case in an English class; they're spotted sometimes in Social Science or anthropology classes. (What sort of things?) The attitude of the instructors, snide remarks. It's difficult for a Hawthorn student to get better grades. This hasn't happened much, much to the credit of the university.

COMFORTABLE?

Both, Hawthorn is a little more personal but I found that element at LA, too.

RESPOND HAWTHORN IN LA?

Yes.

a. I just took a course in Public Policy and Public Administration, and even though there are about 30 kids in the class, I got in my licks.

RESPOND LA IN HAWTHORN?

No.

## STREETCAR STUDENTS' RESPONSE TO ACADEMIC SITUATION

STREETCAR NO. 1: Excellent record, does well in both LA and Hawthorn

BEST WORK?

Hawthorn.

a. For some reason, I spent most of my time on my Hawthorn courses. At least things change from day to day at Hawthorn. You have to keep up. In LA you could let courses slide. No continuity to LA courses, just hours to graduate.

PREJUDICE?

Oh, yes.

a. Not that it's not desired. Originally some people thought it was some kind of honors college. Now the reverse. In German class no different in treatment. Hawthorn students didn't have (a) chance to be un-Hawthorn-like. In philosophy had (a) chance and it wasn't appreciated. I didn't because (I) don't talk much anyway.
(What is Hawthorn like?) Circumvent the topic, try to make more general, take the specifics too lightly.

COMFORTABLE?

Certainly at Hawthorn. The German class (LA) was hell. Everything was fine until I missed about 9 weeks (of German). And in philosophy, I feel extremely uncomfortable, faked my way through without learning the fundamentals. I was pre-law, switched to philosophy four months ago.

RESPOND HAWTHORN IN LA?

No, I don't. In the beginning I did, but (it) was just the form, not the content. I always was on generalities too much in the beginning.

a. (Example?) I just ignored specifics and spoke in general terms.

RESPOND LA IN HAWTHORN?

Oh yeah, especially recently. And tending lately to be (identify with) LA. I go into class and wait for people to transgress in my area so I can clobber 'em. Others do that too. After high school, no (students were) specialists; now all are specialists.

a. The Colloquium. When you supposedly get up there talking about values and ideals and so forth, you are really talking philosophy. I scoffed at the whole thing. I couldn't bother to respond.
(Probe). They (other students) didn't know what they were talking about when they got into philosophy. (sic).

STREETCAR NO. 2: Excellent Record, does well in both LA and Hawthorn

BEST WORK?

Hmm. LA, I suppose; not mark-wise.

a. My most fruitful work has been in LA because I worked on what I was going to do. Hawthorn gave me the background and made this possible. My best work was done in my field and we don't have writing classes in Hawthorn.

PREJUDICE?

No, I've never come across it.

b. It could be true, but I've never come across it. But it could be made up (sic: refers to the persistent rumor.) I've just never seen it.

COMFORTABLE?

Right now I'm in the theater. Just theater, not in other LA classes, is where I feel comfortable.

RESPOND HAWTHORN IN LA?

I don't usually respond in any discussion. I just don't respond in class, I usually listen.

a. I sometimes respond when I feel very strongly about something. In LA, the class is more shocked, and in Hawthorn the class is interested. I respond pretty much the same in both, though.

RESPOND LA IN HAWTHORN?

Well, no, never. I'm not that naive. They respond naively. Again I'm speaking generally.

a. There's a much more intelligent response in Hawthorn than in LA. They keep away from silly questions and think before they ask.

STREETCAR NO. 3: Excellent Record, does well in both LA and Hawthorn

BEST WORK?

Probably LA.

a.(There are) much more courses in my specialties.

PREJUDICE?

No.

b.Once a Hawthorn advisor told me that there was hard feelings between the teachers at LA and Hawthorn. Hawthorn had gotten the money from Ford Foundation and LA hadn't. People who had been friends of Dr. _____ for thirty years wouldn't talk to him.

COMFORTABLE?

Oh, Hawthorn.

RESPOND HAWTHORN IN LA?

No. By now I've made quite a clear separation. Now, while taking more seminars the difference has become smaller.

RESPOND LA IN HAWTHORN?

No.

STREETCAR NO. 4: Excellent Record, does well in both LA and Hawthorn

BEST WORK?

In Hawthorn the best courses were in Natural Science. I understood it best and got good grades. (Until this year) I had been getting D and E's at LA.[1]

a. It's hard to compare LA and Hawthorn because they're dichotomized[2], except for language. Now I'm having to go back (to LA). (I) do equally well at either place (now).

PREJUDICE?

I don't really think so, as a group. There might be a few here and there who treat Hawthorn students differently. Unless a certain kind of question comes up, they don't know who's LA and who's Hawthorn.

a. (It) might be certain instructors biased to LA and don't want us "intruders" over there. Other than that, I wouldn't really know.

COMFORTABLE?

I'd say, myself, in LA. For the background of Hawthorn students is unòrganized; they were pushing us ahead too fast and we had to bluff. I sort of felt uncomfortable and unable to participate. In LA (I'm) able to participate.

RESPOND HAWTHORN IN LA?

Yes, as I would in a small group discussion. In Social Science and Humanities, have had to hold back because it was so foreign to me.

a. In Speech and psychology I was able to bring in things from my own knowledge and books. It's not so complicated at LA. At Hawthorn you're punched in the middle.

RESPOND LA IN HAWTHORN?

I think.... I more or less think I am responding differently in the two areas, except in Natural Science. (Able to participate in LA, and not at Hawthorn with the exception of Natural Science). (The answer to Q. 34 is "yes, qualified.... Natural Science).

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[1] This student does have a 3.2 honor point average. Therefore, his D's and E's must have been few, notwithstanding his remark.

[2] i.e., because he took different kinds of courses at two schools. See also question 26, depends on department. He thinks a dichotomy can be more than two.

**STREETCAR NO. 5:** Does well in both LA and Hawthorn

BEST WORK?

Equal in both areas.

a. I don't know, to tell the truth. I can apply myself either way, if necessary. Specify previous answer.

PREJUDICE?

No. I don't believe (there's) any truth to that story.

b. I have to be a psychologist now. What did I learn in psychiatry? A persecution complex on the part of the person who makes (the) statement. Rebelling against parent image.

COMFORTABLE?

(Smiles.) I feel more comfortable in Hawthorn. But my self doesn't change, although there are different myselfs in different circumstances.

RESPOND HAWTHORN IN LA?

Usually not, no advantage to do so. (It's) better to listen than to talk. True, on tests (you) do better when (you) listen in LA; so much going out, not much going in.

RESPOND LA IN HAWTHORN?

(I) usually don't have reason to. (I) might rely on LA background to prove facts.

a. In General Library, I was just sitting in. Three teachers (were) seeking a relationship between Social Science, Humanities and Natural Science. I gave an example of setting up standards in organic chemistry to demonstrate how models can be used in science. I don't remember what my argument was at the time. (I) used materials learned in LA as examples for my argument. (SS1, NS1, and SS2 were sitting in.)

STREETCAR NO. 6: Excellent Record, does well in LA

BEST WORK?

I don't know if I can rightly make a choice.
a.Not considering the differences between the courses. I've done just as well outside of Hawthorn. But when you consider the superiority of course content in Hawthorn, I'd say I've done better in Hawthorn.

PREJUDICE?

Not that I know of.
b.(I) never heard the rumor.

COMFORTABLE?

Anywhere.
(ae?) No.

RESPOND HAWTHORN IN LA?

Quite possibly.
a.An example? Hmm. (Pause) Oh, heck. Not right now I can't. (Want to try?) No, I can't think of any right now.

RESPOND LA IN HAWTHORN?

No.

STREETCAR NO. 7: Does well in LA

BEST WORK?

(Long pause) Social Science at Hawthorn.

a. (I) think some things will have some personal meaning to me long after I've forgotten LA.

PREJUDICE?

How different? Some truth to it. We don't have to deal directly with advisors in LA. As a whole, the staff at Hawthorn is much more interested in seeing the student succeed.

COMFORTABLE?

Yes. (Yes, what?) It's an inclusive or I'm comfortable in both places.

RESPOND HAWTHORN IN LA?

Yes.

a. Carrying on a conversation with the instructor. (Specific example?) Why do they want any specific examples? Do some people give them? I'm not going to.

RESPOND LA IN HAWTHORN?

Yes. I respond the same way in both classes.

a. I get to feeling I can make them stop asking silly questions if I don't answer them. I respond to assignments by trying to do homework.

## EXHIBIT C

## RECAPITULATION OF FACULTY INFORMATION

Obviously academic qualifications were paramount and it is evident that not only the university but the department in which the degree was granted was scrutinized as was the individual's progression or regression as he finished his MA and went on for his PhD. Did he improve or at least maintain the quality of his training, which seemed a reasonable hope given his increased knowledgeability of the University world. Did she, this was the case for women often bound by their husband's careers, persevere in a poor quality school or evan finish her studies in a school far inferior to that which first saw her as a graduate student.

We draw on American Graduate Departments[1] - a study made for the University of Pennsylvania by its administration and whose two rankings for 1925 and 1957 cover the years when many of the Hawthorn staff were at their graduate schools.

The top three schools form our first category of the four made from Universities judged outstanding, our fifth category was made of universities mamed not among the most outstanding twenty, but as outstanding in at least one of the areas: Biological Sciences, Humanities, Physical Sciences or Social Sciences, or a school which was named as exceptional in at least one respect--often in a footnote. Sixth were those schools unmentioned.

Next most important was teaching experience. I did not count experience as a TA, but did count experience as a teaching associate or better. My idea was to assess not only classroom aptitude, but experience in colleagueship, and knowledgeability of at least some of the intricacies of inter- and intra- departmental cooperation and argument, as well as of the various modes of relationship of professor and administrative personnel, and with administrative bureaus such as the Registrar, University Examiner, the Dean of Students.

### Hawthorn staff characteristics

We present on the one hand information generally descriptive of the staff such as age in 1959, place of birth, their academic training.[2] We single out some characteristics which we think significant given the particular situation at Hawthorn, a new college, set in a huge university, a college not recruiting an elite student body but wishing to give a very high quality of education. What set of experiences would be particularly useful in a staff assembled for such a task? Experience in a small college seems obvious, but we point out too that a cosmopolitan coutlook in general might be very helpful in challenging students who were apt to be very limited in their experinee. What kind of Cosmopolitanism? On the one hand knowledge of the United States often gained through having studied in several parts of the country, and knowledge of Europe too, a knowledge somewhat more thoroughgoing than the tourist's three month trip. But we also were interested in the staff being knowledgeable of a variety of academic settings. Public and private institutions, denominational instutitions and foreign ones too could furnish the total staff with models, experience with different ways of perceiving Academe, the curriculum one's colleagues, the Administration. Choosing from a broad gamut of potential helpful relationships already enacted at City University. On the other hand knowledge of City itself might well prove very useful to a staff whose students would spend a large part of their time in non-Hawthorn courses. Since we thought our students were likely to be of a practical mind we inquired into the staff's experience in non-academic settings: the mathematician's experience as an engineer, the humanists's earning his living as an artist, the political scientist's stint at the UN, the sociologist's work with social agencies, etc., etc.

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[1] This part of our analysis was done before the more extensive ACE, 1964 study appeared. This last did not cover the years when most of our staff was doing its graduate work.

[2] Principal data for these tables comes from official personal data sheet used by University Pulbic Relations department, plus follow up of ambiguous or missing material.

OVER-ALL STANDING[1]

| 1925 | 1957 |
|---|---|
| 1. Chicago | 1. Harvard |
| 2. Harvard | 2. California |
| 3. Columbia | 3. Columbia |
| 4. Wisconsin | 4. Yale |
| 5. Yale | 5. Michigan |
| 6. Princeton | 6. Chicago |
| 7. Johns Hopkins | 7. Princeton |
| 8. Michigan | 8. Wisconsin |
| 9. California | 9. Cornell |
| 10. Cornell | 10. Illinois |
| 11. Illinois | 11. Pennsylvania |
| 12. Pennsylvania | 12. Minnesota |
| 13. Minnesota | 13. Stanford |
| 14. Stanford | 14. U.C.L.A. |
| 15. Ohio State | 15. Indiana |
| 16. Iowa | 16. Johns Hopkins |
| 17. Northwestern | 17. Northwestern |
| 18. North Carolina | 18. Ohio State |
| 19. Indiana | 19. N.Y.U. |
|  | 20. Washington |

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[1] American Graduate Departments, p. 119.

## I. ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS

### Overall Classification of MA University

| | | Original Staff | | Officially Assigned 1959 Class | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1959 | 1963 | Whole[1] | In Part | Total |
| Category in | 1 | 11 | 6 | 8 | 8 | 16 |
| Top | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Twenty | 3 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| ...................... | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Noted | 5 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| Others | 6 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| | N= | 19 | 12 | 17 | 13 | 30 |

### Classification of Department in Which Degree Earned at MA University

| | | Original Staff | | Officially Assigned 1959 Class | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1959 | 1963 | Whole | In Part | Total |
| Category in | 1 | 10 | 6 | 8 | 7 | 15 |
| Top | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Twenty | 3 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| ...................... | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Noted | 5 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| Other | 6 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| | N= | 19 | 12 | 17 | 13 | 30 |

### Number of Years at MA Level Work

| | | Original Staff | | Officially Assigned 1959 Class | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1959 | 1963 | Whole | In Part | Total |
| Category in | 1 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| Top | 2 | 7 | 3 | 6 | 5 | 11 |
| Twenty | 3 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 1 | 7 |
| ...................... | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Noted | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Other | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | N= | 19 | 12 | 17 | 13 | 30 |

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[1] The whole means taught the whole sequence of his division to the entering class in 1959; in part means taught a segment of the sequence to that class.

### Overall Classification of PhD University

| | | Original Staff | | Officially Assigned 1959 Class | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1959 | 1963 | Whole | In Part | Total |
| Category in | 1 | 13 | 7 | 11 | 9 | 20 |
| Top | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Twenty | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Noted | 5 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Others | 6 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| | N= | 19 | 12 | 17 | 13 | 30 |

### Classification of Department in Which Degree was Earned at PhD University

| | | Original Staff | | Officially Assigned 1959 Class | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1959 | 1963 | Whole | In Part | Total |
| Category in | 1 | 11 | 7 | 10 | 8 | 18 |
| Top | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Twenty | 3 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Noted | 5 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Others | 6 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| | N= | 19 | 12 | 17 | 13 | 30 |

### Number Years PhD Work[1]

| | | Original Staff | | Officially Assigned 1959 Class | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1959 | 1963 | Whole | In Part | Total |
| | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | 2 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| Number | 3 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| of | 4 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 7 |
| Years | 5 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| | 6 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| | 7 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| more than ten years | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | N= | 19 | 12 | 17 | 13 | 30 |

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[1] An effort was made to count years of full time study, not years when student was taking a course or two while working full time elsewhere.

### Quality Progression Index

| | Original Staff | | Officially Assigned 1959 Class | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1959 | 1963 | Whole | In Part | Total |
| 1)Excellent-both MA & PhD | 9 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 13 |
| 2)Improvement | 6 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 11 |
| 3)Same secondary place | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 4)Poor place continued or going to worse place for PhD than where earned MA | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| N= | 19 | 12 | 17 | 13 | 30 |

### Academic Status Time-of Entry to Hawthorn

| | | Original Staff | | Officially Assigned 1959 Class | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1959 | 1963 | Whole | In Part | Total |
| PhD+[1] | 1 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| PhD | 2 | 8 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| MA+ | 3 | 8 | 5 | 10 | 5 | 15 |
| MA | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| | N= | 19 | 12 | 17 | 13 | 30 |

### Years of Full Time Teaching

| | Original Staff | | Officially Assigned 1959 Class | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. of Years | 1959 | 1963 | Whole | In Part | Total |
| 0 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 8 | 13 |
| 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 7 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 8 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| 9 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| more than ten | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| N= | 19 | 12 | 17 | 13 | 30 |

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[1] PhD + = some national fellowship such as NSF or SSRC

Total Years Graduate Work[1]

| | Original Staff | | Officially Assigned 1959 Class | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. of Years | 1959 | 1963 | Whole | In Part | Total |
| 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 4 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| 5 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| 6 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 7 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| 8 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 4 |
| 9 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| ten or more | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| N= | 19 | 12 | 17 | 13 | 30 |

Desirability[2]

| | | Original Staff | | Officially Assigned 1959 Class | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1959 | 1963 | Whole | In Part | Total |
| All 3 | 1 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 9 |
| Any 2 | 2 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| Only 1 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 7 | 12 |
| None of 3 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| | N= | 19 | 12 | 17 | 13 | 30 |

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[1] An effort was made to count years of full time study, not years when student was taking a course or two while working full time elsewhere.

[2] Combination a) PhD
b) Full time teaching experience
c) Five or more years in Graduate school

## II. QUALIFICATIONS FOR HAWTHORN

### Small College Experience

| | | Original Staff | | Officially Assigned 1959 Class | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1959 | 1963 | Whole | In Part | Total |
| Student and Teacher | 1 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| Student only | 2 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| Teacher only | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| None | 5 | 9 | 5 | 9 | 6 | 15 |
| | N= | 19 | 12 | 17 | 13 | 30 |

### Academic Training Abroad

| | | Original Staff | | Officially Assigned 1959 Class | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1959 | 1963 | Whole | In Part | Total |
| Yes | 1 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| No | 5 | 14 | 9 | 12 | 9 | 21 |
| | N= | 19 | 12 | 17 | 13 | 30 |

### City University Training

| | | Original Staff | | Officially Assigned 1959 Class | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1959 | 1963 | Whole | In Part | Total |
| None | 1 | 17 | 10 | 14 | 12 | 26 |
| Some | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| All | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | N= | 19 | 12 | 17 | 13 | 30 |

### Work in Relevant Area (other than teaching)

| | | Original Staff | | Officially Assigned 1959 Class | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1959 | 1963 | Whole | In Part | Total |
| Yes | 1 | 18 | 11 | 16 | 10 | 26 |
| No | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| | N= | 19 | 12 | 17 | 13 | 30 |

### Areas of Serious Interest
### (Social Science, Natural Science, Humanities)

| | | Original Staff | | Officially Assigned 1959 Class | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1959 | 1963 | Whole | In Part | Total |
| SS, NS & HS | | 7 | 5 | 13 | 2 | 15 |
| SS & HS | | 6 | 4 | 2 | 8 | 10 |
| NS & HS | | 6 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| SS & NS | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| N/A | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | N= | 19 | 12 | 17 | 13 | 30 |

Geographic Acquaintance - U.S. & Europe

| | Original Staff | | Officially Assigned 1959 Class | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1959 | 1963 | Whole | In Part | Total |
| 1 Michigan | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 2 Middle West | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 3 State[1] & Michigan | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| 4 State & Middle West | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| 5 More U.S. | 5 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| 6 Michigan & Europe | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 7 Middle West & Europe | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| 8 State & Mich. & Europe | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 9 State & Mid.W. & Europe | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 10 More U.S. & Europe | 4 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| N= | 19 | 12 | 17 | 13 | 30 |

Academic Cosmopolitanism
(types of universities familiar with either as student or as teacher)

| | State Univ. | Private | | Original Staff | | Officially Assigned 1959 Class | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Denom. | Non-D. | 1959 | 1963 | Whole | In Part | Total |
| 1 | Yes | Yes | Yes | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| 2 | Yes | | Yes | 10 | 4 | 8 | 7 | 15 |
| 3 | Yes | Yes | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 4 | Yes | | | 3 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| 5 | | | Yes | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| 6 | | Yes | Yes | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 7 | | Yes | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | N= | 19 | 12 | 17 | 13 | 30 |

Provincialness[2] Index

| | | Original Staff | | Officially Assigned 1959 Class | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1959 | 1963 | Whole | In Part | Total |
| Most Cosmopolitan | 1 | 8 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 10 |
| Provincial mix | 2 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| No mix | 3 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 11 |
| | N= | 19 | 12 | 17 | 13 | 30 |

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[1] State = a state outside of the Middle West, e.g. California, N.Y.

[2] Combination of both geographic and academic acquaintance:
Most Cosmopolitan = broadly acquainted with both
Provincial mix = less broadly travelled but knowledgeable about Academe
No mix = neither travelled nor aware of other academic contexts

## III. DETAILS ON THE THREE STAFFS

### Small College Experience

| | | | Officially Assigned Staff 1959 Class | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Whole | In Part | Total |
| **Social Science** | | | | | |
| Student & Teacher | 1 | | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| Student only | 2 | | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| Teacher only | 3 | | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| None | 5 | | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| | | N= | 9 | 4 | 13 |
| **Natural Science** | | | | | |
| Student & Teacher | 1 | | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Student only | 2 | | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Teacher only | 3 | | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| None | 5 | | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| | | N= | 5 | 6 | 11 |
| **Humanities** | | | | | |
| Student & Teacher | 1 | | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Student only | 2 | | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Teacher only | 3 | | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| None | 5 | | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| | | N= | 3 | 3 | 6 |

### Academic Cosmopolitanism (Types of universities familiar with either as a student or as teacher)

Social Science

| State | Private | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Denom. | Non-Denom. | | | | | |
| Yes | Yes | Yes | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Yes | | Yes | 2 | | 6 | 2 | 8 |
| Yes | Yes | | 3 | | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Yes | | | 4 | | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | | Yes | 5 | | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | Yes | Yes | 6 | | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | N= | 9 | 4 | 13 |

Natural Science

| State | Private | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Denom. | Non-Denom. | | | | | |
| Yes | Yes | Yes | 1 | | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Yes | | Yes | 2 | | 2 | 4 | 6 |
| Yes | Yes | | 3 | | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Yes | | | 4 | | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| | | Yes | 5 | | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| | Yes | Yes | 6 | | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | N= | 5 | 6 | 11 |

Humanities

| State | Private | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Denom. | Non-Denom. | | | | | |
| Yes | Yes | Yes | 1 | | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Yes | | Yes | 2 | | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Yes | Yes | | 3 | | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Yes | | | 4 | | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| | | Yes | 5 | | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| | Yes | Yes | 6 | | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | N= | 3 | 3 | 6 |

Geographic Acquaintance - U.S. & Europe

| | Officially Assigned Staff 1959 | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Whole | In Part | Total |
| Social Science | | | |
| 1 Michigan | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 Middle West[1] | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 3 Other State & Mich. | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 4 Other State & Middle West | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 5 More US | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| 6 Mich. & Europe | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 7 Middle West & Europe | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 8 Other State & Mich. & Europe | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 9 Other State & Mid.West & Europe | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 10 More US & Europe | 4 | 0 | 4 |
| N= | 9 | 4 | 13 |
| Natural Science | | | |
| 1 Michigan | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 2 Middle West | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 3 Other State & Mich. | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 4 Other State & Middle West | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 5 More US | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| 6 Mich. & Europe | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 7 Middle West & Europe | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 8 Other State & Mich. & Europe | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 9 Other State & Mid.West & Europe | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 10 More US & Europe | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| N= | 5 | 6 | 11 |
| Humanities | | | |
| 1 Michigan | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 Middle West | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 3 Other State & Mich. | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 4 Other State & Middle West | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 5 More US | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 6 Mich. & Europe | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 7 Middle West & Europe | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 8 Other State & Mich. & Europe | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 9 Other State & Mid.West & Europe | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 10 More US & Europe | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| N= | 3 | 3 | 6 |

[1] Other State = a state outside of the Middle West,e.g. Calif. or New York.

## IV. ORIGIN AND AGE OF STAFF

Where Born

| | | Original Staff | | Officially Assigned 1959 Class | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1959 | 1963 | Whole | In Part | Total |
| City | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| Michigan | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Middle West | 3 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| East | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| West Coast | 5 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| South | 6 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Other U.S. | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Abroad | 8 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| | N= | 19 | 12 | 17 | 13 | 30 |

Age in 1959

| | | Original Staff | | Officially Assigned 1959 Class | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1959 | 1963 | Whole | In Part | Total |
| 26 years old | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| 27 years old | | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| 28 years old | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 30 years old | | 3 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 6 |
| 31 years old | | 2 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| 32 years old | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| 33 years old | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| 34 years old | | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 35 years old | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 37 years old | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 38 years old | | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| 41 years old | | 2 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| 42 years old | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 45 years old | | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 48 years old | | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 54 years old | | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| | N= | 19 | 12 | 17 | 13 | 30 |

# CHAPTER VI

So far we have studied the choices made by individual students, or groups of students, of certain professors-- those most accessible or meaningful to them, those most important to Hawthorn as a whole. We turn now to the consideration of the importance of types of student-faculty relationships in the development of the student as a scholar.

Friendliness seems at first to be the crucial relationship. It is recognized of staff members generally[1] and is established early in the student's college career. It is also a central relationship. Often the faculty member who is a friend is also meaningful, and as such taken as a model.[2] The friendly staff member is also accessible, and this in turn is linked to professional relationships of best discussion leader, guide for Senior Essay, adviser as to future graduate work, and the taking of special courses.[3] It must be noted, however, that perceiving friendliness is not

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[1] There is virtual unanimity on CCI items: Professors seem to have a lot of time for conversation with students. Students often see professors aside of class. Professors really talk with students not at them.

[2] An independent judgement was made of the informality of staff members based on their actual presence at extracurricular events, their welcoming groups of students in their office or at home. Informality is closely linked to long-term official contact with students, a staff member has more occasions to participate in, more time for students to begin visiting. Informality greatly enhances a staff member's being thought of as meaningful. Excluding the fourth of the staff who made no gestures towards informal contact with students we found that the fourth who made some slight effort towards informality averaged three choices, the most informal fifth of the class averaged 25.6. The same disparity is seen in choices of staff as models where the same groupings averaged 1.4 and 1.5 respectively.

TABLE: FREQUENCY OF CHOICES OF STAFF AS MEANINGFUL, AND AS MODEL RELATED TO DEGREE OF INFORMALITY

| | No informality noted | Low | Middle | Highest | Total | N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Meaningful | .04 | .11 | .29 | .57 | 101 | 256 |
| Model | .03 | .13 | .32 | .53 | 101 | 149 |
| Proportion of staff | .27 | .24 | .27 | .22 | 100 | 45 |
| Average semester contact | 0.9 | 1.2 | 2.1 | 2.9 | | |

[3] Correlation Matrix

| | Friend | Access |
|---|---|---|
| Accessible | .32 | |
| Meaningful | .33 | .36 |
| Model | .16 | .17 |
| Professional advice | .10 | .22 |
| Special courses | -.06 | .12 |

The student was asked to whom he had most access and usually only named a single person. In only one case in seven does access go without a person being called friendly, but many people are thought of as "friends" who were not named as "most accessible."

closely related to having taken a person's special courses; it is not to be interpreted as being part of a coterie or as being a disciple. The instructor's friendship is not the reward of followership but is available to students generally.

How vital it is to the students' intellectual and personal development is expressed in the following comments made in the 1963 interviews by three students, obviously very different in style:

> "If I did (for my major) three quarters of the work I did the first three years I was in Hawthorn, I think I'd be pretty nearly a straight A math student. I don't know why I can't muster it now (in LA). I feel the staff is so distant, so uninterested in the undergraduate student. They don't give you any feeling of really being on your side, of being interested, or expecting anything of you personally. And when people expect things of you personally, you perform much better than with just some old wall out there, very impersonal. That's one of the reasons I worked so dog darn hard at Hawthorn, because there were people there who would say, if you'd write a D+ paper,.. they'd say, 'Now look here, this is a D+ paper but for you it's a C- paper,' and they'd put a C- on it, you know. And you got mad, you know. You said, 'Well, I'm going to show these dirty ---'and you got your tail in the library or at home or someplace and you really worked, just to show that you could do it. And you came back with something that was a lot more representative of your ability."

> "They said, 'Here, little rose, bloom', and they gave you every kind of water and sunshine they could think of.... When someone expects the best out of you, you try your darndest to give it to them. Anyway, I do."

> "The instructors were so much more devoted to the kids here. You had both the really rich background in the material they were teaching and the devotion to their kids.
> In a broad sense we were always talking about course material, you know, the world you live in. They all had something to say, something that was their own to say, really. Individuals, they were. And I bet by the nature of their being individuals they were receptive too. And so they meant a lot to me."

Still another student from the 1959 class, Michael Weinstein, has written the following analytic piece to help us recognize the various modalities in the student's relationship to a friendly instructor.

## The Student Process: Involvement With Faculty

Much of the discussion of Hawthorn College, mentions the theme of "community." We have noted that the original plans emphasized the need for the Hawthorn College Center as a place where students could meet with other students and faculty, for discussion and relaxation. Some of the faculty present during the first years of the College had had experience with small colleges in the past, either as students or as teachers, and they suggested that what had made these small colleges significant for students and faculty was the existence of a community- a loosely-defined but highly personal set of relationships among those at the college. If there was to be a community at Hawthorn, it too would have to be undefined, except that much of it should include, and be based around, informal activities at the College Center. Though these activities turned out to include a good deal of student socializing, the most visible characteristic of the "community"- that which many people viewed as the unique aspect of the Hawthorn College experiment- was students' relationships with faculty both within and outside the Center. Here, at least among some undergraduates and some teachers, there was informality in the classroom, personal contact outside of class, and some kind of mutual commitment and excitement. For a university where the almost universal pattern of student-faculty relationship was limited to in-class transmission of facts and opinions, any informality lent credence to the idea that some kind of community existed at Hawthorn.

Four types of relationships between students and faculty members may be described. Obviously, these will be analytical types and though it is possible to denote individuals who actually represent the type, most cases are compound; students have a range of relationships with a single faculty member as well as different levels of involvement with other members of the staff. The same is true from the perspective of the faculty member. Further, though we shall point out general characteristics marking these interactions, we must always remember the significance of taste and sytle in such a discussion. This question of simple compatibility is seldom defined, but is obviously a factor when people are deciding how, where, and with whom to spend a couple of hours of free time. Yet perhaps it says a great deal about Hawthorn and the level of personal involvement of people in it that we should even mention compatibility in a discussion of student-faculty relationships.

Components or aspects of student-faculty relationships were derived from four of seven questions focussing on facets of the professor's role asked in the Senior Interview of one hundred fifty-one of the 1959-1960 entrants to Hawthorn College during their fourth year. We identified these four aspects as personal, friendly, access and courses, each defined from the student's perspective.[1] At each point in the interview the student had the opportunity of naming one or more faculty members, and thus, each single-student--single-faculty member pairing defined a student-faculty relationship, though the more times that faculty member was named by the student, the more elements were included and more complex was their relationship. The four patterns thus derived are labeled: Mentor Relationship, Buddy Relationship, Friendly Relationship, and Formal Relationship. Altogether the one hundred fifty-one students named forty-one different faculty (including College advisers, guest faculty, researchers and newer faculty, many of whom had only incidental relationships with the students of this first class) in a total of nine hundred twenty-three relationships.

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[1] The Personal element was derived from the question:

> If you think about the faculty members you've had contact with at Hawthorn or in the college of Liberal Arts, who are the ones that have meant something to you?

The Friendly element came from the question:

> Some students have spent quite a bit of time with faculty. Do you feel you have made friends with any of the faculty members? Who?

The Access element defined actual contact outside of class:

> Who is the Hawthorn College faculty member with whom you've had the most contact outisde of class?

The Courses element was more formal and objective: did the student take any special courses, seminars, tutorials, independent study, or college interdivisional courses with the faculty member?

## PATTERNING OF HAWTHORN
## STUDENT-FACULTY RELATIONSHIPS[1]

| Relationship | No. of Students | No. of relationships | FORMAL | FRIENDLY | BUDDY | MENTOR | Average no. of faculty selected |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FORMAL | 16 | 79 | 79 | -- | -- | -- | 4.94 |
| FRIENDLY | 41 | 230 | 174 | 56 | -- | -- | 5.61 |
| BUDDY | 65 | 414 | 233 | 108 | 73 | -- | 6.37 |
| MENTOR | 29 | 200 | 101 | 60 | 8 | 31 | 6.90 |
| TOTALS | 151 | 923 | 587 | 224 | 81 | 31 | 6.11 |

---

[1] Code for student relationships with faculty: emphasis on involvement:

FORMAL: None or only one of P. A. or C.
FRIENDLY: One F, or two out of three of P.A. C.
BUDDY: All three: P.F.A. but not C.
MENTOR: All four: P.F.A.C.

The most complex relationship was the one in which the faculty member may be called a mentor to the student. The student, in the course of the interview, named the faculty person at least four times; this person was meaningful (personal), friendly, and in contact outside of class (access), and further, the student took some extra course(s) with him. In this educationally very important relationship, the student sees his teacher as representing an academic discipline and an intellectual approach to the world. Not only is there some kind of personal involvement between teacher and student, but the student builds his own academic career around this individual. He studies with him, takes seminars with him, and has high regard for professional as well as personal advice. As intense as we have described this relationship, fully twenty-nine students out of the one hundred fifty-one (over 19% of the class) had given us enough information to identify a mentor on the faculty, and two students had so identified two teachers.

The buddy relationship might be seen as similarly intense as the mentor relationship, except that the faculty member was not called on for special courses. The relationship was still identified as Personal, Friendly and Accessible. Here, as well as in the mentor relationships, the student not only knows and is known by the faculty member, but there are also informal meetings, as over coffee, or at parties, where personal issues and certainly many other topics beyond class subjects are appropriate. Perhaps the faculty member is acting as a big brother to the student, at least as an important friend. This kind of relationship, seldom seen on the kind of large, urban, commuter campus of City University, was characteristic of another sixty-five students. Thus, ninety-four students- 62% of the Hawthorn College students of the first class who were still around four years later- had established a mentor or buddy relationship with at least one member of the staff: this is one of the most significant results of the College experiment when it has been noted[1] that often students at City University will find a faculty member as most significant because he remembered the student's name and said hello while passing on the street.

The friendly, or informal, relationship was defined when the student listed the faculty person as friendly, or had identified him in answer to two of the following three elements: Personal

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[1] Interviews with Liberal Arts students, remarks of Liberal Arts students, and relation of the few Liberal Arts students who found possible relationships with Hawthorn faculty.

(meaningful), Access (contact outside of class), and Courses (at least one special course).[1] This kind of informal relationship is the one most outsiders saw as defining the Hawthorn College atmosphere.

Involvement is not really very personal, though students may admire this teacher as a personality, or students may be pleased, perhaps surprised, to note their teacher's interest in them as persons. Thus, the quote from an interview:

> "He is so very brilliant, yet so human at the same time. I can communicate with him."

Students think of faculty members who encouraged them to continue a line of study, who praised them, who talked to them and gave advice at a crucial time, or met with them outside of class to discuss non-curricular matters over coffee at Hawthorn College Center.

In most of these cases the student does not usually mention any important involvement with the faculty member who was meaningful, but rather that the person was admirable, or an inspiring person, "as an example of everything a woman can be", a person who gave significant lectures, and the like, all seen from a distance. This distance could have been maintained because of limited time for the student role, or limited accessability on the part of the faculty member. On the other hand, a student might intentionally maintain the distance:

> "The reason I've refrained myself (sic) from becoming too close to any faculty members is that I didn't want to be pushed into a course of action I didn't want for myself."

Another forty-one students of the one hundred fifty-one could be found to have established some kind of informal, friendly relationship with at least one staff member, though not a buddy or mentor relationship. On the other hand, the ninety-four students with more intense relationships identified another one hundred eighty-six relationships as friendly or better with faculty other than the one with whom was held the most salient relationship.

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[1] We are equating the professor who is claimed as a friend though not selected by the student as particularly meaningful or as a tutor, with the "functional friend", the faculty who is indeed selected for special mention and who is accessible to that student.

Only sixteen students, less than 11%, did not seem to have developed even a friendly relationship with some faculty member, and their most salient student-faculty relationship was labeled as formal. In terms of the patterns of the elements, a formal relationship was indentified when a student listed a faculty name some place in the in the interview, but not enough to warrant the definition of any kind of informal or personal involvement. Of the total of nine hundred twenty-three relationships we could identify, five hundred eighty-seven--many more than half--were of this formal type, but most of these were incidental mentions of faculty names by students who had more complex relationships with some other teachers.

Involvement with somebody somewhere, is important for helping the student define a perspective on his education. At Hawthorn College, personal involvement--including but going beyond the classromm intellectual involvement that traditionally identifies the good teacher--was possible and, indeed, engaged in by many students and their teachers.[1]

How did students interpret their instructors qua instructors? What kind of an action did they think the staff was engaging in? The students did not know how the role of Hawthorn instructor was defined by the chairmen when they hired a faculty member. They did not know on what basis the staff of each division made decisions concerning curriculum, standards, assignments, common readings, and pedagogy in general. They saw the difference in behavior and in general attitude between Hawthorn teachers and their other teachers at City University. Their interpretation of what they saw would in large part shape how they would respond, how they would come to define their own role as students. This was particularly crucial as Hawthorn was in effect an experimental college. Would the students come to see themselves as helpless guinea pigs manipulated by experimenters whose motivation and principles were hidden in mystery? or would they see themselves as partners in an effort to prove that a great new idelolgy was indeed workable in this day, at this place and with students like themselves?

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[1] This is the end of Michael Weinstein's analysis of the patterning of Student-Faculty relationships. For a broader treatment of the student experiance at Hawthorn, see his contribution in the volume of Morceaux Choisis, "the Student Process," Vol. II, p. .

## Ideological Positions on College Teaching

A considerable effort was made to make Hawthorn's ideology clear. It was NEW and different; it challenged PEDAGOGICAL practices and customs in higher education, being explicitly interested in teaching. It was ANTI-ELITIST and student-oriented (personalist). It was frankly INTELLECTUALIZING, interested in ideas, humanistic rather than utilitarian, broad rather than specialized. The staff was COMMITTED to this ideology.

Not all aspects of the ideology were equally stressed by every staff member. Students heard many variants of the ideology as they spent their four years in the college. Not all students had the same exposure to the ideology, those in pre-professional schools, or those who were minimalists in their Hawthorn participation, would be expected to have the least elaborate and nuanced version. Bright students, hardworking students, career-minded students might be expected to respond selectively to various notes or themes in the ideology. Those from impoverished educational background and milieux could be expected to be less prepared for some themes than those with college educated parents and who came from first rate high schools. The intermittent student, the probationer, the student in a hurry might have little patience with ideology, having more prominent problems to be perturbed about; or in some cases he might substitute conversion to an ideology for more routine scholastic endeavor.

We would assume that the earliest heard, the most stressed by highly acceptable figures would be accepted with least fuss. We would assume that those with the most access to peers and to campus life in general would have a more thoroughgoing grasp. Those knowing many teachers, and knowing at least some of these well, might be thought of as having more opportunity for testing the actuality, the "when the chips are down" elements of the ideology.

The disenchanted or the critical, the threatened or the excluded might be thought of as those giving any ideology the acid test. What they perceived surely must indeed be there.

We asked our students what sort of a person became a Hawthorn professor. We asked them about the overt purposes Hawthorn professors could be thought as aiming at. We asked them to tell us what they knew of the intellectual and career aspirations of the staff.

The first question allowed the student to pick out the chief characteristic which he perceived as fitting the role of Hawthorn professor. His answer enables us to see which strands of the Hawthorn ideology he picks out, which more traditional characteristics of the college teacher he alludes to.

When asked about their teachers' motivations and ideology in teaching students tended to focus on:

| | |
|---|---|
| Interest in students or young people . . . . . | 101 |
| Interest in teaching as avocation . . . . . . | 70 |
| Interest in innovation, in non-traditional . . | 63 |
| In tolerance, informality, openess . . . . . . | 56 |
| Competence, knowledge of field . . . . . . . . | 49 |
| Intelligence . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | 47 |
| Involvement, enthusiasm, dedicated . . . . . . | 32 |
| Breadth of knowledge and well-educated . . . . | 28 |
| Idealism, generosity, crusading spirit . . . . | 21 |

Some eight said they didn't know, couldn't say, etc.

The staff's qualities could be grouped broadly in terms of:

| | | N[1] | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Intelligence and professional qualities and training | 46+28+49 = 123 = | 98 | .72 |
| Interest in student | 101 = 101 = | 101 | .74 |
| Innovative and open | 64+56 = 120 = | 92 | .68 |
| Involvement and idealism | 32+21 = 53 = | 46 | .34 |
| Teaching as avocation | 70 = 70 = | 70 | .51 |

We might think of intelligence and teaching as traditional traits; innovativeness and involvement as new style; and interest in students as both traditional and new.

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[1] Since the same student might have mentioned three qualities but still counts as one the final N is smaller than the sum of the individual traits.

Two-thirds of the fourth year students stress close contact with students when asked about Hawthorn teachers.[1] They see this relationship as sought out, as respected, not as endured or avoided. Given that three out of five staff members are perceived as accessible it would seem that this quality actually does exist. The students' estimate of "frequent contact" averages seven times during the quarter. Personal contact is seen as setting the student at ease, as allowing him to find his own means of self-expression, as encouraging self-discovery. The relationship is seen as stimulating rather than demanding, as leading to student independence rather than discipleship. Students mention the advantage of close contact with several members of the faculty. Openess and tolerance[2] are the intellectual analogues of social informality, teachers are seen as liberal about students proposing alternative topics for term papers, about the style in which they be written ("a poem of mine was accepted.."). A good deal of ambivalence ("it's a good thing in general but works badly for me....") was expressed about the ease with which students can get a grade of Incomplete.

Half of the fourth year students see Hawthorn teachers as concerned with higher education[3], either as refining it, inventing a new method of teaching, enjoying a particular style of teaching or holding a particular philosophy of education. Teaching is an important, consciously chosen, artistic means of imparting ideas. Its rewards are a sense of creativity, the sight of growth in others, the shared pursuit of knowledge. Hawthorn teachers are seen as unwilling to repeat themselves, critical of routine, responsive to student comment and suggestions, interested in colleagues' opinions, restless in traditional settings, preferring the informality of a dialogue to the structure of a conventional classroom, impatient with rules, regulations and restrictions.

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[1] Close relationship with students is a characteristic mentioned by three-fourths of the students. It is more characteristic of the conscientious student who does not do well in Hawthorn, but who does do well elsewhere in the university. It is more frequently mentioned by those doing well in both settings who are not noted for their conscientiousness than by those whose papers are always in on time.

[2] This quality is particularly stressed by students doing outstanding work both in Hawthorn and elsewhere in the university. Students doing poorly, who are not among the highly conscientious, also stress this quality.

[3] The instructor's interest in teaching is particularly salient to two-thirds of the students who are doing very good work elsewhere than Hawthorn, particularly among the conscientious students. It is evident to over half of those doing well in both settings, but is not evident to so many of those doing less than excellent work there.

This concern with students and teaching is seen in combination with terms like dedication[1], idealistic, crusading, joining in a fight for an ideal. Teachers are described as enthusiastic, involved in what they are doing, willing to accept both monetary sacrifice and temporary delays in the pursuit of their ordinary academic careers, "willing to be exploited socially and academically."

Many students stress intellectual qualities[2], competence in a particular field, broadness in academic background and experience. Teachers are seen as "intellectuals' intellectuals", characterized by demonstrated knowledge, by the respect of peers and by virtuosity in handling ideas. More often than not a contrast is made with the relative narowness, timidity in the face of questions, dogmatism of the TA or graduate assistant.

Criticisms are usually couched in terms of staff members not being able to live up to an initial promise because of class load or responsibility for more students; or of confusion to the students resulting from the frequency of changes in his curriculum; or the burdens thrust on the student by being given so much freedom, so much responsibility for scheduling his time and pacing himself.

Among students doing very well in both settings, the conscientious students stress the traditional characteristics of the good teacher, intelligence and tolerance; while the less conscientious students stress the particular Hawthorn virtues of idealism, enthusiasm and closeness to students.

Among students doing relatively well elsewhere than in Hawthorn the conscientious students more often speak of every characteristic of the teacher, except involvement, than do the less conscientious students.

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[1] Qualities of personal commitment and self-sacrifice are most evident to three-fifths of those students who do particularly well elsewhere than in Hawthorn as well as of those doing well in both places (particularly the less conscientious ones). These qualities are less often spoken of by students doing particularly well in Hawthorn or by those who are doing less than first-rate work in both places. In particular they are not mentioned at all by those who, though they are conscientious students, are not doing first-class work in either setting.

[2] The intellectual qualities and training of the Hawthorn staff are mentioned more often by students doing much better in one of the settings than in the other, and more frequently by the conscientious student who does well in both settings than by his less diligent peer, least often by those doing less than brilliantly in either college.

Among those students doing only moderately well in both settings only the Hawthorn instructors' interest in teaching is stressed by the conscientious, whereas the less conscientious students stress his openess, tolerance, idealism and selflessness.

Taking five characteristics- personal contact with the student; innovative and tolerant of the new and different; intellectual and qualified for one's role; virtuous and committed (opposite = cool); pedagogue and interested in his profession and colleagues, we find that most students rally to five clusters.

| | Student | Intellectual | Innovative | Virtuous | Pedagogue |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 21 A. Hero Hawthorn Ideology | yes | maybe | yes | yes | maybe |
| 15 B. Cool Hawthorn Ideology | yes | no | yes | no | maybe |
| 24 D. Intellectualist Hawthorn Ideology | yes | yes | yes | no | maybe |
| 23 C. The Qualified Innovator | no | either | yes | maybe | or |
| 21 F. Traditionalist Ideology | either | yes | no | no | or |

Three fragmented ideologies rally a few students each:

| | Student | Intellectual | Innovative | Virtuous | Pedagogue |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13 E. Idealized Role | maybe | yes | no | yes | maybe |
| 11 G. Professional Interest | maybe | no | either | maybe | or |
| 8 H. Personal Interest | yes | no | no | maybe | no |

Full Blown New Style Ideologies

The full ideological position (A) takes into account: 1.) the student-teacher relationship; 2.) the professor's interest in new ideas and his openness and informality; 3.) the professor's personal commitment to his task. Mention may be made of the sacrifice he is making in taking this anti-careerist job. Mention of intelligence, competent training and the like is taken for granted and subordinate as is mention of his interest in pedagogical innovation or reform. Some twenty-one students take the position that the professor is fully aware and fully committed.

Another fifteen say much the same thing but do not mention the dedication or enthusiasm of the professor. We would call this the "cool" version of the full ideology (B).

Those reporting a full ideology, or a full but cool ideology tended more often than not to be among center members of the student body and relatively active and sought after.[1]

Over half of those holding either position were in contact with a large number of professors and in close contact with at least one professor who acted as mentor[2] or as buddy[3]. None in the fullest ideology and only two of those with the full but cool idology had a primarily instrumental relationship to their professors.[4]

Thus, those espousing an elaborate explanation of their professors' roles could be described as in unusually close contact with both students and faculty.

We might think of the next position (D) as being more relevant to the central intellectural quality of the professor's role but omitting the dedication aspect of Hawthorn's particular ideology.

The twenty-four students holding this position put together the notes of personal relationship to the student, an interest in innovation, and a stress on intellectural training and competence. They do not refer to faculty commitment.

Those holding this position are at the center of Hawthorn student life (1/4), or very active in formal and informal affairs, and are among those living on campus.

Over half know at least six professors, one in four has found a mentor, one in three has at least one buddy. Only two see professors in an exlusively instrumental role. Only one of the twenty-four does not wish to model himself on any professor. Only one in five is not active at all in Hawthorn student affairs and but a single one of these is an isolate while one in four are perceived as central to student life, another one in five being very active in student affairs. Only one is isolated from peers.

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[1] A full third of the full ideologues and one in five of the uncommitted full ideologues were not active students.

[2] One in five of the full blown, twice as many of those with a cool ideology.

[3] Three in five of the full blown, one in three of those with a cool ideology.

[4] Though over one in five in the full ideology and one in six in the cool ideology said they had not made friends of professors.

So this is also a position held by students who know both peers and staff.

Twenty students' ideology is characterized by its lack of referance to personal relation of staff to student, or to student commitment. It could be referred to as the "professor as qualified innovator" position (C). Here we seem to have a stress on the role from an "objective" viewpoint, i.e., as though the student were not at issue. This position seems more instrumental, more external than most.

More students holding this position are isolated from their peers than from members of the center. These students are also relatively isolated from the staff, only one in five knowing more than five professors, only two finding a mentor. Though a third find a buddy, two in five say they have no friends among the staff. Another two students reject staff as models.

This position might be characterized as the major outsider's position.

## The Traditional Position

The last position (F) held by some twenty students, is the most distant from the specific Hawthorn ideology. It is the traditional position which states that the professor is qualified, is student-oriented and interested in pedagogy but sees him as neither particularly innovative nor as personally committed. We might think of this as the full blown old style "benevolent, competent teacher" role.

Students holding this position are not conspicuous at either extreme position in the student culture, in the Hawthorn Center or at the periphery with the apathetic student. Relatively infrequently close to staff though they are in touch, half of them have over five contacts with instructors. Indeed, one in four has found a mentor and one in three has a buddy. However, four reject staff as model and another three say that no member of the staff is their friend.[1]

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[1] We have here an almost exact balancing act; four mentors = four rejections as models, three buddies = three rejections as friends.

In summary, among all four most frequently held ideological positions we find that the full ideological position and the intellectualizing cool position are held by students with abundant staff and student contact. Those stressing the student-staff relationship are much closer to staff than to their peers, those not stressing this relationship are relatively isolated from both students and staff. Those taking a traditional view of professors in speaking of the Hawthorn staff are inconspicuous but not absent from the student scene, in contact with but not close to staff.

## Ideology and Experience

How is the student's perspective on the motivation and weltanschaung of his teachers related to: 1.) his actual experience with peers and staff; 2.) his academic experience; 3.) his curricular decisions?

### Ideological Positions and Student's Experience with Peers and Staff.

We will examine the effort students make to be in touch with peers and with professors. We will take as evidence of reaching out towards peers a person's being judged a member of the key group at Hawthorn Center, his having a high level of activity in Hawthorn student affairs, formal and informal, and his not being ignored by his peers when they responded to a sociometric test including his name.

We will consider that a student has made an effort to relate to professors if in his interview he mentions more than five different professors in the various roles he examined: discussion leader, model, Hawthorn builder, etc., and if he chooses at least one professor either as mentor or buddy. In other words we will consider both the spread and the intensity of his relationship to staff.

We can summarize our findings so far as follows[1]:

| | Full New | | Competent Innovator | Full Traditional |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Dedicated A | Intellectual D | C | F |
| Effort with peers | | | | |
| Center | + | | - | |
| Active | + | + | | + |
| Isolated | | - | | |
| Effort with staff | | | | |
| N 5 | + | + | - | + |
| Mentor | | + | | + |
| Buddy | + | | - | |
| Summation: | | | | |
| Peers | +2 | +2 | -1 | +1 |
| Staff | +2 | +2 | -2 | +2 |

It would seem that the fuller the statement, whether new or traditional, the more contact with both peers and professors. The partial statements stressing qualifications are made by people with markedly less contact with both peers and professors.

The cool Hawthorn position is that of a well-liked person who is relatively more formal with the faculty whereas those who speak of the professor virtually exlusively in terms of his relations to students are rejected by their peers and despite their being conscepicous in student activities, are not thought of as central to student life.

Those who don't want to speak about professors' role in general or about their personal aspirations seem in the swim but not central to student life and to have a professional but not friendly relation to their faculty contacts.

The partial non-intellectual positions are those of students who despite close personal contact with their academic mentor do not define the professors'[2] role in terms of intellectuality. It may be that they take it for granted "we are all intellectuals" or that intellectuality as a quality is absorbed into the tutorial role.

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[1] Plus means above average, minus below average.

[2] A minus in the isolated category becomes a plus in the summary since this negative finding confirms the correspondence between both sets of relationships.

All but those taking the view that professors are primarily qualified innovators (position C) have their best relationships with SS1, particularly those professing the full Hawthorn ideology. Those who see professors in a manipulative way have their best relationship primarily with SS2, who is also closely linked to those holding the Intellectualist Hawthorn (D) position. The traditionalists have their best relationship with NS 1 who is relatively avoided by the others. The traditionalists have relatively few relationships with SS2 or with SS4. Except in this one case SS4 has an intermediate position of often but not overwhelmingly establishing a relationship with students which is their best contact with Hawthorn faculty.

Turning to the Ego chart[1] we see that those taking the Full Hawthorn position (A) tend to see LA professors often and have personal relationships with them. Those taking the Intellectualist full Hawthorn position (D) also see LA professors often but do not relate to them personally. Those taking the traditionalist position on the Hawthorn staff see LA professors relatively infrequently but do have personal relationships with them. Those who see Hawthorn staff as competent innovators have impersonal and infrequent relationships with the LA staff.

| | Contact | Out of Contact |
|---|---|---|
| Personal | A | F |
| Impersonal | D | C |

If they have a personal and frequent relationship with LA they see Hawthorn staff as innovative and virtuous; if they have personal but infrequent contact they see Hawthorn staff as classical benevolent teachers.

If contact with LA is frequent one gets full new style; if personal as well the Hawthorn staff is seen as virtuous; if contact is frequent and impersonal one gets stress on Intellectual. If contact is infrequent but personal one sees in the Hawthorn faculty member the student related-pedagogue, if impersonal as well as out of touch one sees the competent innovator.

Impersonal contact lessens tendency to see virtue and heightens stress on objective qualities. If the contact, though impersonal, is frequent one sees the professor as interested in students; if impersonal and infrequent, then one sees the professor in a more manipulative role.

---

[1]

| | Expected | A | D | C | F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not personal with LA | .55 | .50 | .62 | .67 | .53 |
| No contact with LA | .21 | .11 | .05 | .33 | .26 |

Those taking position D are apt to feel intellectually challenged, feel that there is a good deal of energetic effort on the part of their fellow students. They have known the staff for a long time and are more apt to be willing to think of them as having qualities worth acquiring.

Those with the full Hawthorn ideology differ on their estimate of their peers' seriousness about their work and on how high a standard they set for themselves.[1] Those taking the intellectualist position (D) are far more convinced of their fellow students' hard work than are those taking Hawthorn position A. On this point the latter closely resemble the sceptical stand on students, taken by those who see professors as competent innovators, who also agree with A in sharing scepticism about students acting on their ideals. Those taking the traditionalist position on staff are apt to know about them but not to have known them for a long time. They are most likely to feel that the teacher is not interested in their personal problems. They are least likely to take professors as models. Those who think of the professor as a competent innovator are also more likely to feel that the professor is not interested in them personally, they however don't know the professor. They don't feel intellectually challenged, don't feel that they have been pushed to the limits of their capacities. They don't agree that there are intellectually defensible standards for academic performance. They feel that there is little intense discussion in class, although students are willing to spend long hours in discussing among themselves.

Now let us see if the student's perception of the staff's ideology is related to his effort with his academic work and more generally to the shape of his general career at Hawthorn.

We will first look at his effort in the very first semester, then at the consistency or conscientiousness of his work, finally at his actual acheivement of top grades.

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[1] These data come from the CCI test.

In general the picture is as follows:

| | Full New | | Competent Innovator C | Full Traditional F |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Dedicated A | Intellectual D | | |
| Bad beginning[1] | - | + | + | |
| Conscientiousness | | + | | + |
| Good end[2] | + | | - | |
| Advantage | 2 | 1 | 0 | +1 |
| Disadvantage | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 |

We see the relative failure of those students whose ideology (C) stresses innovation and the successful effort of those whose ideologies take students into account. Those (D) who begin poorly and who perceive professors as interested in students but not necessarily dedicated finish better than those (C) who having begun poorly perceive professors as heroic but not as closely related to students.

Comparing the students' effort with peers, with professors and in academic work we find considerable consistency between relationships to people and to work within each of the various ideological positions:

| | Full New | | Competent Innovator C | Full Traditional F |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Dedicated A | Intellectual D | | |
| Peers | + | + | - | + |
| Staff | + | + | - | + |
| Academic | + | ± | - | + |

---

[1] Defined as doing poorly academically during the student's first year at Hawthorn. Minus here counts as an advantage, plus as a disadvantage.

[2] Defined as achieving a high proportion of A's either in Hawthorn courses or in work in other parts of the university during his four years at Hawthorn.

For the most part (three cases out of four) effort with peers and professors seems closely related to academic effort. The most active students are also conscientious and in contact with staff. Students most isolated from their peers are, however, also out of touch with their teachers and may or may not put much of an effort into their academic work. A closer examination shows that not finding a friend among the staff is more seious than not finding a mentor, but that being peripheral to Hawthorn's center and knowing relatively few professors does not seem connected with making less effort academically.

Ideological Positions and Patterning of Curriculum Decisions

A student can change his curriculum during his college career, but at Hawthorn two-thirds of the students continue in their original choice. However, we can examine the type of curriculum, i.e., the choice to continue as a liberal arts student, in pre-med or in education, or in one of the other preprofessional curriculums.[1] The most striking change is from professional to a liberal arts program (one student in four), though one student in six changes from a liberal arts option to a profession as final destination. If we divide our ideological positions according to the students' tendency to be stable or to change curriculum, and to choose a liberal arts or preprofessional program, we find that all of the groups which change more than they are stable have innovative ideology.

| | Liberal Arts | Preprofessional |
|---|---|---|
| Change to | C | D |
| Stable | A | F |

We also find that the stable preprofessionals assert Old Style Ideology (F). The fullest ideology (A) is that of the stable liberal arts students, those professing the full but cool ideology (D) are the only members of the set, (Converts to a Professional."[2]

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[1] It is our experience that Business Administration, Law and Engineering attract a rather homogeneous group of people and that if they stay in those curricula they handle their education in much the same way, i.e., restricting opportunities for special courses and extra-curricular contacts.

[2] Ideology D'a few stable members are liberal arts.

The ideology (C) least stressing personal relations with students is to be found among those who are heavily converted to liberal arts.[1] Those ideologies least stressing staff commitment (C and D) are held by those in the convert positions, the most external in the converts to liberal arts position, the most personal in the converts to preprofessional position. We might conclude that awareness of staff commitment seems related to an initial experience with a liberal arts curriculum.[2]

### Ideological Positions Taken by Students from Handicapped Backgrounds--Family and Academic

RECRUITMENT TO VARIOUS TEACHING IDEOLOGIES
in percentages

| | Full Hawthorn | | | Competent Innovators | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Expected | A | D | Intellectual C | Traditional F |
| Academic Background | | | | | |
| Poor High School (N=8) | .06 | .05 | .00 | .13 | .10 |
| Top High School (N=44) | .32 | .29 | .43 | .25 | .25 |
| Poor Entrance Test (N=16) | .12 | .00 | .00 | .21 | .15 |
| Family Background | | | | | |
| Parents Grammar School (N=18) | .13 | .10 | .00 | .21 | .30 |
| Parents College Grad. (N=39) | .29 | .19 | .35 | .21 | .30 |
| Blue Collar (N=36) | .26 | .14 | .13 | .29 | .43 |
| Poor (N=26) | .19 | .14 | .17 | .21 | .10 |
| N= | | 21 | 23 | 24 | 21 |

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[1] Partial ideologies which stress students are most found among stable preprofessionals.

[2] Two partial ideologies which most heavily stress staff's personal relationship to students and commitment are held by stable professionals. It is notable that both of these subsets have a large number of stable pre-meds.

| SUMMARY | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Full Hawthorn | | Competent Innovators | |
| | | | Intellectual | Traditional |
| | A | D | C | F |
| Family | | | | |
| Poor | | | | No |
| Poorly Educated | | No | Yes | |
| Blue Collar | No | No | | Yes |
| Academic | | | | |
| Poor High School | | No | Yes | |
| Poor Entrance Tests | No | No | Yes | |
| Summary | | | | |
| Family | -1 | -2 | 1 | -1 +1 |
| School | -1 | -2 | 2 | 0 |

Those taking the full Hawthorn position are least handicapped, partiulcarly so for those taking the intellectualist version, D[1]. The ideological position defining the Hawthorn professor as a competent innovator is often taken by students from a poor educational background and by those who are financially distressed. The traditional position is strongly held by students from blue collar homes, and often taken by those who have not gone to poor high schools.

FAMILY

| | | Handicap | No Handicap |
|---|---|---|---|
| ACADEMIC | Handicap | C | |
| | No Handicap | F | AD |

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[1] Unhandicapped Jewish students predominate in both of the full Hawthorn ideological positions (A and D), the minor unintellectual fragment B is held by relatively handicapped Jews. Poor, blue-collar Catholics who are not academically handicapped take the traditional ideology (F). Catholics tend to avoid both of the Hawthorn ideologies and markedly refrain from referring to staff dedication. They stick to instrumental characteristics like intelligent and pedagogue. Poor pious Protestants avoid ideologies stressing the professor's personal relationship to his students and prefer positions which stress innovation.

Position D which stresses intellectuality but not dedication seems most clearly held by the privileged and avoided by the handicapped. Position C seems to rally the handicapped of every kind. The traditional position F seems to have more than its share of adherents whose parents have little education. Those doing poorly on entrance exams seem drawn to fragmentary disciplines.

What more do we know about the handicapped student's relationship to his professor?

PERCENT OF STUDENTS WITH VARIOUS BACKGROUND HANDICAPS SELECTING HAWTHORN INSTRUCTORS' CHARACTERISTICS

| | Student Oriented | Innovator | Intelligent | Dedicated | Pedagogue |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Poor Entrance Scores (N=16) | .56 | .63 | .38 | .13 | .50 |
| Poor High School (N=8) | .50 | .63 | .50 | .38 | .13 |
| Poverty (N=26) | .54 | .75 | .54 | .29 | .42 |
| Blue Collar (N=36) | .54 | .57 | .63 | .24 | .57 |
| Grammar School Educ. (N=18) | .44 | .61 | .67 | .22 | .56 |
| Expected | .74 | .68 | .72 | .34 | .51 |

Certain commonalities can be perceived. Students whatever their handicap are more apt to see their instructor as an innovator and less likely to describe him as student-oriented, or intelligent. Poor schooling seems to sharpen the student's ability to perceive his instructor's dedication, all other handicaps dim this perception. The student's own poor schooling diminishes the chances that we will describe pedagogical skills, his parents' poor education may sharpen his perception of this trait. When we examine the few cases where we can comnine home background and academic background handicaps we find some reversals. The student from a handicapped home who does poorly on entrance exams reports personal relationship with the teacher, not he who does adequately on entrance exams. Students from poorly educated homes who attended bad high schools do not perceive this close relationship but do report on competent pedagogy.

Students who come from poor families or whose parents are poorly educated but who have had adequate high school training perceive the instructor's personal relationship to his students. Students from blue-collar homes and whose parents have only had grammar school education are numerous in positions F and C. Students from impoverished homes are numerous in positions B and E.

| ADVANTAGES IN HOME AND ACADEMIC BACKGROUND | Personal | Innovator | Intelligent | Dedicated | Pedagogue |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Very Good High School (N=44) | .77 | .66 | .61 | .27 | .43 |
| Jewish (N=27) | .89 | .67 | .59 | .30 | .41 |
| Not Jewish (N=17) | .59 | .65 | .65 | .24 | .47 |
| College Grad. Parents (N=39) | .77 | .64 | .62 | .23 | .56 |
| College & Good HS (N=17) | .88 | .53 | .53 | .53 | .29 |
| Expected | .74 | .68 | .72 | .34 | .51 |

Students from very good high schools are not particularly impressed by their instructor's pedagogical accomplishments or by his intellectuality. Students whose parents are college graduates are less responsive to the instructor's dedication and his intellectuality. Particularly favored students whose college-graduate parents sent them to a first rate high school are more apt to be sensitive to their instructor's dedication and his personal interest in his students and least apt to select his pedagogical prowess, his intelligence or his openess for comment.

Students from top high schools who are Jewish are much more apt to remark on the teacher's personal relationship than are gentile students. Jewish students in general are responsive to this characteristic and less apt than others to report the staff member's intellectuality or his pedagogical competence.

| RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND | Personal | Innovator | Intelligent | Dedicated | Pedagogue |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Protestant | | | | | |
| Church going (N=50) | .60 | .72 | .68 | .34 | .60 |
| Non-church going (N=14) | .79 | .79 | .57 | .29 | .29 |
| Roman Catholic (N=24) | .67 | .54 | .67 | .29 | .67 |
| Expected | .74 | .68 | .72 | .34 | .51 |

Church-going Protestants are less apt to pick out qualities of the instructor's personal interest in students and his openness to new ideas and more apt to report on instructor's intelligence and competence than their less pious coreligionists.[1] The Roman Catholic student is least likely to reflect on his instructor's innovating interests and most likely to point out his pedagogical skills.

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[1] If we look just at Protestants going to ordinary schools we see that non-church going students are less apt than their pious confreres to report on innovation and far less likely to report on pedagogical skills.

| | Personal | Innovator | Inteligent | Dedicated | Pedagogue |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christian & Ordinary HS. Pious Protestant (N=44) | .59 | .75 | .70 | .34 | .59 |
| Non-Church Going Protestant (N=10) | .80 | .70 | .60 | .30 | .20 |
| Roman Catholic (N=22) | .64 | .55 | .64 | .27 | .73 |
| Expected | .74 | .68 | .72 | .34 | .51 |

## A PRELIMINARY ASSAY

We will examine four facets of the professor's role. First the quality of the student-faculty relationship, as perceived by the student, focuses on the actual service rendered to a given student by the Hawthorn staff member closest to him. This we see is professor as mentor, companion on the intellectual journey. Is the effort he expended in giving tutorials, in making himself accessible, worthwhile?

Then we ask about the professor as model, as furnishing the students with examples of values, accomplishments, sophistication, tactics, or with more global charisma being the kind of person the student would like to be. Is it an advantage to the student to see the professor as having qualities the students would like to possess, and by inference, now lacks? Is the admission of some small lack of self-sufficiency useful? Is the aspiration to be different, the acceptance of a model, useful?

The professor can also act as anchor, as reference point as the student progresses in his studies. Here the particular question we ask is, is it an advantage to continue a relationship to a staff member met in freshman year?

A complement to the analysis of the professor as model of man, of intellectual, of scientist, of teacher is the student's capacity to take the professor's role, to have sympathy in Cooley's sense. Here the question we ask is, what advantage is it for a student to penetrate professor as purveyor of knowledge, guide to the academic labyrinthe, confidant and inspirer, to discern the professor as himself engaged in a pursuit of knowledge, caught in labyrinthine Academe, enjoying or disliking poetry or politics or whatever?

Then we focus on the sheer impact of the Hawthorn professorial corps. Is it to the student's advantage to be able to call upon several friends, to have access to several staff members, to see his college's staff as severally shaping that institution rather than perceiving all of these roles through the reducing lens of a very few staff members?

In each case we ask ourselves is it of any use to the student. In judging the impact of a college it would seem sensible to use gauges such as performance in courses. I have chosen two measures, the first simply asks whether the student has acheived at least forty-five credit hours of A work, corresponding to roughly one fourth of his total college work.[1]

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[1] In constructing this measure we have eliminated notorious Mickey Mouse courses, which are remedial in nature and thus below ordinary college work, and courses in physical education and a few others where "the willingness is all."

Then, lest our student accrue all these A's by assiduously cultivating one or allied faculty members, as our next measure we ask that the student achieve at least ten hours of A's in two different settings, Hawthorn and some other segment of the university, thus giving at least some evidence of being able to do competent work under two sets of conditions.[1] Finally, we use graduation as our third measure of academic accomplishment. This requires that the student not only perform well in some areas but that his overall performance be satisfactory enough to warrant the awarding of a degree.

With these bench marks we hope to assess whether various relationships with staff seem to have helped or hindered students in the fulfilling of the ordinary goals of college.

For our next set of measures we turn to two tests: The Test of Critical Thinking (TCT) and the Graduate Record Exam in General Education. The first was administered at entry and is designed to give evidence of the student's reasoning abilities, his higher mental functioning. The second, given in 1963, was made up of three parts roughly paralleling three sequences; Humanities, Natural Science and Social Science,[2] and could be expected to give us information as to the student's breadth of information, and his ability to handle questions characteristic of those academic areas.

We examined the student's initial (1959) TCT scores and marked them as low, medium and high. We compared his 1963 scores to these initial scores noting either no progress or in some cases even regression, very slight progress, and some progress. We grouped the students into three broad categories; no progress, whatever the reason[3]; initial test low but progress is made; initial test medium or high and some progress made. We were concerned with being able to distinguish the advance made in reasoning and logic of students who were markedly inept at entry from that made by students who already showed some aptitude when they entered college.

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[1] For some purposes these students might be considered as those who might best make meaningful (fair) comparisons between Hawthorn and City, though of course the perception of an institution by those who reject it and/or who fail there might well be valuable for other purposes.

[2] The match seemed very imperfect for Social Science since the GRE is heavily slanted towards the policy sciences while Hawthorn's social science sequence is heavily behavioral. But we were unable to obtain GRE permission to examine the students' performance in its detail, to pick out for example those questions which were either on general social science method or on Psychology, Sociology, Anthropology and statistics.

[3] This test is designed to become steadily more difficult as the student passes from question to question. Thus, students scoring very high marks on entry had very little further to accomplish and hence "no progress" does not necessarily mean that the student is dull.

We examined each student's three GRE scores and translated these into appropriate percentile (these differed by sex). Since Hawthorn is a college of general education it seemed sensible to require that accomplishment on the GRE should reflect a rank of at least 80 in two different areas.

To take into account at least some obvious alternative explanations of the student's accomplishment we examined the effect of the quality of their high school preparation, their scores on City University entrance tests and the level of education achieved by their parents. It seems sensible, and the weight of the evidence shows, that the better the high school, the brighter the student, the more educated his home background the more he can be expected to do well in college.

It is entirely possible too that teachers are attracted to these already endowed students (and vice-versa( and that, in effect, they build upon the foundation already present. So one of the questions we ask is, is the share of teacher service in its various facets obtained by less well endowed Hawthorn students? Were staff teaching the teachable and abandoning the others? A key test was to compare the accomplishments of the unendowed student who obtained a given teacher-presence to that of the endowed student who also obtained that service and to the student who, though endowed initially, either couldn't or wouldn't elicit teacher sponsorship or interest. Finally it is not without interest to examine the accomplishments of the student who is neither endowed at entry nor assisted in any marked way by his teachers.[1]

Students are very reluctant to say that they model themselves on anyone. The Spring 1960 questionnaire broached the question somewhat archly, "Most people at some time or other fashion themselves after someone else. How does this work for you?" with a more direct follow-up, "Are there any faculty member who have some qualities you would like to have? (If necessary) what qualities?"

The overwhelming majority of those asked said No to the first intimation, and several persisted in denying any desire to be like anyone else. Among those who did admit to modeling themselves, a substantial number pointed to their father, their family physician, minister, or a high school teacher rather than to Hawthorn staff.

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[1] We can probe into his self-confidence, his peer group relationship, to find out what sustains his often fiercely independent, loner effort.

This question was repeated three years later, "Are there any faculty members who have some qualities you would like to have? (Get names)" with as follow-up, "(If necessary) What qualities?" This time only one in five persisted in refusing any hint of modeling. An equal number named the same person they had singled out three years earlier. This would give us long admired models, more recently chosen models, and students who persist in refusing to entertain the idea of any staff member having desirable qualities.

## The Value of Involvement with Staff

Is it an advantage to have a high quality relationship with staff? Does it really make much difference how much at ease the student is, does he do well if he simply has relatively cordial but distant relationships with staff or even purely formal relationships with them?

| | Mentor or Buddy | | Cordial or Formal | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % |
| Does well in both Hawthorn & LA | 37 | .40 | 16 | .30 |
| Excellent academic record | 33 | .35 | 13 | .24 |
| Graduation | 53 | .57 | 36 | .67 |
| TCT gain after good start<br>after poor start | 16<br>15 ]42 | .38<br>.36 ].74 | 8<br>7 ]25 | .32<br>.28 ].60 |
| Does well on GRE | 18/37 | .49 | 7/21 | .33 |
| N | 93 | | 54 | |

Most students do achieve an easy working relationship with at least one member of the Hawthorn staff. A close relationship with staff does seem to pay off if not handsomely, at least repeatedly. It would seem that close or distant relationship with staff does seem to effect making gains on the TCT and on the Graduate Record.

On the other hand prompt graduation seems to come with more distant relationships with staff. This may well be explained by the disproportionate number of those who are changing their curriculum among those receiving superior service from their Hawthorn staff. Four-fifths of those changing from a professional to an academic program are getting superior faculty service, still one in three so changing, graduates on time with favorable treatment whereas three of the six students who have more distant relationships with staff graduate on time.

| | Mentor or Buddy | | Cordial or Formal | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % |
| Change to academic program and graduation | 8 | .09 | 3 | .06 |
| Total change to academic program | 24 | .26 | 6 | .11 |
| N | 93 | | 54 | |

Early Recognition of Significant Professor

What if we were to consider when a student's special relationship to staff began? Does the senior who singled out the same faculty member(s) in his freshman year and in his senior year have any advantage over the student who, more typical of the huge urban university pattern, met his respected professor(s) later in his college career? Two-thirds of the students do make a significant contact with staff in their freshman year.[1]

| | Early | | Late | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % |
| Does well in Hawthorn & LA | 36 | .45 | 9 | .24 |
| Excellent academic record | 30 | .38 | 8 | .22 |
| Graduates | 53 | .66 | 22 | .59 |
| TCT gain after high score | 13 | .30 | 7 | .41 |
| | 43 | | 17 | |
| gain after low score | 17 | .40 | 5 | .29 |
| Graduate Record Exam | 18/35 | .51 | 4/14 | .29 |
| N | 80 | | 37 | |

It seems a distinct advantage to have recognized an important staff member early in one's career. The effect seems much more marked, except for the TCT, than the actual quality of service the staff member gives the student. Is it that the early-met professor acted as sponsor and initiator? Is it that an early correct perception, if we take a senior's judgement as likely to be better than a freshman's judgement, was operating not only in appreciating truly outstanding individuals but in selecting courses, in writing papers, in shaping one's own academic persona?

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[1] Thirty students did not answer the questionnaire given in 1960 in which they were asked to name both their favorite Hawthorn professor and the one(s) the student might wish to fashion himself on.

Such sense of fitness, or perhaps fidelity, profits more the student who came to Hawthorn with a poorer reasoning and analytical ability, than the more capable student who seemed more apt to make gains without close contact with Hawthorn staff. The modest proportion of the students perceptive early in their career who changed from professional to academic curriculum might indicate that significant contact did not necessarily lead to conversion in a liberal direction, though a majority of those so doing did have fruitful early contacts with staff.[1]

The two advantages examined in combination show that if the student must choose one advantage, high quality is overshadowed by early recognition of a significant staff member. If the best relationship achieved with the Hawthorn staff be a distant one then it is a distinct advantage to have recognized one's significant member of the staff in one's freshman year.[2]

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[1]

| | Mentor or Buddy Early | | Cordial or Formal Late | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % |
| Change to academic program and graduation | 6 | .08 | 3 | .08 |
| Total change to academic program | 12 | .15 | 8 | .22 |
| N | 80 | | 37 | |

Those who did change from a professional to a general curriculum graduated later than those who remained stable, whether or not they had an early valued and/or a later ratified contact with Hawthorn staff.

[2] Except for gains on the TCT where students who handle their staff relationships relatively cooly do better if they choose as significant staff members people other than those they recognized signally in their freshman year. However, seventeen of the twenty-two who do make gains on the TCT after an initial poor showing did single out staff members in freshman year who were of signal importance to them throughout college. This might argue that at entry their perception of the academic situation was superior to their reasoning power. It might also argue that these unpromising freshmen had the good fortune to find an outstanding staff member as their discussion leader.

Best relationship achieved with Hawthorn staff:

| | Mentor or Buddy | | | | Cordial or Formal | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Early(a) | | Late(b) | | Early(c) | | Late(d) | |
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Does well in both settings | 23 | .43 | 7 | .44 | 13 | .50 | 2 | .10 |
| Excellent academic record | 21 | .39 | 5 | .31 | 9 | .35 | 3 | .14 |
| Graduation | 33 | .61 | 11 | .69 | 20 | .77 | 11 | .52 |
| TCT gain initial high score | 9 ]27 | .33 | 4 ]9 | .44 | 4 ]16 | .25 | 3 ]8 | .38 |
| gain initial low score | 12 | .44 | 2 | .22 | 5 | .31 | 3 | .38 |
| Does well on GRE | 13/24 | .54 | 3/7 | .43 | 5/11 | .45 | 1/7 | .14 |
| N | 54 | | 16 | | 26 | | 21 | |

Almost half of the students have both a long and a close relationship with the Hawthorn staff, more have an early though distant relationship than have a close but late blooming one. Almost a fifth have achieved neither enduring nor superlative contact with the Hawthorn staff. These last twenty-one suffer from their deprivation except, as we have seen, for doing remarkably well on the TCT. Those who are most fortunate in their staff relationships make excellent records and do well on tests, though few graduate on time.[1]

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[1] This may in part be attributed to the delay caused by changing from a professional to an academic curriculum. Half of all those so doing are in the most favored group, an equally high proportion (.19) is to be found in the least favored group which also has a smaller number of graduates. The highest proportion of those changing thus have had good though brief relationship with the staff, the lowest have had lengthy but more distant contact with them.

| | High Quality | | | | Lower Quality | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Early | | Late | | Early | | Late | |
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Liberal change in curriculum | 10 | .19 | 4 | .25 | 2 | .08 | 4 | .19 |
| N | 54 | | 16 | | 26 | | 21 | |

Let us glance at the differing impact of quality of staff service vs. the benefits of meeting significant staff member(s) early in one's college career.

| QUALITY OF SERVICE EFFECT[1] | | EARLY RECOGNITION EFFECT[2] | | INTERACTION[3] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (a) - (c) | (b) - (d) | (a) - (b) | (c) - (d) | (b) -(c) |
| -.07 | .34 | -.01 | .40 | -.06 |
| .04 | .17 | .08 | .21 | -.04 |
| -.16 | .17 | -.08 | .25 | -.08 |
| .08 | .06 | -.11 | -.13 | .19 |
| .13 | -.16 | .22 | -.07 | -.09 |
| .09 | .29 | .11 | .34 | -.02 |

The overall picture seems to show gains made when one advantage tends to offset the absence of the other advantage. The largest effect is the advantage to those students who deal with staff relatively formally, of having met with significant members of that staff early in freshman year and to have persisted in their esteem for these professors. So too, those who have changed in their esteem for individual staff members between freshman year and senior year are benefited if they have achieved an easy close relationship with at least one member of the staff.

Those entering Hawthorn with high TCT scores are more apt to gain if they have a high quality relationship with staff, whatever their long term relationship. Those with low TCT scores and who stick to their early favorites and models benefit from in addition having early relationship with the staff; those who have had high quality service from staff also benefit from sticking by early choices they have made. Low TCT scorers who have not established good staff relationships are not advanced by fidelity, and those who select different significant figures in senior year than they did in freshman year are better off if they have relatively distant relationships with the staff. The exact opposite is true of outstanding success on the Graduate Record Exam where the presence of either advantage always seems beneficial particularly in situations where a distant relationship to staff is offset by long acquaintance and where recent recognition of significant staff is counterbalanced by having a high quality relationship.

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[1] Subtracting percent of low early (column C) from high early (a); and low late (d) from high late (b).

[2] Subtracting percent of high late (b) from high early (a); and low late (d) from low early (c).

[3] Subtracting percent low early (c) from percent high late (b); a positive figure means that quality of service carries the day, a minus that it is early recognition that matters most.

On balance our interaction column, which pits a long but distant relationship against a recent but high quality relationship, tells us that there seems to be a slight advantage in making a significant recognition in freshman year rather than in switching dramatis personae entirely even though achieving an easy relationship with a staff member.[1]

Self-sufficiency

Do staff members act in some way as models for students who, admiring their personal qualities, may also find useful hints for their own academic conduct? Is recognition in another of the qualities one might desire for oneself to be construed as a debilitating sense of one's own worthlessness or as a bracing sense that one is in the company of quality and that there are new heights to climb? Is a student better off for showing sturdy self-sufficiency, "I like myself as I am...."

| | Affirm desirable Qualities | | Deny desirable Qualities | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | |
| Do well in both settings | 41 | .41 | 12 | .25 | 53 |
| Excellent academic record | 33 | .33 | 13 | .27 | 46 |
| Graduation | 61 | .61 | 28 | .58 | 89 |
| TCT gain from high initial position | 15 ]47 | .32 | 9 ]18 | .50 | 24 |
| TCT gain after low start | 18 | .38 | 4 | .22 | 22 |
| Do well on GRE | 17/41 | .41 | 8/17 | .47 | 25 |
| N | 99 | | 48 | | |

---

[1] Those meeting significant members of the staff early in their college career are more apt to perceive their professors as tolerant and as interested pedagogues, than are those who have a high quality relationship with a Hawthorn staff member. They differ little in their perception of friendliness, intelligence or in seeing their professors as interested in innovation.

Affirming that the faculty has desirable qualities seems an advantage academically but less so in testing well except for those who made initially low scores on the TCT. Perhaps those who perform well can afford a certain self-sufficiency. Perhaps doing well in school allows one to perceive a professor as in some way admirable. Perhaps a sense of competence in one's academic prowess acquired by prospering both at Hawthorn and in the larger university allows one to admit wishing to have someone else's characteristics. On the other hand, it may be that a willingness to be impressed by one's mentors goes with a willingness to learn what is required of one in an academic milieu.[1]

We discover from the CCI that those willing to see virtue in their elders also are more apt to think well of students; perceiving their peers as being serious about their work, as being energetic, and as setting themselves high standards, as participating often in long, serious intellectual discussions.

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[1] Twice as many of those making a liberal change admit desirable qualities in their teachers.

They are also more apt to see themselves as intellectually challenged and as being pushed to the limits of their capacities than those who don't recognize desirable qualities in their teachers.

But is recognition of qualities just blind affirmation? Are students perceptive about even their most meaningful teachers? Can they take his role, speak sensitively about his interests, his career? We asked students to tell us about the interests and career plans of the faculty member they thought was the most meaningful to them. Some of the responses were wooden, minimal stereotypes: "He's a sociologist - he's interested in sociology, he's a teacher, his career is in teaching," others were detailed, full of glimpses of the teacher as an amateur musician or as a skillful politician, as a person weighing alternatives between teaching at Hawthorn and moving on to a regular academic department at another university. Was this knowledgeableness only a sign of having assimilated a teacher's persepctive? Was there some carry-over of this insight into doing well in Academe?

| | Knowledge about[1] | | Acquaintance with | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % |
| Does well in both settings | 31 | .51 | 22 | .24 |
| Excellent academic record | 29 | .54 | 17 | .18 |
| Graduation | 33 | .59 | 56 | .60 |
| TCT gain, initial good start | 11 | .39 | 13 | .34 |
| gain, initial poor start | 9 ]29 | .31 | 13 ]38 | .34 |
| Does well on GRE | 12/27 | .44 | 13/31 | .42 |
| N | 54 | | 93 | |

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[1] Readers will recognize William James' distinction:

"There are two kinds of knowledge broadly and practically distinguishable: we may call them respectively knowledge of acquaintance and knowledge-about. Most languages express the distinction; thus,....noscere, scire; kennen, wissen; connaitre, savoir.(1) I am acquainted with many people and things, which I know very little about, except their presence in the places where I have met them. I know the color blue when I see it, and the flavor of a pear when I taste it! I know an inch when I move my finger through it; a second of time, when I feel it pass; an effort of attention when I make it; a difference between two things when I notice it; but about the inner nature of these facts or what makes them what they are, I can say nothing at all. I cannot impart acquaintance with them to any one who has not already made it himself. I cannot describe them, make a blind man guess what blue is, define to a child a syllogism, or tell a philosopher in just what respect distance is just what it is, and differs from other forms of relation."...."What we are only acquainted with is only present to our minds; we have it, or the idea of it. But when we know about it, we do more than merely have it; we seem, as we think over its relations to subject it to a sort of treatment and to operate upon it with our thought.

(1) Cf. John Grote: Exploration Philosophica, p.60; H. Helmholtz Popular Scientific Lectures, London, pp. 308, 309.

William James, The Principles of Psychology, Chicago, Encyclopoedia Brittannica, (Great Books, 53) 1952, p. 144.

Knowledge about one's most meaningful staff member seems markedly helpful in going about one's schoolwork, even where it is quite clear that the given professor could not have influenced his discerning student's rewards. Knowledgeability does not seem to speed one on to graduation or to make much difference in one's performance on tests and exams.[1]

Combining knowing at least one professor well and having the bent of mind to recognize that some of the staff have desirable qualities we find is linked to doing well in both academic settings. Those who do well on the TCT at entrance and whose powers of analysis and reasoning improve are least apt to be thus armed; best of all for these to know at least one professor well but not to find the staff admirable. On the other hand, those with both advantages do well on the Graduate Record Exam but less well than those who are indifferent to staff. Over a third of these who are knowledgeable, but not admiring of staff, have made a change to a liberal arts curriculum.[2]

| | Knowledgeable About | | | | Acquainted With | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Model (a) | | No Model (b) | | Model (c) | | No Model (d) | |
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Does well in both contexts | 25 | .63 | 6 | .53 | 16 | .27 | 6 | .18 |
| Excellent academic record | 21 | .53 | 8 | .57 | 12 | .20 | 5 | .15 |
| Graduation | 24 | .60 | 9 | .64 | 37 | .63 | 19 | .56 |
| TCT gains, good start | 6 ]22 | .27 | 5 ]7 | .71 | 9 ]25 | .36 | 4 ]13 | .31 |
| gains, poor start | 7 | .32 | 2 | .29 | 11 | .44 | 2 | .15 |
| Does well on GRE | 10/21 | .48 | 2/6 | .33 | 7/20 | .35 | 6/11 | .55 |
| N | 40 | | 14 | | 59 | | 34 | |

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[1] More people who do well academically are among those who know their most significant professor well, and many more of those who graduate do not know their professor particularly well. The ability to take the role of their most meaningful professor is neither a help nor a hindrance to making a liberal change. Indeed the knowledgeable number barely more than half of all those so doing.

| | N | % | N | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Change to academic program | 11 | .20 | 19 | .20 |
| N | 54 | | 93 | |

[2] Those who affirm that the staff have desirable qualities but who are only acquainted with their most meaningful teacher make up almost half of all those changing from a professional to a liberal curriculum.

|  | (a) |  | (b) |  | (c) |  | (d) |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Change to academic program | 6 | .15 | 5 | .36 | 14 | .24 | 5 | .15 |
| N | 40 |  | 14 |  | 59 |  | 34 |  |

To tease out this relationship a bit let us examine the knowledgeability effect, the modeling effect and their interaction.

|  | Knowledgeability |  | Modeling Effect |  | Interaction |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | (a)-(c) | (b)-(d) | (a)-(b) | (c)-(d) | (b)-(c) |
| Does well in H and LA | .36 | .25 | .20 | .09 | .16 |
| Excellent record | .33 | .42 | -.04 | .05 | .37 |
| Graduation | -.03 | .08 | -.04 | .07 | .01 |
| TCT gains, good start | -.09 | .40 | -.48 | .05 | .35 |
| TCT gains, poor start | -.12 | .14 | .03 | .29 | -.15 |
| Does well on GRE | .13 | -.22 | .15 | -.20 | -.02 |

Clearly knowledgeability is related to doing well academically. There is a marked influence on those who are willing to model, in their doing well in both settings; while when considering the students making a remarkable record, knowledgeability seems particularly helpful to those who do not assert that the staff has admirable qualities. So too a willingness to see the staff favorably enhances knowledgeability when we consider the student's performance in both settings. This heightening effect of adding knowledge to favorable opinion, and adding a willingness to model to knowledgeability seems to hold for good performance in both settings and for doing well on the GRE. The knowledgeability of the initially promising scholar (good initial TCT) seems to compensate for his unwillingness to use them as models, whereas the willingness to admire staff compensates for the initially unpromising scholar's ignorance of even his most meaningful teacher.

Turning to the modeling effect, students who know the staff and affirm their qualities do particularly well in both settings and on the GRE, but admitting that the staff has desirable qualities seems to have a detrimental effect (-.48) on those knowledgeable students who came in doing well on the TCT.

Those students who do not know staff but who describe desirable qualities to the staff do better in almost every respect than those who refuse to model, but most markedly so (.29) for those who made gains on the TCT after having made a poor score initially. On the GRE those who don't know staff are better off if they refuse to admit their good points, just as those who don't admire staff are better off if they don't know them.

The interaction column indicates that knowledgeability without admiration is preferable to admiring but not knowing, the staff when we consider academic performance particularly overall record or students making gains on the TCT after a good initial score. The reverse is true of students who came in doing poorly on the TCT for whom modeling even without knowledge is preferable to awareness without the ability to admit good qualities in the staff.

Examining responses to the CCI for some illumination we find the following cluster of responses made by students in each of the combinations of knowing and admiring staff. We selected responses where that group was disproportionately high or markedly low compared to the average of all those taking that test.

Students who are knowledgeable but who don't admit that faculty have desirable qualities are markedly less apt to describe the Hawthorn teachers as personally interested in them, though the most ignorant admirer does so desribe his teacher. Those willing to model evoke a more energetic student who sees his courses as an intellectual challenge, classes as argumentative and who sees students engaging in long intellectual discussion, thriving on difficulty. Ignorant admirers and detached inside dopesters, both seem under pressure. They are both apt to think that students are pushed to the limits of their capacities, that courses are difficult and teachers energetic; that students are expected to act on their ideals.

Modeling effect appears to go with an ideology that stresses the professor's tolerance and openmindedness, his competence as a teacher. Knowledgeability seems to lead to a stress of the professor's dedication and underplaying him as innovator.

## DISPLAY: VARIOUS COMBINATIONS OF STUDENT-FACULTY BEHAVIOR AS RELATED TO ACADEMIC OUTCOMES (in %)

| | | | | | FIRST EFFECT | | SECOND EFFECT | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | a | b | c | d | A-C | B-D | A-B | C-D | B-C |
| HIGH QUALITY | High | | Low | | | | | | Inter-action |
| Knowledgeable | Knows | Not | Knows | Not | High | | Knowledge | | |
| Does well | .56 | .27 | .62 | .19 | -.06 | .08 | .29 | .43 | -.35 |
| A's | .56 | .20 | .46 | .17 | .10 | .03 | .36 | .29 | -.26 |
| Graduates | .59 | .55 | .69 | .67 | -.10 | -.12 | .04 | .02 | -.14 |
| | High | | Low | | High | | Early | | |
| HIGH QUALITY | Early | Late | Early | Late | | | | | |
| Does well | .43 | .44 | .50 | .10 | -.07 | .34 | -.01 | .40 | -.06 |
| Early A's | .39 | .31 | .35 | .14 | .04 | .17 | .08 | .21 | -.04 |
| Graduates | .61 | .69 | .77 | .52 | -.16 | .17 | -.06 | .25 | -.08 |
| KNOWLEDGE | Knows | | Ignores | | Knowledge | | Early | | |
| | Early | Late | Early | Late | | | | | |
| Does well | .69 | .50 | .29 | .17 | .40 | .21 | .19 | .12 | .21 |
| Early A's | .63 | .38 | .21 | .17 | .42 | .17 | .25 | .04 | .17 |
| Graduates | .69 | .63 | .65 | .59 | .04 | -.02 | .04 | .06 | -.02 |
| | High | | Low | | High | | Models | | |
| HIGH QUALITY | Models | Not | Models | Not | | | | | |
| Does well | .43 | .30 | .37 | .20 | .06 | .10 | .13 | .17 | -.07 |
| Models A's | .35 | .39 | .30 | .16 | .05 | .23 | -.04 | .14 | .09 |
| Graduates | .52 | .65 | .80 | .52 | -.28 | .13 | -.13 | .28 | -.15 |
| EARLY | Early | | Late | | Early | | Models | | |
| | Models | Not | Models | Not | | | | | |
| Does well | .52 | .18 | .26 | .30 | .26 | -.12 | .34 | -.04 | -.08 |
| Models A's | .43 | .21 | .06 | .35 | .37 | .14 | .37 | .29 | .15 |
| Graduates | .67 | .68 | .59 | .60 | .08 | .08 | .08 | -.01 | .09 |
| KNOWLEDGEABLE | Knows | | Ignores | | Knowledge | | Models | | |
| | Models | Not | Models | Not | | | | | |
| Does well | .63 | .43 | .27 | .18 | .36 | .25 | .20 | .09 | .16 |
| Models A's | .53 | .57 | .20 | .15 | .33 | .42 | -.04 | .05 | .37 |
| Graduates | .60 | .64 | .63 | .56 | -.03 | .08 | -.04 | .07 | .01 |

## Comparative Advantage

The task remains of comparing one type of impact with another. We have drawn up a table which recapitulates the various interaction effects. That is, where the relative advantage lies when we pit students who have advantage A but not advantage B, against those having advantage B but not advantage A, to determine, when the chips are down, which advantage seems most consistently associated with one or several kinds of outstanding performance, be it academic or on the Test of Critical Thinking and the Graduate Record Exam. The chart below presents the main patterns:

ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE*

| | KNOWLEDGE vs. | | | | EARLY vs. | | | HIGH vs. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High | Many | Models | Early | Models | Many | High | Models | Many |
| Does well | K | K | k | K | ? | e | ? | ? | ? |
| Excellent record | K | K | K | e | e | ? | ? | h | ? |
| Graduates | k | ? | ? | ? | e | ? | ? | m | n |
| TEST PERFORMANCE | | | | | | | | | |
| TCT gain-good start | K | ? | K | K | ? | n | h | H | ? |
| TCT gain-poor start | ? | ? | m | e | m | e | e | m | ? |
| Does well GRE | K | ? | ? | e | E | E | ? | H | H |

*Differences of twenty percent and more are marked with the capital letter of the advantage having the higher proportion of students with that particular achievement, a difference of nine to twenty percent we mark with an ordinary letter; a still smaller difference is designated by a question mark.[1] We use N=numerous for many, keeping M for model.

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[1] ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE*

| | KNOWLEDGE vs. | | | | EARLY vs. | | | HIGH vs. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High | Many | Models | Early | Models | Many | High | Models | Many |
| Does well | .35 | .30 | .16 | .21 | -.08 | .09 | .06 | .07 | .02 |
| Excellent record | .26 | .36 | .37 | -.17 | -.15 | .05 | .04 | -.09 | .07 |
| Graduates | .14 | .05 | .01 | .02 | .09 | .02 | .08 | .15 | -.16 |
| Test Performance | | | | | | | | | |
| TCT gain-good start | .23 | -.04 | .35 | .20 | -.02 | -.13 | -.19 | .29 | .03 |
| TCT gain-poor start | .05 | -.04 | -.15 | -.10 | -.14 | .12 | .09 | -.18 | .07 |
| Does well GRE | .27 | .08 | -.02 | -.09 | .39 | .28 | .02 | .25 | .25 |

*A positive number means that the advantage presented as spanning several columns (i.e. Knowledge, Early, High) is the greater, a negative means that the advantage written in at the head of that single column is greater. Thus when pitting High vs. Early Contact on the row examing students earning good grades in both Hawthorn and LA, that group of students **which has had** early contact with significant professor though not obtaining high quality service from anyone on the staff has a higher proportion (.06 higher) of students doing well than the group receiving excellent service from the staff but encountering significant members of the staff only late in their college careers.

We see at a glance the importance of knowledge of the professor, particularly in the domain of academic performance, though less so with regard to graduation and for those students who do well on their initial tests. Only when knowledge of professor is pitted against the advantages acruing from early recognition of a significant staff member do we have a different story. Indeed considering the four columns involving early contact we see its association with doing well on the GRE. Perhaps early contact with Hawthorn staff helps keep the student alert to other domains of knowledge besides his major,or perhaps the curious, intellectually roving student even as a Freshman has the acuteness to spot professors who wear well. Early contact also seems markedly meaningful to the unpromising student. The ability to recognize that professors have qualities one might wish to have is still more important to that unpromising student.

However, when willingness to admit the faculty's good points is pitted directly against early contact, early contact carries the day half of the time, while modeling wins out only once in six encounters, and that by only a little. They are equally important to students who do well in both settings and to promising students.

High quality service seems particularly helpful to the promising student who enters college with a solid performance on entrance tests, this matters rather than a willingness to grant the professor desirable qualities and, less markedly, matters more than early recognition of significant staff. High quality relationship too seems more important than modeling and as important as long term contact with significant staff to those doing well on the GRE.

The importance of relating to many professors is not clear cut[1]

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[1] Still for the sake of completeness we give the principal details of this advantage:

| | Relates to at least seven | | Relates to less than seven | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Does well in both settings | 26 | .39 | 27 | .33 |
| Excellent record | 22 | .33 | 24 | .30 |
| Graduation | 39 | .59 | 50 | .62 |
| TCT gain, good start | 13 ]31 | .42 ].71 | 11 ]36 | .31 ].67 |
| TCT gain, poor start | 9 | .29 | 13 | .36 |
| Graduate record - does well | 12/29 | .41 | 13/29 | .45 |
| N | 66 | | 81 | |

There seems to be some slight advantage in doing well on the TCT for those who came in with good TCT scores, but the reverse is true of students making poor scores at the beginning of college. There is a slight indication that relating to a larger number of teachers is linked to doing well in both settings. But on the whole sheer numbers of staff relations do indeed seem relatively unimportant.

except in relation to graduating on time, itself remarkable in that here no particular relationship with students is highly dominant.

However if we turn to data on student life at Hawthorn we find that it is the student who knows a large number of professors who also knows a large number of students, he is apt to be a student leader, has well over average chances of getting a job at Hawthorn.

We have glimpsed the ramifications of various relationships the students may have with staff, particularly of the student's knowledge of his professor, something which may stand for easy contact with that mentor but which may simply be a pointer to the student's perceptiveness which may be alerted by viewing the university as one's natural habitat[1] or by viewing it as a risky place requiring all one's attention.

Now let us briefly examine alternative explanations of good performance. Obvious choices are: he was well trained in a good high school, he was an intelligent fellow (see through his entrance tests)[2]; he was sustained by his college trained parents who in all likelihood served as models for academe as they did for other adult roles.

The following table which recapitulates all these attributes again attempts to present patterns. It is based on the differences in the interaction column. We recognize slight differences because in this case we are asking does this given relationship with a professor, achieved by a student who only went to an average high school (or who did not do particularly well on the entrance tests, or whose parents at best finished high school)[3] outweigh the advantages of a good high school training, or cleverness (at least test-taking skill) or college educated parents, in students who do not have that particular relationship with staff? In thinking of graduation, it is remarkable if the advantage of relating to a large number of teachers equals the advantage of cleverness or of the support of college educated parents. We find that indeed the number of relationships to professor does outweigh either of these initial advantages.

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[1] Suggested by its association with students who do well on their Freshman TCT.

[2] Tests which included the TCT.

[3] In pitting the advantage of college educated parents against modeling we did not take all other but took only children of parents with a grammar school background but who granted desirable qualities in their teachers.

|  | Good School |  |  |  |  | Parents College Educated |  |  |  |  | High Entrance Tests |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | High | Know | Early | Many | Model | High | Know | Early | Many | Model | High | Know | Early | Many | Model |
| Does well in both settings | H | K | E | ? | M | H | K | E | N | M | H | K | E | ? | M |
| Excellent Record | H | K | E | ? | ? | H | K | E | N | ? | ? | K | E | T | T |
| Graduation | S | S | S | S | S | H | K | E | N | ? | H | K | E | N | M |
| TCT gains-good start | H | ? | E | N | ? | ? | K | C | N | C |  |  |  |  |  |
| TCT gains-poor start | ? | K | ? | S | ? | H | K | E | ? | M |  |  |  |  |  |
| Graduate Record | H | S | S | S | M | H | K | E | N | M | H | K | E | T | T |

Code: N = Many
T = Tests
S = School
C = College

The importance of having attended a good high school in graduating from college on time may be the cumulative impact of good study habits formed in early adolescence. Its dominance in three out of five comparisons may point to the greater amount of reading required in good schools, the good basic training these may offer in natural science for the student who may not wish to major in this area, in literature to the student who may have a scientific bent or who is interested in social science. At least one of the two relationships which overshadow the importance of school in this respect is one implying close, frequent association with an esteemed staff member, which may bring with it, perhaps by serendipity, a heightened intellectual curiosity, a broader span of attention.

Generally though, particularly in academic performance, having gone to a good high school is overshadowed by a variety of relationships with staff; the most notable, after that of mentor, being early recognition of a significant staff member, and having some detailed knowledge, perhaps better described as reciprocal knowledge, of the staff member the student selects as most meaningful to him. Relating to numerous staff members is frequently overshadowed particularly in test performance but holds its own in superior academic performance.

A glance at the TCT data shows a curiously mixed picture with a number of relationships seemingly useful to the abler student but not to the one who makes a poor start for whom knowledgeability about at least one staff member seems to matter. Still in only one case (when for less promising students it is pitted against having established relationships with numerous professors) does having gone to a good high school, overshadow relationships with staff.

The dominance of relationships to staff over the obvious advantage of having college educated parents is striking. Only for the unpromising student is the advantage of coming from an educated home dominant.

It is interesting to note that Modeling is least strong when pitted against alternative sources of models like high school or home.[1] It holds up best in association with the capacity to perform well in two rather different settings. Knowledge of the interests and career plans of one's most meaningful teacher sweeps the board. This may point to a second chance to learn about the ways of the world which going to a small college offers students from less educated homes. Not only high quality and early recognition are dominant, but even the weakest contender, sheer span of alertness to staff, seems more advantageous than having college educated parents, except for unpromising students.

Finally, turning to the advantage of being able to turn in a good test performance when entering college[2] knowledge of teacher continues to sweep the board. We might say that effective contact with teacher compensates for lack of testing aptitudes. Early contact with significant staff has parallel importance. High testing is even less conducive than is having college-competent parents to prompt graduation when compared to almost any relationship to one's professors. However, both in making an excellent record and in doing well on the Graduate Record, an initial ability to handle tests, like graduation from a good high school overshadows both relating to numerous teachers and admitting that they have desirable qualities. Perhaps these latter are relatively easily won relationships and hence pay off less handsomely.

These findings are more suggestive than definitive but they do present us with repeated nudges in the same direction, so that as with assent in Newman's illative sense herein we build up a confidence in what underlies these modest signs of professors' impact, an influence going beyond sheer transmission of a given content of knowledge or perfecting some problem solving skill. Much of our data on student participation in informal activities at Hawthorn suggests that these relationships with staff are themselves closely linked to the student's achieving a certain collegiality with his peers.

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[1] We did point out earlier that students particularly in the Spring of their Freshman year were apt to say they admired their father or a high school teacher.

[2] We do not examine TCT performance because they are included in making up the high test index.

Our very cursory inspection of alternative explanations for student accomplishment needs much more thorough analysis than either the scope of this chapter or the small numbers of students involved permitted. Even these hints may however help point out some effective ways of ensuring the prompt and full incorporation of disadvantaged students. In this last analysis we focussed on intellectually related advantages and disadvantages, further study might well lay bare simiiar helpful relationships to staff for students with other handicaps.

Contact with professors matters; can it be offered American undergraduates in the proportion and quality to make college education fully effective for more than the advantaged few?

## Conclusion

The simplest, most economical prediction of any new effort is regression to the mean. Either the novelty will wear off, and tried and true old ways are after all simpler and require less effort to perpetuate than newer ways which still demand explorations, defenses, or simply an occasional extra memo. Or we are told the very cost of the new unit, particularly a small one, needs must deprive it of any distinctive characteristic and since excellence costs money (one has only to examine the data on elite colleges) excellence must in the end be ground down getarily if not by the exhaustion of the first pioneers and the recruitment of a less zealous staff.[1] As the old hand in the factory shakes his head at the speedup of the summer workers, so the tale runs, the new faculty will learn that to last you have to work out a humanly endurable equation of involvement with students and personal privacy, of professional work and the nurturing of interest and taste until the student's own passionate need to know catches fire. Endless discussions are productive for each generation of students but endlessly wearing on the professor who meets a new generation each year. This sad prediction is often accompanied by the flat assertion that the working class student is pragmatic, indeed given his life chances must be pragmatic. Not having any margin to fall back on in case of error he must be cautious and the way of caution is to take one step at a time down a well marked path which leads to a clear, tangible goal such as a teaching certificate or a license as medical technician. Useless, indeed cruel to open vistas which for their full possession require years of full time work at a first rate graduate school. This will be for the children of this student whose maximum realistic goal is to graduate. To urge these students to, in effect, skip a generation is foolhardy, not in their interests. And since their whole social background is, to put it mildly, unsupportive of such an intangible career, any such attempt must inevitably be drawn back to the safe path by urgent family obligations or by the lure of the ease and comfort of neighborhood friendships which act as his surcease in his present battle with the world of the educated.[1]

---

[1] In part any initiating staff has the advantage over its successors. There is some unmistakeable zest to starting from scratch, shaping the whole of an institution, an advantage never shared by even the most convinced of the second generation.

Hawthorn's experience tells flatly against this hypothesis in all its versions. Seniors, who entered Hawthorn after the first entering class had graduated, were each asked to fill out an Ego Chart. Analysis showed that there were no significant changes from that first class's pattern of contact with Hawthorn's three staffs, with City staff, with the several kinds of Hawthorn peers and with LA peers. Several classes, including this last mentioned one, filled out CCI tests in their senior year. In only three items out of fifty did they differ from the original senior class and the difference was that on those three items the level of consensus fell from 95 to 90%. On the other hand, although the pattern seems to hold up remarkably well, particular staff members may be viewed differently; thus both NS1 and SS1 fell from their eminence[2], though SS2 and SS4 maintained theirs. Other staff members, among whom several Natural Scientists, became more prominent than in their contacts with the earliest class, but on the whole a heavy preponderance still went to the Social Science staff.

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[1] Still another variant runs thus--if you insist that this young man develop his genius then at least send him far away from home and street corner gang , send him to a place which will not re-enforce his old ties but which will help him adopt a new identity, indeed which will treat him exclusively in terms of this new identity. Thus the bright working class child is viewed as the Senegalese native sent first to the twelve month mission school for ten years testing his vocation, then finally abroad where he becomes an évolué.

[2] One added heavy administrative burdens to his teaching, the other was absent for a time and then returned still heavily committed to finishing his research.

Hawthorn is the flowering of several paradoxical insights on the part of a few people who were able to persuade the Ford Foundation of the merit of exploring ways and means to meet the onrush of college entrants by means of an almost systematic reversal of educational perspectives : Establishing a small college atmosphere in the bustle and anonymity of an enormous university; establishing a climate of intellectual interest and leisurely discussion in a street-car setting; fostering disinterested speculation and an examination of the past while hurrying to strongly-desired new specialties; lavishing care and attention on first year students when most universities see the first two years as a winnowing period; explicitly welcoming the ordinary, average student when most universities take the clamor at the gates as a signal to raise standards of admission.

This report shows that such paradoxical behavior did not forge a new monolith which survived at the cost of obliging students to all march in step to the ra-a=ta=tat of a new drum. Six distinctive subcultures were elaborated, each with its own way of being an intellectual; four major ideologies, not a single one, provide rationales for interpreting professors' behavior -- Surely not very constraining to the staff. Anyone who has spent time at the University of Chicago in the post-Hutchins period knows the immense resilience a student culture has, with what relentless fidelity students are capable of defending a way of life which seems to bring them intellectual challenge in a context of freedom and adulthood.

COURAGE ALL !

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PA-24

FINAL REPORT
Project No. 5-0818
Contract No. OE-2-10-046

PA 24

# IMPACT OF A HIGH-DEMAND COLLEGE IN A LARGE UNIVERSITY ON WORKING CLASS YOUTH

## Volume II

August, 1968

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
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Final Report

Project No. 5-0818
Contract No. OE-2-10-046

# IMPACT OF A HIGH-DEMAND COLLEGE IN A LARGE UNIVERSITY ON WORKING CLASS YOUTH

## Volume II

By Sally Whelan Cassidy and others

Monteith College of
Wayne State University

Detroit, Michigan

Aug. 31, 1968

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
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# INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME II

We think of Morceaux Choisis as a collection of works specially selected from a much larger body of work, selected because of their intrinsic merit but also because they are illustrative of a particular author's subject matter, approach, and style. A great many people collaborated in research on Hawthorn. Their variety of training and of acquaintance with and knowledge about various aspects of Hawthorn and differing phases in its development permitted many mutually enlightening interchanges, many occasions for checking out hunches. We hope that the selections do some justice both to individual authors and to the collective enterprise that has been Program Study.

The first contribution is by Carol Kaye, the person initially responsible for Program Study. She organized and designed all the initial collection of data, and conceived the idea of undertaking a full longitudinal study of the first class, from entrance to graduation. Her move to another city at the end of two years, despite periodic visits, severely curtailed her role. Her keen interest in psychology is reflected in this chapter which opens our second volume.

Zelda Gamson allowed us to use a portion of her dissertation, "Social Control and Modification: A Study of Responses to Students in a Small Nonresidential College" (Harvard, 1965). This second selection shows Hawthorn as perceived by an acute observer, with considerable access to Program Study data. It is an outsider's view, but the outsider spent hours interviewing staff and hours with reams of interviews, tests and questionnaires, and compressed both series of data into a remarkably readable report.

Gabriel Breton's bibliography is the first section of a far more extensive study based on both OPI and CCI material, still to be finished. Breton taught at Hawthorn several years and participated in endless debates about the college and its destinies and about the student's self-creation and his forging an adult stance.

Arnold Reymer collected the data on those withdrawing from Hawthorn's first class. He did extensive preliminary analysis which he presented as his senior essay. Arlene Kaplan Daniels then took this voluminous document and boiled it down to its present dimensions, the while reorganizing it, clarifying some tortuous segments, and judiciously drawing on her own training and experience. Her own objectivity and insight lends balance to Reymer's more personal experience with the data.

Next comes a series of pieces produced by the two participant observers. Bevod McCall's first contribution gives a sense of the perspective, as well as the typology-building method of a highly trained and sensitive participant observer. One can appreciate the immense difficulty in doing participant observation on an urban university campus, since any participant observer, even though he reports wider events in which individuals are involved, actually is pretty much limited to the community these individuals form among themselves. Working before the sociometric data were collected, let alone analyzed, he could not benefit from the subsequent detection of the six worlds of Hawthorn. He focuses chiefly on two, the Core and the Fringe, and perceives and reports on the interaction of seniors with the classes that followed them.

This is followed by an analysis of the social structure of the college. The participant observer, being closest to the Social Science staff of which he was a member, sees in greater detail the variety of their roles than that among the other two more distant divisions. The same remark applies to the students. Some of the subgroups are much nearer the observer than others who almost disappear at the edges. In both cases he reports on _the_ key groups in the college, but at the same time his analysis documents how hard it is to perceive at one glance (even a very well trained glance) a streetcar college--even a small one and even a student-oriented one like Hawthorn.

The work of the senior participant observer is complemented by the shorter pieces by his junior, a graduate from the College at the University of Chicago, just two or three years older that the students of whom he writes. We have selected the first pages from his voluminous diary, thus giving a sense both of his approach and of the first impact Hawthorn students have on a cosmopolitan contemporary. We also present his analysis of two main student types, based on three cartoons published in 1962-3 by a Hawthorn junior. One can see that the two participant observers, while picking out different aspects of student behavior, agree to a very large extent in their interpretation of it--both of them still focusing on the visible minority in the student body.

This series of _Moreaux Choisis_ is followed by one which raises the questions of identity and student development. Kristine Rosenthal examines the effects of students' willingness to risk allowing themselves a psycho-social moratorium while at Hawthorn. She also has perceptive remarks on Hawthorn women which will be ot interest, particularly when read in conjunction with the technical "Appendix on the Fate of Women."

Leon Sirota's contribution, based on a technique developed by Zajonc, and Rolland Wright's perceptive use of projectives based on a Feiffer cartoon both illustrate the many efforts made to pierce through to the processes that fired up students intellectually and to answer the question of what made these city students come alive.

The last contribution to these _Morceaux Choisis_ is by a graduate of the entering class of 1959 who wrote it as a reflection on his college experience (practically all Hawthorn students were endlessly willing to review their college days) and as a piece of sociological analysis. He has further developed his approach though applying it to a different streetcar college, in his doctoral dissertation at Harvard University, "Student Culture, a Study of the First Year of a New Collece" (Harvard, 1968).

The Technical Appendices are meant to be of assistance to researchers engaged in parallel studies. "Analyzing the Social Fabric" describes step by step the way in which we used sociometric data on relationships among the senior class (including 1959 entrants who had slowed down). It provides a lengthy operational definition for our use of the terms "cliques" or "clusters" and "worlds" in Chapter IV of Volume One. It shows how computer and hand work can be combined (with secondary help from participant observation) to reconstruct a complex picture of a rather large group, starting from simple sociometric data.

"Ranking the High School" has a much narrower appeal. It illustrates how the researcher may attempt to elaborate an index on a topic rather crucial to his own study, yet dealing with completely different data from that he himself is gathering. We used work done by local scholars, and variety of ad hoc sources (e.g., a map of socio-economic level of metropolitan neighborhoods, printed for salesmen by a local newspaper; a list of national Merit Scholars semi-finalists) in order to arrive at a ranking which we kept to four rough categories because of the lack of means of checking its accuracy (despite extensive consultation, here again, with people in the know both in the school and in the larger administrative structure).

"The Fate of Intellectually Committed and Practically Inclined Women" is included primarily because the question of why women attend college still seems to be an open one, as is also the question of practical vs. intellectual goals. Since the problem is an important one despite the work having been done in connection with a footnote for Chapter II in Volume I we thought somebody might be interested in pursuing the question further.

Many more such appendices could have been added, such as various ways of using CCI, categorization of student activities, etc. We limited ourselves to those which either give a precise detailing of methodological decisions we made or which threw light on the quality of the data or on its use.

"Sample of Codes Used for 1960 Interviews," carefully prepared by Robert Weiss in collaboration with Coral Kaye, was of codes based on a preliminary study of the kinds of answers appearing in a sample of the interviews. It illustrates a deft way of treating data from open-ended questions obtained in "survey type" interviews. It is included here partly because it gives a sense of the flavor of the responses of Hawthorn students at the end of their freshman year (we have put in parenthesis the code number of responses which proved completely inapplicable; i.e., those the code-maker a priori conceived of as logical but which no student gave). We made little use of the codes in the end, because we found it necessary in most of the cases to go back to the exact words used by the student to express his experience, his ideas, his feelings. But they were useful as an intermediary step in giving an overall view of the phenomenon to be understood.

"The FIRO Test" we made many attempts to use, especially in connection with the sociometric study. It turned out to be helpful only in one case (for contrasting two different types of leaders). But the general trend of students entering Hawthorn over a number of years (1959-68) on those variables which turned out to be most useful (Discipline, Independence, Involvement) is given graphic representation and shows the changes which occur even over a relatively short period of time.

"The Interviews" were prepared through cooperative effort of many of the researchers involved, which partially accounts for their length. They were administered by professional interviewers selected with an eye to their literacy, so that they be sure to understand the nuances of the students' answers." "The Attrition Study" interview was administered and taped by the principal author of Selection 4. Considering the rather delicate situation (a Hawthorn student interviewing students who had decided to leave Hawthorn or had to drop out) it went remarkably smoothly.

Still another interview was administered to the Hawthorn entrants during the Fall of 1959, to astertain their expectations of college and first reactions to Hawthorn. The selection by Carol Kaye mentions specifically several of its most important questions.

The notes on "Research Using Official Documents" have been included both to give a small sample of the work done on University documents, and to report the tables documenting the steps taken by Hawthorn graduates and their contemporaries at City University with regard to graduate school.

On page 351 appears the instrument used to recapitulate in an easy sweep all the names of faculty members mentioned by students at various points in their 1963 interview. It was a simple but useful tool in preparing some of the material for analysis in Chapter V of Volume I.

There follow two series of tables of variables of data showing the kinds of students recruited to Hawthorn from 1959 to 1968. Other trends are graphically presented following these tables.

The piece on Student Activities at City University, written by a Hawthorn graduate long involved in NSA affairs, helps place the Hawthorn student body within the larger framework of City University (not only in terms of participation, but of outcomes as well). Two main degrees of involvement have been distinguished: the participant being the student who has not totally ignored the University-wide network of student activities; the active student being the one who has been involved at length and in a position of some importance.

The reader will notice that, while there is an intended order among the Morceaux Choisis of the first half of the Volume, there is none in the second or technical half. Methodological reflection on research procedures, instruments used, and additional background material are here offered, under various shapes and in greater or lesser detail, to help the reader place the worked-out chapters in their broader context, and to make available to other researchers information which they may find helpful in their own work.

# SOCIAL CLASS MEMBERSHIP AS A DETERMINANT OF STUDENT STATUS AT COLLEGE ENTRANCE*

Carol Kaye

## Introduction

This paper is concerned with an examination of the relationship between the social class origin of freshman college students, their access to and attitudes toward educational resources and their life choices. We will also discuss the implications of students' social origins for the college milieu.

Education is quite explicitly regarded in the United States as the preferred mode of social mobility. The B.A., like the dollar, is virtually a national criterion of achievement irrespective of the college or university awarding the degree. In much public policy toward institutions of higher learning we find the same view of their functions, i.e., colleges and universities are places where students after doing 120 hours of credit work over a period of three to four years obtain the formal badge of certification, the B.A., which, hopefully, will enable these students to make their way in the society. Despite the massive commitment to higher education as a mobility channel, there has been little emphasis in research on the influence of social class origins on youngsters' college experiences.

Some research has been done upon differences in educational opportunity within the elementary and high school systems, which indicates that access to educational opportunity within the lower school system is systematically related to social class position. Focusing on adequacy of schooling, Sexton, working with a concept of average income level within a school district, shows that there is a definite break at the $7000 family income level in children's school performance. Using a sample of 26 elementary and seventeen high schools, she finds many direct correlations between average income level in the school district, and such factors as conditions of school buildings, health of children, and of performance of children on standard academic tests. (1)

In the realm of social rewards in school, class differences are also found. The high school experience offers opportunity for informal social learnings and rewards through extra-curricular activities and peer group participation. James Coleman in "The Adolescent Society" (2) studied ten high schools of varied characteristics, and finds that in all except one high school, peer rewards defined in terms of membership in the student elite go to students from higher educational background.

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*I wish to thank Ellin Hannigan and Daniel Boggs for statistical assistance.

Peer membership was measured by sociometric analysis, in which students from higher educational backgrounds were found to be overrepresented among the elites of all schools except the most lower class school under study. Here, where the middle class student is in a small minority, he reports that students from the lower-middle class "take over" the elite. Coleman shows that membership in these student elites have powerful effects in raising self-esteem.

Elites in working class schools tend to contain a high proportion of those uninterested in scholarship and to focus upon out of school interests. In contrast to his upper status schools, three groups tend to vie for leadership: the socially adept, the activities leaders and the scholars.

If we consider that the high school could be a situation of anticipatory socialization in which ego resources for social mobility could be developed, Coleman's work suggests that students of lower socio-economic status tend to have little chance of becoming high school "influentials" gaining peer rewards through and participating in such informal learning situations.

In an analysis of the publics served by the American colleges, Riesman and Jencks (3) point to the dilemna of students from lower socio-economic strata which we consider in detail in this paper. They state that "people go to college expecting to become the upper middle class heores and heroines, who populate the American version of the good life." (P. 79) They later note in discussing social class interest groups, that in the cities "they (the colleges) recruit from second and third generation immigrants, who come to urban America from an almost medieval peasant life, and are now suddenly equipped with money and ambition to seek the symbols, if not the content of higher education. Thus many colleges can do little to alter the parochialisms of the culturally impoverished whom they equip with a diploma and other symbols of academic respectability." (P. 98)

Recent research on college students has helped to explicate other variables related to this problem and is beginning to delineate the nature of the interaction between educational institutions and their student populations. First, looking at the question of student selection of colleges, the research on National Merit Scholars has indicated the part which students' personality characteristics play in their choices. (4) Going beyond the question of selection of an educational institution to the nature of the student's experiences within it, the research on National Merit Scholars has indicated that the nature of the college experience depends not only on the characteristics of the institution but also on the characteristics of the student populations attending the institution. The conclusion drawn from this is that characteristics of the student population set the parameters within which the institution can carry out educational function.

The work in Inkeles and Levison (5) and Merton's work, (6) have provided a theoretical framework for delineating relationships between personality characteristics and social structure. In empirical studies, Miller and Swanson (7) have shown that awareness of the self, capacity for impulse control, use of language and verbalization can all be identified as outgrowths of socialization in the family which are differentially patterned according to the family's position in the social structure. Their data suggest that differing social strata will present certain modal differences in characteristics of youngsters emerging from them. We might infer on the basis of this evidence that these differences will extend beyond genotypic personality characteristics to the attitudes, expectations and commitments as students.

Thus we can expect that youngsters from different social strata will arrive at college with differing personalities and attitudes and that the nature of their expectations and adaptations will also differ as a function of their social origins. Still another contention that we will make is that social class origins strongly influence youngsters' choice of colleges and thereby indirectly result in the creation of distinctive institutional milieus which in turn shape the nature of the college socialization experience.

This paper is specifically concerned with the effect of social class origin upon students at the inception of college. Our question is are there regularities in students' behavior in (a) making their choice of college, (b) their attitudes and values toward education, and (c) their relations with parents and friends, which can be attributed to the socio-economic status of the students' families of origin? Special attention will be paid to the life orientations and potential of students who have "made it" to college from Class 5, which is the lower working class.

We will then consider the implications of regularities in the developmental status of these students stemming from social class upon their participation in college. We will raise questions regarding (1) the influence of "class tracking" on the college milieu, (2) the ways in which institutional factors may militate for or against youngsters' social mobility, and (3) educational relationships and experiences which our data suggest youth from lower socio-economic orgins require for such developmental processes as identifying their capacities, experiencing a stabilization of talent into skill, and relating them meaningfully to the complex demands of the occupational structure. In a subsequent paper, relationships between student socio-economic status and student career line will be considered under the special educational circumstances offered by Hawthorn College.

## THE STUDENTS UNDER STUDY

Of the 292 students in the first entering class of Hawthorn College in 1959 over 90% participated in the research reported here. Of those who did not participate, most were unable to do so because of scheduling problems. Insofar as we could ascertain few of the refusals were a function of negative attitudes toward the research or toward the college itself. Thus although we cannot say with certainty that those who participated are representative, no systematic sources of bias are manifest.

The data being used here are of two kinds: *

1. (1) A twelve-page questionnaire dealing with the student's family background, high school experiences, expectations with regard to college, and the post-college years.
2. (2) A two-hour quasi-clinical interview focusing on the student's feelings and attitudes about college.

In line with the examination of motivation for college carried out by Douvan and Kaye (8) who found motivational differences in a national sample between the commitments of boys and girls to college, these data focus upon the boys. In considering peer group reactions, sum contrasts between boys and girls will be presented.

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*The two types of data were not available for all respondents. The chart below shows the number of respondents for which each type of data is available.

| | Number of Respondents for Whom Type of Data is Available | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | Girls | Total |
| Questionnaire | 155 | 114 | 269 |
| Interview | 160 | 114 | 274 |

## THE FINDINGS

The Social Class Origins of Hawthorn Students was assessed according to the Hollingshead-Redlich Index of Social Class. We choose to use the the Hollingshead-Redlich Index, because it was developed in conjunction with a careful ecological community study.* (9) Hollingshead has described the two-factor Index of social position as follows "the two-factor Index utilized occupation and education. These factors are scaled and weighted individually, and a single score is obtained. The educational scale is based upon the years of school completed by the head of the household." (10) Hollingshead's description of the method of scaling for the Index is appended to this paper.
In the case of boys separated from their fathers due to death, social status was defined on the basis of the father's occupation and education at the time of separation. In cases of separation due to divorce ratings were made on the basis of the fathers' current occupation and education.

Many findings on the tables are not separated out for discussion. The small numbers in the group under study make for inconsistent variation, so emphasis has been placed on compelling and consistent differences. Table 1 and 2 show the social class distribution of male respondents according to the Hollingshead-Redlich Index.

Only 25% of the respondents come from upper-middle or upper class families, whereas the majority come from families of lower-middle class or upper-working class status. A small minority are from lower-working class families.

### Class Variations in Activity and Adequacy

The process of decision making about college was in marked contrast to our expectations. We had thought that the character of lower class youngsters' adaptation to elementary and high school and support from their teachers would be important influences

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*In a recent workgroup report on "Linking Social Class and Socialization: Toward a Framework for Analysis and Research" sponsored by the Social Science Research Council, Proshansky has considered in detail the issues involved in a national class structure as opposed to a community class structure. We used the Hollingshead-Redlich Index, which is based on a community oriented study, as we felt that the high school represents a small integrated community, where family social status is known and observed. Coleman's (2) recent work supports this view. In all except a handful of cases, our students came directly from high school.

## TABLE 1

## SOCIAL CLASS DISTRIBUTION OF MALE RESPONDENTS

| Social Class[1] | Percentage of Respondents[2] |
|---|---|
| 1 | 8 |
| 2 | 18 |
| 3 | 31 |
| 4 | 31 |
| 5 | 12 |
| | 100% |

[1] Class 1 refers to highest social status

[2] Total for all respondents. See Table 2 for separate interview and questionnaire tables.

## TABLE 2

## RESPONDENTS FOR WHOM QUESTIONNAIRE AND INTERVIEW DATE IS AVAILABLE AND A RATING ON THE HOLLINGSHEAD-REDLICH SOCIAL CLASS INDEX

| Class | Males | | Females | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Questionnaire | Interview | Questionnaire | Interview |
| 1 | 9 | 8 | 9 | 12 |
| 2 | 17 | 17 | 13 | 13 |
| 3 | 30 | 30 | 32 | 28 |
| 4 | 32 | 34 | 31 | 32 |
| 5 | 12 | 11 | 15 | 15 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| N = | 149 | 152 | 107 | 107 |

in these youngsters' decisions to attend college. According, at least, to their reports, this was not the case. When we asked how they happened to come to college, only 12 out of the 152 boys we spoke with indicated that their teachers had encouraged them. The majority of each social class group reported that the decision to come to college had been made so early that in effect they had "always" planned on a college education. There is some relationship, although not marked, between high school status and early decision-making: 83% of the Class 1 boys indicated they had "always planned to go," whereas 59% of the Class 5 boys so indicated. (Table 3)

At least two-thirds of the students from each social class said that their parents or the extended family strongly supported their desires to go to college. (Table 4) When we examine Table 4 more closely, however, we see that there is a slight difference in the solidarity of familial support for college attendance which is related to class origins. Upper status youth are more likely to feel that both their mothers and fathers favor college attendance, whereas lower status youngsters are more apt to report that either their mothers or fathers or some member of the extended family provided encouragement.*

**TABLE 3**

**HOW DID YOU HAPPEN TO COME TO COLLEGE?**

| Respondents who said: | Class<br>1 | <br>2 | <br>3 | <br>4 | <br>5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| "Always planned on going to college";<br>"Decided early in life";<br>"Decided in grade school." | 83% | 81 | 69 | 72 | 59 |
| "Decided in high school";<br>"Decided when in my teens." | 8 | 12 | 15 | 10 | 29 |
| Other responses | 8 | 8 | 15 | 18 | 12 |
| Total Per Cent | 101 | 101 | 99 | 100 | 100 |
| N = | 12 | 26 | 46 | 50 | 17 |

*It seemed possible that the Class 4 and 5 youngsters in the sample might have come from families with a disproportionate number of highly educated mothers. However, this was not the case. (Table 5)

## TABLE 4

## IS THERE SOME MEMBER OF YOUR FAMILY WHO HAS STRONGLY ENCOURAGED YOU TO COME TO COLLEGE?

| Yes | Class<br>1 | <br>2 | <br>3 | <br>4 | <br>5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Both my parents | 42% | 54 | 43 | 29 | 29 |
| Father only | 17 | 12 | 20 | 22 | 18 |
| Mother only | 8 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 18 |
| Extended family | -- | 8 | 9 | 14 | 12 |
| No | | | | | |
| Did it myself | 33 | 19 | 20 | 25 | 24 |
| Total Per Cent | 100 | 101 | 101 | 100 | 101 |
| N = | 12 | 26 | 46 | 51 | 17 |

A, B, and E against C and D: $x^2 = 6.42$. p is not significant (4 df)

## TABLE 5

## WHAT IS YOUR MOTHER'S EDUCATION?

| | (Males)<br>Class<br>1 | <br><br>2 | <br><br>3 | <br><br>4 | <br><br>5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Grammer school | -- | -- | 5% | 23 | 39 |
| Some high school | 15 | 4 | 7 | 21 | 33 |
| Completed high school, high school plus training | 38 | 31 | 54 | 35 | 23 |
| Completed high school plus training | 23 | 12 | 20 | 12 | -- |
| Some college plus other training | 23 | 54 | 14 | 8 | 6 |
| Total Per Cent | 99 | 101 | 100 | 99 | 101 |
| N = | 13 | 26 | 44 | 48 | 18 |

These data suggest that the determinants of commitment to higher education among lower status youth, as among higher status youth, lie in family values and relationships rather than talent or demonstrated school achievement. They suggest that a talented lower status student who lacked family support is unlikely to decide to attend college.

Although most of the respondents from all classes asserted a long term commitment to the idea of going to college, there was marked variation in the enterprise exhibited with regard to choice of a particular school. Indeed, whereas two-thirds of the Class 1 boys applied to more than one college, and slightly more than two-fifths of the Class 2, 3, and 4 boys made multiple applications, only slightly more than one-tenth of the Class 5 boys did. (Table 6)

To some extent the lack of enterprise displayed by lower status boys in choice of a particular institution may be due to lack of funds. They may have been unable to afford to make applications to colleges where fees are required. On the other hand, this does not seem to suffice as an explanation since over a third of the students from all classes report that they are to be partially self-supporting during their college years. (Table 7) Another line of explanation which we would like to suggest is that lower status boys have neither the opportunity nor the capacity for such active manipulation of educational pathways. The major thrust of their commitment may be expended simply in getting to college, whereas boys of higher status may have both the energy, skill, and available information to attempt to choose a particular college.

Certainly our data contain much that suggest that the milieus from which lower status boys come are far less apt to provide information about college. Fifty-nine percent of the Class 5 youngsters and 33% of the boys from Class 4 report that few or none of their friends are going to college compared with only 8% of the Class 1 boys, and 12% and 17% of the Class 2 and 3 boys respectively. Moreover, by definition upper status boys are more likely to have college educated fathers than are the lower status boys. (Table 8)

Finally, the data suggest that there is a linear relationship between social class origin and (1) actual capacity to cope with unfamiliar soical structures, and (2) subjective feelings of adequacy. Table 9 shows students' responses when we asked why they had received an invitation to Hawthorn College. (All students were sent a descriptive booklet about Hawthorn and a covering letter stating that invitations to Hawthorn were being issued randomly to a proportion of City University applicants) As the table indicates, the lower the class origin the greater the likelihood that the respondent said he did not have any idea why he had been sent an invitation. Only a handful of Class 4 and 5 students were aware that random selection was responsible for their receiving invitations, whereas almost half of the Class 1 boys and about one-quarter of the Class 2 and 3 boys were cognizant of the invitation

## TABLE 6

## DID YOU APPLY TO ANY OTHER SCHOOLS?

| | Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Yes | 67% | 46 | 43 | 44 | 12 |
| No | 33 | 54 | 57 | 56 | 88 |
| Total Per Cent | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N = | 12 | 26 | 46 | 50 | 17 |

$x^2 = 11.42$. p is less that .05 (4df)

## TABLE 7

## HOW ARE YOU PAYING FOR COLLEGE?

| Responses | Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| A Fully supported; or only summer work | 50% | 31 | 39 | 29 | 12 |
| B Fully supported now, expects to work later | -- | 12 | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| C Earns own spending money | 8 | 19 | 15 | 24 | 29 |
| D Pays college, is given board | 42 | 23 | 17 | 29 | 24 |
| E Splits costs with parents | -- | 12 | 17 | 12 | 18 |
| F Completely self-supporting | -- | 4 | 4 | 4 | 12 |
| G Other | -- | -- | 2 | -- | -- |
| Total Per Cent | 100 | 101 | 98 | 100 | 101 |
| N = | 12 | 26 | 46 | 51 | 17 |

A-B against C-F: $x^2 = 4.73$. p is not significant (4 df)

A-E against F, classes 1-4 against 5: $x^2 = 1.42$
p is not significant (1 df)

## TABLE 8

### HOW MANY OF YOUR "GROUP" ARE GOING TO COLLEGE?

| | | Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| A. | All; most; more than half | 83% | 62 | 65 | 43 | 18 |
| B | Few | -- | 12 | 15 | 31 | 47 |
| C | None | 8 | -- | 2 | 2 | 12 |
| | Other | -- | 4 | 4 | 4 | -- |
| | Inappropriate--no group | 8 | 23 | 13 | 20 | 24 |
| | Total Per Cent | 99 | 101 | 99 | 100 | 101 |
| | N = | 12 | 26 | 46 | 51 | 17 |

A against B and C: $x^2 = 18.43$. p is less than .01 (4 df)

## TABLE 9

### HAVE YOU ANY IDEA WHY YOU WERE INVITED TO HAWTHORN?

| | | Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| A | Special characteristics of student | 42% | 23 | 17 | 24 | 18 |
| B | Invitations were sent generally at random | 42 | 23 | 28 | 12 | 6 |
| C | Student doesn't know | 17 | 38 | 37 | 48 | 65 |
| | Other | -- | 15 | 17 | 16 | 12 |
| | Total Per Cent | 101 | 99 | 99 | 100 | 101 |
| | N = | 12 | 26 | 46 | 50 | 17 |

A and B against C: $x^2 = 10.35$. p is less than .05 (4 df) process. Equally interesting is the insight which this table provides about the feelings of self-esteem vis a bis college held by youngsters of differing class origin. Class 1 boys were two times more likely than boys of any other class to say they had been invited to attend Hawthorn because they were especially promising students.

Something of the same pattern emerges when we examine students' perceptions of their high school preparation for college and their expectations about their forthcoming academic performance at Hawthorn. Although it is true that few of the boys from any class see themselves as well prepared, boys of higher class origin are more likely than lower status boys to see themselves either as well prepared or poorly prepared due to external causes, i.e., the inadequacies of their high schools. Thirty-four percent of Class 1 boys and 30% of Class 2 youngsters describe their preparation in these terms as compared with 18% and 6% of Class 4 and 5 boys respectively. By contrast 82% of Class 5 boys blame their deficiences on personal failings, poor grades, poor course choices, and bad work skills as compared with 58% of the Class 1 boys. (Table 10) Similarly, 69% of the Class 1 boys feel that they will be in the top 25% of their Hawthorn class, while only 45% of the Class 5 boys have this expectation. (Table 11) It may well be that Class 4 and 5 boys are correct in these self-assessments, that they are in reality less adequately prepared to cope with college work. How well they actually did perform at Hawthorn we will discuss in future papers. What is clear, however, is that they arrived at college with greater feelings of inadequacy and lower self-esteem.

In sum higher status boys approach college in an active, self-assertive fashion. They apply to more than one school probably with the hope of getting into the preferred college, or possibly with the idea of protecting themselves against admission to none. They arrive more likely to feel that they are well-prepared or at least that their deficiencies are not of their own making, and they assert that they have the ability to outperform the majority of their peers. By contrast as we move down the status hierarchy there is an increasing proportion of boys who display passivity, self-deprecation and constriction in their approach to college. Moreover, these youngsters from lower status origins have fewer environmental supports for initiation into the college world--most of their friends did not go on to college nor were their parents likely to have college experience. Both these environmental and subjective deficits point to the probability that youngsters from lower status origins are more needful of support both at the time of application to college and at the time of initiation into the college world.

## TABLE 10

## IN WHAT WAY DO YOU THINK YOU COULD BE PREPARED FOR COLLEGE?

| | Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Feels well prepared | 17 | 15 | 13 | 4 | -- |
| Reports only poor preparation in high school | 17 | 15 | 13 | 14 | 6 |
| Reports personal deficiencies, bad choices in high school, low skill development as well as bad high school preparation. | 58 | 58 | 61 | 75 | 82 |
| Other | 8 | 11 | 13 | 8 | 12 |
| Total Per Cent | 100 | 99 | 100 | 101 | 100 |
| N = | 12 | 26 | 46 | 51 | 17 |

## TABLE 11

## HOW DO YOU EXPECT YOUR ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE THIS YEAR TO COMPARE WITH OTHERS IN YOUR COLLEGE CLASS?

| | Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Expect to do better than 90% | 23 | 15 | 11 | 4 | 6 |
| Expect to do better than 75%, but not 90% | 46 | 42 | 63 | 48 | 39 |
| Expect to do better that 50%, but not 75% | 23 | 35 | 27 | 42 | 44 |
| Expect to do better than 25%, but not 50% | -- | -- | -- | 2 | 11 |
| Expect to do better than 10% but not 25% | -- | 4 | -- | 4 | -- |
| Other | 8 | 4 | -- | -- | -- |
| Total Per Cent | 100 | 100 | 101 | 100 | 100 |
| N = | 13 | 26 | 44 | 48 | 18 |

## Attitudes Toward College and the Future

In this section we will describe some of the attitudes which respondents have about their college careers and some of the hopes and expectations they have about the post-college years. The most striking thing about these data is the relative impoverishment and lack of differentiation in the students' conceptions about what they will get from college and what the post-college years will bring. When asked questions such as "What do want your life to be like five years from now?" most had only vague, attenuated generalizations with which to respond.

The other element of surprise in the data to be presented is the lack of social class differences. Except for the Class 5 youngsters for the most part we find the attitudes expressed quite homogeneous. This finding accords with that of McConnell and Heist (11) that a "'national norm' of attitudes and values seems to prevail across the gamut of colleges and universities." Speculatively, we would like to suggest that the existence of the common attitudinal perspectives, which we will describe in this section, are a minimum requirement for lower status students if they are to use higher education as a mobility channel. In a subsequent paper making use of our longitudinal data we will attempt to test the foregoing proposition.

The majority of students we talked with felt privileged and enthusiastic about being part of the first group to attend Hawthorn College. Anxieties expressed about Hawthorn's newness are not class related. (Table 12) This is not to suggest that they did not have some worries and concern about how they would fare at Hawthorn. As might be expected, these youngsters are concerned that they do well in school, and this concern is relatively unrelated to class origins. It seems to be a slightly more pervasive concern among students from Classes 2, 3, and 4 than youngsters from Classes 1 and 5, but even in the latter groups about one-third mention this problem. Thus we can say that regardless of the differential anxiety which exists about adequacy of preparation for college, there seems to be a relatively equivalent level of motivation to do well. Boys from Classes 1 and 5 are more likely to express concern abuut the workload in college than are students from other classes. (Table 13) This is perhaps not so surprising in the Class 5 boys, since they are also the most likely group to express financial worries. These Class 5 youngsters may well be troubled by the problem of keeping up with their class work given the kind of job commitments they may have to maintain. Why it is that the Class 1 boys are worried about the workload is more questionable, and we find no ready answer to this in our data.

We asked these youngsters whether they expected to have fun at college. Three-quarters answered affirmatively. Analysis of the reasons given for this expectation sheds additional light on the

TABLE 12

WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT BEING PART OF THE FIRST GROUP TO GO THROUGH HAWTHORN?

| | Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Like the newness; the challenge; being first; autonomy | 42 | 39 | 54 | 56 | 59 |
| Feel good | -- | 35 | 22 | 40 | 24 |
| Feel privileged | 58 | 42 | 41 | 26 | 53 |
| Positive other reasons | 0 | 16 | 9 | 6 | 6 |
| Negative reactions; will be a guinea pig, be experimented on | 41 | 19 | 30 | 33 | 41 |
| Indifferent, don't know | 17 | 4 | 9 | 12 | 12 |
| No second, or third response | 158 | 146 | 116 | 124 | 106 |
| | @ | @ | @ | @ | @ |
| N = | 12 | 26 | 46 | 50 | 17 |

@ Responses do not add to 100% as most respondents gave more than one response.

deviant character of the attitudes of Class 5 students. The reason for enjoyment mentioned most often by boys from every class was, as we might expect, the social context and the friendships they would form. The explanation given second most often by boys from Classes 1, 2, 3, and 4 was the pleasure they expected to derive from learning and taking courses. Class 5 boys were slightly less likely to say this and slightly more likely to feel the need to resist the idea of enjoying themselves at college by saying they did not expect to have fun because they would have to take their courses seriously. (Table 14) These differences are not significant but they are suggestive of the burdens which Class 5 boys experience in the mobility effort.

Another question we asked was "What do you hope to get from college?". Again the inter-class differences in response are negligible, although we suspect they may have some potential significance for the analysis of the "outcome" data from the longitudinal study. We find that the most frequent reply regardless of the class is that boys expect to get an education which will prepare them for a job or a profession. Almost every Class 5 boy expressed this expectation compared with about one-half to

## TABLE 13

## WHAT THINGS ARE YOU MOST CONCERNED ABOUT IN COMING TO COLLEGE?

| | Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Doing well in school | 33% | 46 | 54 | 46 | 29 |
| The work load | 41 | 4 | 22 | 20 | 47 |
| Concerns about a specific field | -- | 8 | 2 | 6 | -- |
| Personal development; getting the most out of college | 17 | 8 | 13 | 12 | 6 |
| Social adjustment | 17 | 19 | 4 | 20 | 12 |
| Relations with teachers | -- | 4 | 6 | 4 | 12 |
| Finances | -- | 15 | 11 | 18 | 41 |
| Others | 41 | 23 | 28 | 22 | 24 |
| N[1] = | 12 | 26 | 46 | 50 | 17 |

[1] Does not add to 100% as some respondents gave more than one response.

## TABLE 14

## DO YOU EXPECT TO HAVE A GOOD TIME AT HAWTHORN? WHY?

| | Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Social climate | 41% | 46 | 47 | 48 | 29 |
| Close relationships with other students | 8 | 27 | 15 | 18 | 18 |
| Novelty of college; newness of Hawthorn | -- | 12 | 9 | 10 | -- |
| Depends on yourself | 8 | -- | 6 | 10 | 12 |
| Expects to enjoy learning and courses | 33 | 35 | 39 | 38 | 24 |
| Does not expect to have a good time; serious about courses | 17 | 19 | 13 | 14 | 29 |
| Other | 17 | 12 | 17 | 4 | 12 |
| N[1] = | 12 | 26 | 46 | 50 | 17 |

Percentages do not add to 100% as some respondents gave more than one response.

slightly more than four-fifths of boys from other classes. Class 5 boys were considerably less likely to say that they hope to gain intellectual skills or intellectual breadth. (Table 15) The boys most likely to express an interest in intellectual attainment were from Classes 3 and 4. Thus the data indicate that boys at the lowest end of the social status hierarchy are most likely to view college in an instrumental fashion, whereas boys who are just one and two steps above them in social origin have more likelihood of regarding college both as an enjoyable experience and an intellectually broadening one.

TABLE 15

WHAT DO YOU HOPE TO GET FROM COLLEGE?

| | Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Education | 67% | 54 | 39 | 54 | 35 |
| Education for job or profession | 83 | 65 | 63 | 56 | 95 |
| Personal development, values, maturity | 17 | 23 | 13 | 24 | 18 |
| Intellectual skill and broadening | 33 | 31 | 43 | 42 | 6 |
| Social ease | 17 | 23 | 16 | 18 | 35 |
| Others | 25 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 6 |
| $N^1$ = | 12 | 26 | 46 | 50 | 17 |

[1] Percentages do not add to 100% as some respondents gave more than one response.

In response to the question "Will you stay at college to complete your B.A.?", the majority answered affirmatively. Boys from Classes 1 and 5 were slightly more likely to express doubt than youngsters from Classes 2, 3, and 4, but these differences in initial aspiration were very slight indeed. (Table 16)

How do these youngsters envision their lives one year after graduation? Here we find variation which has a nearly linear relationship to social class origin. The lower the class origins of the boy, the more likely he is to picture his initial post-college years in settled terms. Sixty-six per cent of the Class 5 boys and 54% of the Class 4's see themselves five years from the time of interviewing as married with a home and possessions. Fifteen per cent and 12% of Class 1 and 2 boys respectively presented a similar picture. It appears that working class students do not conceive of the twenties as a period of moratorium and further decision making, rather they plan to make permanent commitments at the end of their college years. By contrast Class 1 boys are likely to envision no changes in their lives five years hence. After graduation, as now, they expect to be living at home, single, leading the same kind of life and continuing in school. It is not that Class 5 youngsters do not conceive of future schooling for whereas 69% of the Class 1 boys speak of future schooling so do 53% of the Class 5 boys. (Table 17)

TABLE 16

DO YOU THINK YOU YOURSELF WILL STAY TO COMPLETE YOUR B.A.?

| | (Males) Class 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yes | 58% | 50 | 67 | 62 | 41 |
| Yes, determined to finish | 17 | 35 | 20 | 35 | 29 |
| Depends, don't know | 25 | 15 | 13 | 4 | 29 |
| Total Per Cent | 100 | 100 | 100 | 101 | 99 |
| N = | 12 | 26 | 46 | 50 | 17 |

What of twenty years from the time of interviewing, how do these youngsters envision their lives during their late thirties and early forties? Again marriage, the family, possessions, and security are important, but now these aspirations are largely unrelated to class. Almost equal numbers of boys from lower and higher social status origins share these expectations for themselves. What does differ is the emphasis on personal happiness among the Class 1 boys which is not exhibited with equal frequency by the boys of other classes. Moving away from the expectations that these youngsters enumerate, let us consider what they fail to mention. As Table 18 indicates, less than one in ten of the boys we interviewed indicated the hope that he will make a social contribution or participate in an activity salient to the wider society. Boys attending Hawthorn seem to share, regardless of social class, a highly private view of the future. It is, we feel, important and noteworthy, that at entry to college, a time which is presumed to be the most idealistic and open period of development, so few of these youngsters have a vision which includes social contribution.

## TABLE 17

### THINKING OF HOW YOU WANT YOUR LIFE TO BE FIVE YEARS FROM NOW, HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE IT?

| | Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Marriage, home, possessions | 17% | 12 | 37 | 51 | 65 |
| Future schooling | 69 | 73 | 67 | 43 | 53 |
| Personal development | 25 | 12 | 6 | 8 | 6 |
| Independence | 17 | 15 | 6 | 16 | 18 |
| Emphasis on occupation | 17 | 35 | 35 | 57 | 35 |
| Same as now (living at home, etc.) | 33 | 15 | 22 | 12 | 18 |
| Will be though college | 8 | -- | 4 | 8 | 0 |
| Happy, travelling | 17 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 12 |
| Other | 8 | 12 | -- | 15 | 12 |
| No second, or third response | 91 | 123 | 115 | 82 | 82 |
| $N^1$ = | 12 | 26 | 46 | 51 | 17 |

[1] Percentages add to more than 100% as some respondents gave more than one response.

## TABLE 18

### HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE WHAT YOU WANT YOUR LIFE TO BE LIKE, TWENTY YEARS FROM NOW?

| | Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Marriage and family | 50% | 81 | 72 | 61 | 60 |
| Money and security | 41 | 50 | 63 | 51 | 71 |
| Emphasis on occupation | 67 | 77 | 80 | 59 | 76 |
| Social contribution and activity | -- | 8 | 13 | 6 | -- |
| Personal development | 41 | 27 | 15 | 40 | 18 |
| No second, or third response | 75 | 54 | 44 | 67 | 60 |
| Don't know | 8 | -- | 6 | 4 | 6 |
| Not ascertained | 17 | 4 | 13 | 12 | 6 |
| $N^1$ = | 12 | 26 | 46 | 51 | 17 |

[1] Percentages don't add to 100% as some respondents gave more than one responce.

Another important sphere of student views is their expectations regarding the characteristcs of university professors. A weak class relationship obtains between emphasis upon the intellectual capacities of the professor and social class, with Class 3, 4, anx 5 students placing slightly more emphasis upon professors' intellectual skills. (Table 19) Since we perceive the relationship with the college faculty as having considerable importance for the mobility process, it is encouraging that our youngsters of lower social class origin spontaneously refer to the intellectual characteristics of their future professors in favorable ways. This suggests that despite the vocational emphasis of lower status youngsters, they do have an openness to the broader opportunities available in the college experience.

## Contrasts between Boys and Girls in Peer Group Orientation

We have seen that attitudes and expectations toward college of the boys under study tend to be limited and undifferentiated. In addition they are characterized by a lack of investment in reading as a leisure activity. (Table 20) The modal student comes from a less educated home. At the beginning of college many of these lower status youth report the expectation that they are leaving behind their former friends, and hope to make new ties in college. These data raise questions about whether the peer group and the peer climate within such non-residential universities can provide sufficient diversity among the students for peer culture to have a leavening educational quality.

TABLE 19

WHAT KIND OF PERSON DO YOU THINK BECOMES A UNIVERSITY TEACHER?

| | Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Positive intellectual characteristics | 41% | 46 | 65 | 51 | 65 |
| Teaching skills and interest | 41 | 69 | 48 | 47 | 47 |
| Positive non-intellectual characteristics | 58 | 27 | 50 | 37 | 53 |
| Negative characteristics | 8 | 8 | 9 | 16 | 18 |
| Other | 25 | 4 | 9 | 14 | -- |
| N[1] = | 12 | 26 | 46 | 51 | 17 |

[1] Percentages do not add to 100% as some respondents gave more than one response.

## TABLE 20

## WHAT DO YOU DO MOST OFTEN WHEN YOU JUST WANT TO RELAX AND HAVE FUN?

| | | Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| A | Reading only activity | -- | 8% | 4 | 4 | -- |
| B | Reading and other activities listed | 50 | 15 | 33 | 24 | 12 |
| C | Reading is not listed | 50 | 73 | 61 | 71 | 88 |
| | Not ascertained | -- | 4 | 2 | 2 | -- |
| | Total Per Cent | 100 | 100 | 100 | 101 | 100 |
| | N = | 12 | 26 | 46 | 51 | 17 |

A and B against C: $x^2 = 5.97$. p is not significant (4 df)

To explore what the peer group can offer to these male students this section will contrast briefly their peer group orientations with that of the girls, who entered with them.

Douvan and Kaye (8), using a nationwide high school sample, found that boys and girls differ in their expectations regarding college. For boys, college was found to relate to vocational aspirations and the securing of autonomy; while college investments for girls were more involved with the playing out within the college environment of fantasies related to social and feminine development. Our data permit us to examine this finding further in a group of lower status college entrants.

Though the social class distribution on the Hollingshead-Redlich Index is similar among girls and boys, both sexes having a substantially higher proportion of Class 3, 4, and 5 entrants, fewer girls than boys are in the entering class. Meaningful differences do occur, however, in the type of high schools from which the boys come in contrast to that of the girls. While for boys social class has a significant linear relationship with their reporting that a higher percentage of their high school class is bound for college, this relationship does not obtain for the girls. (Table 21) Class 2 and 3 and 4 boys are more likely than their female counterparts to come from high schools with high proportions of college bound students. This finding is difficult to interpret as it may be artifact due to the small numbers of cases in our sample.

TABLE 21

APPROXIMATELY WHAT PERCENTAGE OF YOUR HIGH SCHOOL CLASS ARE GOING ON TO COLLEGE?

| | | (Boys) Class | | | | | (Girls) Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| A | Student reports over 50% are going on | 85% | 61 | 59 | 42 | 17 | 60% | 21 | 29 | 30 | 31 |
| B | Student reports 50% fewer are going on | 8 | 31 | 32 | 52 | 83 | 20 | 71 | 59 | 48 | 50 |
| | Don't know or not ascertained or inappropriate | 8 | 8 | 9 | 6 | -- | 20 | 7 | 12 | 21 | 19 |
| | Total Per Cent | 101 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 99 | 100 | 99 | 100 |
| | N = | 13 | 26 | 44 | 48 | 18 | 10 | 14 | 34 | 33 | 16 |

(Boys) A against B: $x^2 = 20.93$. p is less than .01 (4df)

(Girls) A against B: $x^2 - 6.89$. p is not significant (4 df)

Despite less opportunity for socialization within the high school setting to college values than the boys, the Class 3 and Class 4 girls in accordance with the findings of Douvan and Kaye, do have more interest in the social and interpersonal aspects of college. When asked what they hope to get from college, they are slightly less interested in the educational and vocational aspects of college, and markedly more interested in developing socially. (Table 22) They also have somewhat more concern with meeting people, and being trained to help others in college.

Class 5 girls, however, present a different picture. In contrast to Class 5 boys, they have markedly less vocational interest in college, and place stronger emphases on intellectual

## TABLE 22

## WHAT DO YOU HOPE TO GET FROM COLLEGE?

|  | (Boys) Class |  |  |  |  | (Girls) Class |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Education | 67% | 54 | 39 | 54 | 35 | 46 | 36 | 21 | 49 | 50 |
| Education for job or profession | 83 | 65 | 63 | 56 | 95 | 46 | 71 | 55 | 51 | 44 |
| Personal development, values, maturity | 17 | 23 | 13 | 24 | 18 | 15 | 43 | 36 | 11 | 31 |
| Intellectual skills, broadening | 33 | 31 | 43 | 42 | 6 | 31 | 58 | 34 | 40 | 44 |
| Social ease | 17 | 23 | 16 | 18 | 35 | 54 | 29 | 48 | 40 | 25 |
| Others | 25 | .8 | 11 | 10 | .6 | 8 | 7 | 17 | 20 | 31 |
| N[1] | 12 | 26 | 46 | 50 | 17 | 13 | 14 | 29 | 35 | 16 |

[1] Percentages do not add to 100% as some respondents gave more than one response.

development. In contrast to Class 3 and 4 girls, they manifest somewhat less interest in social development in response to being asked what they want from college.

When however, we examine responses of both boys and girls to the question "Do you expect to have fun at Hawthorn?" (Table 23), the responses of Class 5 girls are inconsistent with their response to the question about what they hope to get out of college. Class 3, 4, 5 boys and Class 3 and 4 girls present reactions consistent with the former question. Class 3 and 4 girls are more likely to mention social aspects of college than Class 3, 4, or 5 boys. Class 3, 4, and 5 boys focus more strongly on their courses as their referent in replying to this question. However, Class 3 and 4 boys expect them to be fun, while more Class 5 boys expect their college enjoyment to be limited by courses. The inconsistency of Class 5 girls lies in the fact that in this question they stress strongly their social hopes regarding college. They make no spontaneous mention of intellectual aspirations. Many fewer Class 5 girls spontaneously mention expection to enjoy their courses in response to the question than do Class 3 and 4 girls.

TABLE 23

DO YOU EXPECT TO HAVE FUN AT HAWTHORN? WHY?

| | (Boys) Class | | | | | (Girls) Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Social climate | 41% | 46 | 47 | 48 | 29 | 105 | 57 | 44 | 74 | 72 |
| Close relationships with other students | 8 | 27 | 15 | 18 | 18 | 9 | 24 | 62 | 39 | 29 |
| Novelty of college; newness of Hawthord | -- | 12 | 9 | 10 | -- | 0 | 9 | 4 | 4 | 14 |
| Expects to enjoy learning and courses | 33 | 35 | 39 | 38 | 24 | 35 | 33 | 36 | 35 | 14 |
| Depends on yourself | 8 | -- | 6 | 10 | 12 | -- | 16 | 4 | 8 | 22 |
| Does not expect to have a good time; serious about courses | 17 | 19 | 13 | 14 | 29 | -- | 14 | 6 | 17 | 6 |
| Other | 17 | 12 | 17 | 4 | 12 | -- | 16 | 9 | 4 | 7 |
| $N^1$ = | 12 | 26 | 46 | 50 | 17 | 13 | 14 | 28 | 34 | 16 |

[1] Percentages do not add to 100% as some respondents gave more than one response.

One possible interpretation is that Class 5 girls are more likely to have a dual motivation in college attendance than Class 5 boys, and hope to gain social pleasures as well as intellectual development. Their strong interest in pleasure in comparison to Class 5 boys when asked about fun at college may also reflect such factors as more advanced social maturation, or less need to control impulses and wishes for play and pleasure in the service of attaining social mobility. However, another hypotheses to be considered is that Class 5 girls, in contrast to Class 5 boys, have more inconsistent motivations, and greater conflict regarding their college aims. This may then be reflected in inconsistent responses to the stimulus of the interview questions.

Boys and girls were asked in a fixed alternative item in the demographic questionnaire to check how well they expected to do academically in relation to their peers. We feel that checking a questionnaire privately as contrasted to the interpersonal situation of the interview encourages expression of fantasy aspirations. As would be expected, lower status boys express more commitment to doing well in competition with their peers for academic rewards than do lower status girls. (Table 24)

TABLE 24

HOW DO YOU EXPECT YOUR ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE TO COMPARE WITH OTHERS IN YOUR COLLEGE CLASS?

| | (Boys) Class | | | | | (Girls) Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Students checking "I'll do better than 75% of the class:" or "I'll do better than 90% of the class." | 77 | 57 | 73 | 54 | 45 | 60 | 43 | 50 | 31 | 37 |
| Students checking statements that they will do "better than 50% of the class" or less. | 23 | 43 | 27 | 46 | 56 | 40 | 57 | 50 | 68 | 62 |
| Total Per Cent | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 101 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 99 | 99 |
| N = | 13 | 26 | 44 | 48 | 18 | 10 | 14 | 34 | 33 | 16 |

However, in the same questionnaire, when asked about how they want a small class conducted, lower status girls express greater interest in having it conducted with classroom participation than did lower status boys. (Table 25) Thus we see that though less competitive academically than the boys, lower status girls express a greater interest in having a situation in which they can actively participate than do the boys.

To summarize, we see that lower status girls start with stronger interests in the social climate and interpersonal aspects of the college institution. They are also less competitive than lower status boys, and have somewhat more interest in classroom participation. This may result in their having less anxiety, and more freedom for exploration in the new college setting.

## TABLE 25

## IF YOU WERE IN A COLLEGE CLASS OF ABOUT FORTY--FIFTY STUDENTS, HOW WOULD YOU WANT IT CONDUCTED?

| | (Boys) Class | | | | | (Girls) Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Instructor does most of the talking | 54% | 65 | 70 | 75 | 67 | 50% | 57 | 50 | 55 | 62 |
| Discussion among students takes up most of the time | 46 | 35 | 30 | 25 | 33 | 50 | 43 | 50 | 45 | 37 |
| Total Per Cent | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 99 |
| N = | 13 | 26 | 44 | 48 | 18 | 10 | 13 | 34 | 32 | 16 |

Finally, let us look at what lower status girls and lower status boys report was rewarded in their social group in high school. Youngsters were first asked about their group membership, and then about the sorts of things which would raise someone's standing in the group. (Table 26) No sex contrast appears in Class 1 and 2, where approximately half of the youngsters give achievement related responses such as scholarship or leadership. Emphases on group rewarded achievement continues to characterize approximately half of the lower status girls, in marked contrast to the lower status boys. Reports of group rewarded achievement are only somewhat lower for Class 3 boys than Class 3 girls (53% girls; 42% boys); but they are markedly lower for Class 4 and 5 boys than Class 4 and 5 girls (47%, Class 4 girls; 15%, Class 4 boys; 62%, Class 5 girls; 11%, Class 5 boys).

These data suggest that Class 4 and 5 boys may have more adaptation difficulties within the social milieu of the college. Girls from the lowest social groups expect to have their academic achievement rewarded by peers while lower status boys do not. Girls are more oriented toward sociability, and may invest more in the college community. These data suggest that lower status boys are likely to be in a more passive situation in relation to lower status girls, who seem to feel more freedom to compete and participate, and have greater social investments.

### TABLE 26

### WHAT SORT OF THING WOULD RAISE SOMEONE'S STANDING IN THIS GROUP?

| | (Boys) Class | | | | | (Girls) Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Achievement: scholastic, general, leadership | 58% | 46 | 43 | 12 | 12 | 54 | 43 | 53 | 47 | 62 |
| Social behavior: dating clothes, cars | -- | 4 | 22 | 14 | 6 | 8 | -- | 13 | 9 | 6 |
| Achievement in the arts | -- | -- | 4 | 6 | -- | 8 | -- | 7 | -- | 6 |
| Accomplishment in sports | -- | 4 | 22 | 14 | 6 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| Being a good friend; being a good person | -- | 12 | 4 | 14 | 24 | 8 | 29 | 21 | 18 | 6 |
| All are equal in our group | 16 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 6 | 31 | 36 | 15 | 12 | 12 |
| Don't know | -- | 15 | 7 | 4 | -- | -- | -- | 7 | 18 | 12 |
| Respondent has no group | 8 | 23 | 13 | 20 | 24 | 8 | 7 | 10 | 15 | 19 |
| $N^1$ = | 12 | 26 | 46 | 51 | 17 | 13 | 14 | 29 | 34 | 16 |

[1] Responses do not add to 100% as some respondents gave more than one response.

## Relationship with Parents

Styles of relationship to authority and forms of handling dependence, are central issues which boys must resolve and integrate in passing from adolescence to adult status. Freud has shown how deeply repetitive are the patterns of deference, assertion, and autonomy which a boy learns in relation to his father, and how they are then generalized toward other men in authority. Recently, Erickson's work has placed emphasis on adolescence as the era of final resolutions of identity conceptions, and has suggested that this is the final life stage at which a ready potential exists for the formation of new identification, setting new aspirations. (12) In a theoretical paper on the teacher as model, Adelson suggests that the use of the college faculty member by his students as a model is a rare phenomena in the typical college. (13)

Our data have shown that the male Hawthorn College student wishes mobility and job achievement through his college attendance. However, as we have seen the typical other student to whom he may turn for peer group models comes from his own background, either a lower-middle class background or an upper-lower class background. In addition, almost all Hawthorn students will continue to live at home, which is typical for college students from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Thus, continued close association with parental life styles will characterize these students' college experience.

Our data have shown that our lower status students have had little capacity to choose a college or to assess their own needs in relation to the college. It is our hypothesis that the socially mobile student from Class 3, 4, or 5, differs from the non-mobile student in that parental relations and identifications have been less adequate in presenting him with conceptions for his future life style. To be mobile during high school and college years, such a student must attain sufficient separation from his ties with his parents to enable him to establish new aspirations, new life styles, and new techniques for managing his day to day relationships. Certainly, the enduring deep affective quality of the parental relationship which these students continue to experience as they attend college increases the demand and conflict which they will feel in attempting this task in college.

In this section, we will show that, (1) students' conceptions of the parent relationship vary with socio-economic status, and (2) students from lower socio-economic status have conscious desires to seek out other life styles for themselves, but tend to be undifferentiated and unclear regarding these.

A desire to emulate the life style and interpersonal model offered by one's parents provides a framework of stability and security for the late adolescence. Young men can use the model set by their parents in order to establish goals and to resolve issues of dependency. Indeed, Table 27 shows that Class 1 and 2 boys have strong commitments toward achieving a life similar to their parents. The desire to emulate one's parents diminishes sharply in Class 3, 4 and 5. These boys wish to achieve more and have more security than their parents. However, the minimal emphasis placed in their responses to this question on achieving more richness in life or differences in style of work is noteworthy. It suggests that when lower status boys begin college, their ideals and expectations regarding their future life commitments are focused narrowly upon the achievement of status and security.

Some assessment of parental contributions can be made from student answers to the open ended interview questions "What do your parents expect of you?". (Table 28)

## TABLE 27

## IS WHAT YOU WANT OUT OF LIFE DIFFERENT FROM YOUR PARENTS LIFE, OR PRETTY MUCH THE SAME?

| | Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Different From Parents | | | | | |
| Achieve more | -- | 23% | 35 | 35 | 47 |
| More security | 25 | 8 | 15 | 14 | 29 |
| Difference in kind of work | 8 | 8 | 2 | 12 | 12 |
| Fuller, richer life | -- | 15 | 15 | 12 | 6 |
| More education | -- | 4 | 22 | 20 | 29 |
| Same as Parents | 141 | 127 | 85 | 55 | 47 |
| Other Responses | 8 | 23 | 15 | 20 | 0 |
| $N^1$ = | 12 | 26 | 40 | 51 | 17 |

[1] Percentages do not add to 100% as some respondents gave more than one response.

## TABLE 28

## WHAT DO YOUR PARENTS EXPECT OF YOU?

| | Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Give maximum performance | 25% | 23 | 17 | 18 | 24 |
| Be successful, get good grades | 25 | 46 | 28 | 34 | 42 |
| Get education, enter a specific field | 34 | 31 | 43 | 34 | 47 |
| Character development | 25 | 4 | 35 | 26 | 12 |
| Develop intellectually, enter a satisfying field, happiness | 24 | 32 | 12 | 12 | 0 |
| Other | 8 | 19 | 13 | 24 | 6 |
| $N^1$ = | 12 | 26 | 16 | 51 | 17 |

[1] Percentages do not add to 100% as some respondents gave more than one response.

Responses to such a question represent, of course, the students' perception and feelings about parental expectations rather than an independent measure of parental demands. It is interesting, how sharply male students focus their view of parental expectations around achievement and performance. As might be expected, this is particularly marked in Class 5 boys, who seem to share with their parents the view that what is crucial in college is achievement, getting good grades and finishing. In contrast, one out of four Class 1 and 2 boys report that their parents want them to have happiness, enter a gratifying field or develop intellectually. One out of four of the boys from Class 3 and 4 report that their parents expect further character developement.

Though Class 3, 4, and 5 boys are more likely than Class 1 and 2 boys to feel that their parents do not have a complete understanding of what they want out of life, the majority of boys from all classes feel their parents understand what they want for themselves. (Table 29) It is our view that the ideals and expectations of the lower status boy upon beginning college tend to be relatively undifferentiated and undeveloped. His views of what he wishes for himself are undifferentiated enough so that he shares them with his parent with minimal conflict. As we saw earlier, reading has not been an important activity for these

TABLE 29

DO YOUR PARENTS UNDERSTAND WHAT YOU WANT OUT OF LIFE?

| | Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Yes | 75% | 69 | 63 | 55 | 71 |
| Yes, qualified | 8 | 4 | 15 | 12 | -- |
| No | 8 | 8 | 13 | 18 | 29 |
| Doesn't know what he wants | 8 | 12 | 4 | 10 | -- |
| Other | -- | 8 | 4 | 6 | -- |
| Total Per Cent | 99 | 101 | 99 | 101 | 100 |
| N = | 12 | 26 | 46 | 51 | 17 |

young men. To put it succinctly, they wish to be educated; their parents wish them to be educated, but they have little capacity to actively design their own educational future when beginning school.

These data pose the issue of whether the experiencing of significant change in aspiration, character organization and intellectual grasp through the college experience must involve change in the character of our students' ties with their parents. In the balance of this section on relationships with parents, we will look at the class differences in student interaction patterns with their parents with the aim of exploring the extent to which their relationships with parents seem capable of absorbing under the parental roof conflicts and tensions associated with growth and development in the student.

In Table 30, we see that three out of four male students feel that they are living according to parental rules, though some feel they have areas of independence. Students of lower socio-economic origin are somewhat more likely to report that they are "on their own", but this is not pervasive. (Table 30)

TABLE 30

DO YOU FEEL YOU ARE LIVING PRETTY MUCH ACCORDING TO YOUR FAMILY'S RULES, OR ARE YOU ON YOUR OWN?

| | | Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| A | Family's rules | 50% | 50 | 50 | 39 | 53 |
| B | My rules and family rules | 17 | 8 | 2 | 4 | 6 |
| C | Respondent has areas of dependence and independence | 8 | 23 | 17 | 27 | 6 |
| D | On his own | 17 | 15 | 24 | 24 | 35 |
| E | Other | 8 | 4 | 7 | 6 | -- |
| | Total Per Cent | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| | N = | 12 | 26 | 46 | 51 | 17 |

A, B, C against D, $x^2 = 2.46$. p is not significant (4 df)

Male students also feel close to their families. The majority of all students report that they discuss personal problems with either their friends or parents and friends. (Table 31) A minority of Class 4 and 5 students are somewhat more likely to turn to their friends or to talk to neither friends or parents.

When the tie of the male student to his family is examined more closely an interesting trend is manifest. (Table 32) The higher the socio-economic origin the more likely the boy is to talk to both his parents or his father. The lower the socio-economic class the more likely the boy is to talk with either parent.

Student reports on what happens when disagreements occur with their parents do show a trend differing with socio-economic origin. Lower social status youngsters tend to say that their parents will be authoritarian and that they experience some disruption of their ties with them. (Table 33) A minority of the Class 3, 4, and 5 boys report that their parents tend to prevail, but they do make efforts to convince them. The higher the social class, the more likely the boy is to report that his parents understand or compromise in times of disagreement.

TABLE 31

DO YOU DISCUSS PERSONAL PROBLEMS MOSTLY WITH YOUR PARENTS, YOUR FRIENDS, WITH BOTH, OR WITH NEITHER?

| | | Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| A | Parents | 50% | 23 | 30 | 33 | 29 |
| B | Friends | 8 | 23 | 7 | 27 | 6 |
| C | Both | 25 | 35 | 50 | 29 | 41 |
| D | Neither | 8 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 24 |
| | Other | 8 | 12 | 2 | -- | -- |
| | Total Per Cent | 99 | 101 | 100 | 99 | 100 |
| | N = | 12 | 26 | 46 | 51 | 17 |

A, B, C against D: $x^2 = 3.41$. p is not significant (4 df)

## TABLE 32

### WHICH PARENT DO YOU CHIEFLY TALK WITH?

| | | Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| A | Mother | 33% | 23 | 43 | 53 | 47 |
| B | Father | 25 | 23 | 13 | 16 | 18 |
| C | Both | 25 | 23 | 22 | 2 | 6 |
| D | Don't talk to them | 8 | 31 | 20 | 29 | 29 |
| | Other | 8 | -- | 2 | -- | -- |
| | Total Per Cent | 99 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| | N = | 12 | 26 | 46 | 51 | 17 |

A, B, D against C: $x^2 = 5.03$. p is not significant (4 df)

## TABLE 33

### WHAT DO YOU DO IF YOU AND YOUR PARENTS DISAGREE?

| | | Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| A | Parents authoritarian, ties disrupted | 17% | 31 | 43 | 49 | 47 |
| B | Parents tend to prevail | 17 | 8 | 22 | 14 | 29 |
| C | Understanding or Compromising | 67 | 69 | 57 | 45 | 41 |
| | Other | 8 | 12 | 6 | 18 | 18 |
| | No second response | 92 | 81 | 72 | 75 | 65 |
| | N = | 12@ | 26@ | 46@ | 51@ | 17@ |

@Totals do not add to 100 per multiple response.

A and B against C, $x^2 = 2.59$. p is not significant (4 df)

These data regarding boys' responses to their parents suggest that a high proportion of our working class students will expect to relate to authority in a submissive and acceptant fashion. It is our view that this has considerable implications for the character of the relationships they will be able to form in the college and university. Faculty members and administrators are after all figures of authority to them. We wonder how capable of intellectual controversy will these young men be, who are used to authoritarian resolutions of disagreements with their parents? What will their capacity be for formulating new and original problem definitions?

More insight into this problem is gained by responses to the question, "How much does disagreement with your parent upset you?". Table 34 suggests that all except a minority of boys feel able to tolerate disagreement with their parents without experiencing strong guilt or anger. Another aspect of the relationship between handling of aggression and social class can be seen in Table 35 which deals with boys' reports regarding the level of parental conflict. Table 35 indicates that parental conflict shows a tendency to increase as socio-economic status of the boys decrease. Several interpretations are possible. One the one hand, parental conflict may be expressed more openly and more affectively and thus be more accessible to observation in the family. Or, there may be less guilt about awareness of parental conflict and therefore, more willingness on the part

TABLE 34

HOW MUCH DOES A DISAGREEMENT WITH YOUR PARENTS UPSET YOU?

| | Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Seriously upset and angry | -- | 15% | 11 | 12 | 24 |
| Seriously upset and guilty | 17 | 4 | 2 | -- | -- |
| Some; not much, not serious | 25 | 46 | 48 | 51 | 46 |
| Depends | 17 | 12 | 17 | 22 | 18 |
| Not at all | 42 | 23 | 15 | 14 | 12 |
| Other | -- | -- | 7 | 2 | -- |
| Total Per Cent | 101 | 100 | 100 | 101 | 100 |
| N = | 12 | 26 | 46 | 51 | 17 |

## TABLE 35

### HOW MUCH CONFLICT IS THERE BETWEEN YOUR PARENTS?

| | | Class | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| A | Very Much | -- | 4% | 10 | -- | 6 |
| B | Much | -- | -- | -- | 10 | -- |
| C | Some | 8 | 16 | 14 | 19 | 39 |
| D | Little | 15 | 12 | 21 | 17 | 11 |
| E | Very little | 69 | 68 | 55 | 50 | 44 |
| | Other | 8 | -- | -- | 4 | -- |
| | Total Percent | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| | N = | 13 | 25 | 42 | 48 | 18 |

A, B, and C against D and E: $x^2 = 6.03$. p is not significant (4df)

By binomial, Class 5 conflict is significantly higher. p is less than .10

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of our subjects to report it. Finally, one might accept these reports as given and conclude that more parental conflict does exist in the families. These students are from lower socio-economic strata. For our purposes distinguishing among these interpretations is not crucial. Rather, we consider these data to be a favorable indicator of the lower status students' capacity to tolerate awareness of conflict with authority, and to be able to talk about it.

In summary, let us contrast the orientation toward their parent of Hawthorn boys from upper socio-economic origins with those from lower socio-economic origins. It appears that the higher the status the more likely the boy is to wish to emulate his father's life patterns, and to experience disagreement with his parents as resolvable with minimal psychological discomfort within his relationship with his parent. The lower the socio-economic status of the boy, the less likely he is to see his father as a source of identification, the more likely he is to feel close to his mother, and the more likely he is to perceive his relationship with his parents that of an authoritarian submission. These findings point to the need of the lower status youth to find other sources of identification, to provide them with new patterns for the resolution of disagreement and conflict other than alienation or knuckling under. We hypothesize that this is relevant to integrating an evaluative stance in learning. It is our view that those lower status boys who manifest a capacity to tolerate disagreement with their parents, and to tolerate awareness of conflict between their parents will be more likely to manifest a capacity to integrate new learnings.

# SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

One hundred and fifty-two boys entering a large non-residential university were scored on the Hollingshead-Redlich Social Class Index, which was then related to responses to interviews and questionnaires on method of college selection, attitudes toward college, and parental and peer relationships.

In accordance with the findings of other investigators, family support and encouragement is the dominant influence leading to college entrance regardless of social class, but the extended family gives more support to the lower class youth. Application to more than one college is significantly related to social status, and lower status youth show less awareness of why they received invitations to the experimental college under study.

As compared to boys from higher status families, lower status youth are less likely to feel adequately prepared for college, significantly less likely to come from a high school where a high proportion of the students were college bound, and turn minimally to reading as a leisure activity. There is a tendency for them to plan not to continue former friendships.

Shared attitudes and perspectives toward the college years are manifest regardless of social origins. Most boys feel enthusiastic about being first to attend Hawthorn College; are concerned to do well in school, and come to college with interests in vocational preparation. Negative feelings about attending a new college are not class related.

Divergences in expectations related to social origin of the students occur when students consider more personal aspects of their post-college years. The lower the social class origins of the boy, the more likely he is to plan to make major life commitments to marriage, home and possessions immediately following college. It is noteworthy that when students are asked about their life style twenty years after college, a period far enough off to encourage expressions of aspiration and fantasy, less than 10% indicated an interest in making a social contribution, or acting within the wider society.

In general, boys from Class 3 and 4 (lower-middle class and upper-working class) show more commonality with Class 1 and 2 boys (upper class and upper-middle class) than do boys from Class 5 (lower-working class). Youngsters from Class 5 are significantly less likely to have made applications to other schools, have lower self-esteem, are more likely to turn·to their mothers for college encouragement, and show a trend to be more likely to be leaving neighborhood friendships. Almost all of this group are committed to the vocational conception of college.

Conceptions of peer group behavior for boys are related to social origin in that upper status boys are more likely to report that achievement was rewarded in their high school peer group than are lower status boys.

Lower status boys differ from lower status girls in their college orientations in that girls desire a broader college experience, and conceive of college as socially rewarding. They do not feel such strong commitments to achieve as the boys. In contrast to Class 4 and 5 boys, few of whom reported achievement as a rewarded peer group achievement, a high proportion of Class 4 and 5 girls report that their peer group rewarded acheivement.

Parental relationships differ in that a linear relationship obtained between boys' desires to emulate their parents, and social origin. Lower status youth wish to achieve more and to have more security, and perceive their parents as expecting this from them. Despite their desires for a life different from their parents, lower status youth report in common with upper status youth that their parents understand what they want from life.

In examining family interaction patterns, the majority of boys feel they are still living according to parental rules, and feel close to their families. However, higher status boys are more likely to talk to both parents, or their father, while lower status youth are more likely to talk to their mother, or neither parent. Response to family disagreements shows some relation to social origin in that lower status youth are more likely to report authoritarian reactions of their parents and some disruption of the family ties.

# CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have shown that boys from Class 3, 4, and 5, which is the lower-middle class, upper-working class, and lower-working class, are the dominant student group at Hawthorn College, a new liberal arts college.

Our interviews suggest that at the inception of college barrenness, and an inexpressiveness orientation dominate their capacity to communicate. However, during college, in their search for new images of the male identity oriented to life styles and occupational investments differing from their fathers, they must look either to each other, the institutional climate of the college, or the faculty.

It is our contention that the typical non-residential urban university provides little for students beyond course preparation. In such peer group institutions as do develop, the lower status youth is most likely to associate with youth similar to himself. Faculty contacts and developed institutional climates are less likely to exist in non-residential schools. Some empirical support for this position exists in Davis' recent paper on differences in the intellectual climates of 135 colleges. (14) He found that on the dimension of commitment to intellectual values, high quality, private, small institutions have a climate differing from "lower quality, public, and larger institutions."

This longitudinal study is providing the opportunity to explore the determinants of changes in self-conceptions, personality traits, level in intellectual functioning, and life expectations for this group of lower status college youth during their attendance at a college located in a large non-residential urban university where two institutional modifications have occurred. First, opportunity for participation in small discussion groups and fostering of a small college setting have provided an institutional climate more conducive to peer group formation than is usually found on the non-residential campus; and secondly, the presence of a devoted teaching faculty has resulted in unusual levels of student contact and interaction with some of the faculty.

In such an institutional setting we hypothesize that a dominant determinant of whether non-intellective changes occur in these male students will lie in the character of their relationship with faculty members. The strong dominance in the entering class of lower-middle class and upper-working class youth are enabling us to contrast effects of faculty modeling and peer group influence upon changes in this group of mobile boys.

Development of a typology of the sociological functions of the college is beyond the scope of this paper. We posit, however, that certain minimal functions should be performed in higher education for students beyond the presenting of courses. We suggest that one educational function of the university is the bringing together within an institutional frame of youth, whose personality and social characteristics are such that they can set patterns and aspirations for each other that meliorate deficits and spur new spheres of development. This is in line with the view presented by McConnell and Heist of the Center for the Study of Higher Education, who have stated that "one of the more fundamental problems in understanding student development during the college years is to determine what the student 'mix' should be for optimal individual development." (11) (p. 249) A second function, we suggest, is the organization of colleges and universities in institutional forms which set interaction styles among students so as to provide opportunity for adequate levels of contact, intimacy, and discussion.

The basic premises on which these minimal educational functions of the college are predicated are that (1) emphasis on intellective development focuses on only one facet relevant to the development of talent into productive usefulness, and (2) development of talent rests upon a structure of identifications, aspirations, ideals, and patterns of relationship which facilitate innovative and autonomous behavior.

The models necessary for talent development may stem from three sources within a college (1) peer group and friendship ties, (2) student faculty relationships, and (3) indirect faculty influences upon students as mediated by peer groups.

It is our contention which we will test in a forthcoming paper, that in a college dominated by youth of lower status origin, such as have been described in this paper, student-faculty relationships, and faculty influences upon student peer groups are required to provide the models requisite for change and development.

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# TWO-FACTOR INDEX OF SOCIAL POSITION

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## Brief Instructions

The two-factor Index utilizes occupation and education. These factors are scaled and weighted individually, and a single score is obtained.

The educational scale is based upon the years of school completed by the head of the household. The scale values are as follows:

| Years of School Completed | Scale Value | Corresponds to Our Code |
|---|---|---|
| Professional (M.A.; M.S.; M.E.; M.D.; Ph.D.; LL.B.) | 1 | 8 |
| Four-year college graduate (A.B.; B.S.; B.M.) | 2 | 7 |
| 1-3 years college (also business schools) | 3 | 5,6 |
| High school graduate | 4 | 4 |
| 10-11 years of school (part high-school) | 5 | 3 |
| 7-9 years of school | 6 | 2 |
| Under 7 years of school | 7 | 1 |

The occupational scale is attached on a separate sheet. Its effective use is dependent on the precise knowledge of the head of the household's occupation. Occupational position has a factor weight of 7 and educational position a factor weight of 4. These weights are multiplied by the scale value for education and occupation of each individual or head of a household. The calculated weighted score gives the approximate position of the family on the over-all scale. For example, John Smith is the manager of the Safeway Store; he completed high school and one year of business college. I would score him as follows:

| Factor | Scale Score | Factor Weighc | Score x weight |
|---|---|---|---|
| Occupation | 3 | 7 | 21 |
| Education | 3 | 4 | 12 |
| | | Index of Social Position score... | 33 |

When the Index of Social Position score is calculated, the individual may be stratified either on the continuum of scores or into a "class". In the case of John Smith I would rate him a class III on the basis of the position he occupies, on the continuum of scores, and the way the scores are grouped into classes.

The range of scores in each class on the two-factor Index follows:

| Class | I.S.P. Scores |
|---|---|
| I | 11 - 17 |
| II | 18 - 31 |
| III | 32 - 47 |
| IV | 48 - 63 |
| V | 64 - 77 |

# RESEARCH SETTING

By: ZELDA GAMSON

## Introduction

The setting of this study is a small nonresidential college in a sprawling state university located in the midst of a large industrial city. The university is a recent entrant into the state-supported educational system, and currently is relatively poorly supported by the legislature. The university itself is divided into what may be called a federation of semi-autonomous professional schools, a liberal arts college, a graduate school, and an experimental general education college. All of these colleges compete, to different degrees, for the limited financial resources of the university.

Students at the university commute daily from homes in the metropolitan area. Over seventy percent are employed while attending the university and usually take a good deal longer than four years to complete their undergraduate degrees. Many students drift in and out of the university over a period of years. Classes are held from early morning through late evening, and students change freely from day to evening attendance and from full-to part-time programs as their personal lives permit. Students at the university are known for their no-nonsense pragmatism, for their concern about social mobility and vocational proparation, and, occasionally, for their political radicalism.

I shall call the small experimental college "Hawthorn" and its parent university "Clay State." I use these alias names less as a disguise than to give the institution and individuals at the college a choice about making claim to some of the conclusions of the study. Divulging fully the names and biographies of the people involved forecloses choice in the matter. I have, therefore, changed or omitted any information which would uniquely indentify an individual, the college, or the university. Such an expedient, however, has its limits. Details which are essential, such as those having to do with curriculum, organizational structure, etc., cannot be changed or omitted. Secondly, it is virtually impossible, as the Linds (1929), Vidich and Bensman (1958), and Warner (1941) have discovered, to disguise the identity of the large unit studied (whether it is a community or a college) from the members of that unit. Members who have the will and the shrewdness find it not too difficult to indentify fellow members. The most one can hope is that individuals cannot be unequivocally identified by insiders and that the institution cannot be uniquely identified by outsiders, especially unsympathetic outsiders.

This chapter will describe the early history of the college--its founding, educational objectives, curriculum, administrative structure, recruitment of students and faculty, and so on. The description will be based primarily on documents and reports[1] and will focus either on indisputable facts--curriculum would be an example--or aspects about which there is high consensus at the college. Of necessity, such areas of fact or broad consensus seem banal or obvious, particularly if they are taken from formal statements or reports on the college. Yet, we must have such information before we can proceed to analyses of change and diversity. These are the poles around which diversity develops and the baselines from which change can be measured.

## The Founding of the College

Interest in the problems of a general education within the larger university had been expressed several years before plans were drawn up for the college which was to be called Hawthorn. At the request of one of the vice-presidents of the university, a respected senior member of the Liberal Arts faculty--who was later to become the Director of Hawthorn College--was asked to write a report on the relations between liberal and professional education at Clay. This was a topic which deeply concerned a faculty and administration dealing with commuting students who had intense desires for social mobility and vocational preparation.

The report suggested that a committee be asked to design a program of general education for pre-professional students which would be acceptable to the pre-professional schools at Clay. With the receipt of a grant from a large foundation for the planning of a curriculum, the focus of the committee moved from designing a new program to designing a new college with a separate student body and faculty. By the summer of 1958, the committee had completed a rationale and detailed plan for the college, known colloquielly and laballed in this study as "The Bluebook."

The next step was to secure acceptance for the college from key people in the university and in the national academic community. A four-day conference was held at a resort hotel with fifty people invited from the university. The participants debated and discussed issues raised by a panel of experts in education from across the country.

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[1] The major sources will be the College Plan, "An Experimental College.." written in 1958, also referred to as "The Bluebook", a report on the college after its first year, ".. A Report on Two.. Basic Courses," 1961, a report after the fourth year, "Report to the University", 1964, College bulletins, and some faculty reports.

When they returned to campus, a majority of the participants approved the formation of the new college. Gaining the approval of most of the deans of the pre-professional schools was not too difficult, since they had been concerned about improving the liberal arts component of their programs for a long time. Not surprisingly, the greatest resistance came from members of the College of Liberal Arts who, with some exceptions, saw the new college as an implicit criticism of them and as a threat to the future security of their college. Since the new college would be in closest competition with the Liberal Arts College (it was more complementary than competitive with the pre professional schools), the concern centered around two scarce resources--money and "good" students.

The first worry was partially allayed by a grant from the aforementioned foundation to help the university pay the costs of the college for the first five years. After the initial five-year period, the college was to come up for review by the university. It was emphasized in the plan that after the early years, which were expected to involve the heaviest expenses, the college would cost Clay no more than it would incur in educating the same students at any of the other colleges at the university.

The second concern of the Liberal Arts College--the fear that Hawthorn would drain off the "best" students--was met on two fronts. (1) Hawthorn was not to be an "honors college." Any student who was admissible to Clay would be acceptable to Hawthorn.[1] (2) "Quotas" of fifty students were to be admitted in each fall entering class from each of the five professional schools which agreed to participate in the Hawthorn program--Business Administration, Education, Engineering, Law and Medicine. A quota of seventy students was set for the College of Liberal Arts.

With the approval of the various administrative and faculty bodies at the university, the planning committee set to work to find a faculty. Choice of faculty was governed by

> ...that degree of professional competance in a discipline lying within the area embraced by his department which is attested to by the possession or near possession of a doctorate (Hawthorn College, 1961).

and by a commitment to

> ...an ideal of undergraduate teaching in general and to the Hawthorn ideal in particular which will

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[1] See the first part of Appendix D for a detailed description of the recruitment practices of the college and for changes in these procedures.

> insure that the prospective staff member will work harmoniously with his collegues to realize in practice the goals which have been set for the Hawthorn experiment..(Hawthorn College, 1961).

The orginal planner from Clay was appointed Director and chairman of the humanities department. Another senior professor from the Liberal Arts College was designated chairman of the natural science department. Somewhat later in the year, a person well known for devotion to undergraduate teaching was hired from an outstanding midwestern university to head the social science department. Eight social scientists and six natural scientists were hired to teach during the first year. Six of the social scientists and two of the natural scientists worked with their respective chairmen to devise in detail the syllabi for the courses to be taught in the first year. The humanities staff was not assembled until the following year, because the humanities sequence was to be started one and one-half years after the two other sequences. The staff in humanities is considerably smaller than the other departments; there are, at most, five instructors at any one time. Two reasons account for this disparity in size among the staffs. Many students drop out of Hawthorn by the time the humanities sequence begins, and discussion sections in the humanities courses are much larger than sections in the social science and natural science sequences. There are, therfore, fewer sections in the humanities and fewer instructors required.

By the end of the first year, the faculty was composed of two associate and eighteen assistant professors, with an average age of thirty-five. The centers at which the college staff had taken their graduate training were widely scattered. Bryn Mawr, the University of California, the University of Chicago, Columbia University, the University of Kansas City, Indiana University, the University of Michigan, Michigan State, the University of Oregon, the University of Wisconsin and two European universities. Seven staff members held doctorates; most of the others had completed their course work for the degree and some were working on their dissertations. The average salary paid was $6,730.[1]

Meanwhile, the admissions office of the university and the college advisor sent out invitations to randomly selected groups of students who were being admitted to the university for the fall semester, 1959. Publicity about the new college was disseminated in the local high schools and newspapers. The college accepted 340 students, of these, 314 actually registgred in September, 1959. Amid great excitement and some confusion, the college opened its doors for the first time. By the fall of 1963, its fourth year of operation, there were 751 students participating in the Hawthorn program, and the future of the college seemed assured.

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[1] This paragraph is based entirely on Hawthorn College (1961).

## The Structure of the College

Hawthorn College has its own student body and its own administrative and academic staff. It retains three buildings at the university. Two for administrative and faculty offices and one, the Student Union, as an informal meeting place for students and student groups.

The faculty is divided into three interdisciplinary "departments": A natural science department, which includes biology, mathematics, physics, chemistry, and philosophy and history of science. A social science department, which combines psychology, sociology, anthropology, economics, and history. And a humanities department, which includes literature, music, painting, and philosophy. There are, in addition, two College Advisers, an executive secretary, and a research staff. The college is governed by a Council composed of the Director and the chairman of each of the three departments. There is no formal faculty body, other than those which meet within each department. During the first year, students formed a Student Council, with representatives elected by the Hawthorn student body. Hawthorn also elects representatives to university-wide student and faculty committees.

## The Curriculum and Classes

The basic Hawthorn curriculum (figure 1) consists of a core of courses in each of the three departments and a senior seminar, each segment carries four hours of credit per semester. All students are required to take this core program in a given order along with their entering class (except for engineering students who need not take the natural science sequence). The core program makes its greatest demands in the first two years. During these years, it accounts for about half of the students' course load, in the last two years, it takes up one-quarter of their credit hours. As freshmen, students begin the first two semesters of the four-semester long natural science course and the first two semesters of the three-semester social science course. As sophomores, they take the remaining two semesters of natural sciences and one semester of social sciences. Having finished the social science course, they begin in the second semester of the sophomore year the first portion of the three-semester humanities sequence. By the junior year, students take the remaining humanities courses, and in the senior year, they take the two-semester senior seminar. Once students complete this

## FIGURE I

### HAWTHORN BASIC COURSES PLUS ELECTIVES AND SPECIALIZATIONS[a]

| | Freshman Year | | Sophomore Year | | Junior Year | | Senior Year | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First Semester | Second Semester | First Semester | Second Semester | First Semester | Second Semester | First Semester | Second Semester |
| Four Hours Credit | Social Sciences | | | Humanities | | | Senior Seminar | |
| Four Hours Credit | Natural Sciences | | | | | | Senior Essay (required only for Hawthorn degrees) | |
| Eight Hours Credit | Electives, Specializations Taken at Hawthorn or Clay | | | | | | | |

[a]Source: College Bulletin, 1961-1962, p. 14.

basic sequence, they have fulfilled the Hawthorn requirements for their degrees.

A cumulative honor point average of C or better is necessary for graduation. Students whose honor point average is less than C at any time are placed on probation. In order to remain at Hawthorn, they must improve markedly within a semester and remove themselves from probation by the time they have taken thirty credits of work beyond the point of probation. Otherwise, they are dismissed from Hawthorn. Dismissed students may apply for readmission after one academic year.

At this point, it is not necessary to describe the actual content of the core courses since Chapter VIII does this in great detail. The senior seminar is discussed in Chapter VIII also. Here we need to understand the expectations of the seminar expressed four years before the first one was offered. By the senior year, students normally had completed the basic sequences, and the senior seminar was to synthesize what they had confronted in the three basic courses. Two early plans for the structure of the seminar were suggested. The first plan divided the seminars into three groups corresponding with the three departments, each student would enroll intwo of the three groups. The second plan eliminated departmental divisions, students would enroll in sections of a common cross-disciplinary course. The second alternative was adopted for the first group of seniors.

Students may take a degree from Hawthorn in either Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Philosophy. These require, in addition to completion of the core curriculum and completion of "adequate" electives, either at Hawthorn or at other colleges in the university, that students write a senior essay "on an approved subject suggested by his own particular course of study."[1] Students may also transfer to one of the professional schools after two or three years at Hawthorn and still earn a Hawthorn Bachelor's degree if they meet the above requirements for a Hawthorn B.A.. The work completed in the professional school is considered the equivalent of approximately one year's elective work. Students who transfer to professional schools may follow the Hawthorn program without taking a degree from the college.

A number of advanced elective courses and tutorials have been added gradually over the years. By 1963, there were twenty-nine such courses listed in the College Bulletin. Students may either request to take a tutorial or suggest possible electives, or faculty may propose courses they would like to give, particularly in major areas within each department which have been omitted from the basic sequence.

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[1] College Bulletin, 1963.

The courses are "staff taught." Each course in the sequence is divided into small "discussion sections." In natural sciences, the sections number about fifteen to twenty students, and in social sciences, they number from twelve to fifteen students. Classes in the humanities sequence are larger--from twenty to thirty--on the assumption that students need less personal attention by the time they take the humanities courses. Discussion sections meet on the average twice a week in small seminar rooms and classrooms, twice a week, all of the sections come together in a large hall to hear staff or guests deliver lectures.

Students may choose their own discussion sections and are encouraged to sign up with different instructors each semester. During the term they may also visit other sections and, under some circumstances, change instructors. With some variation between departments, instructors are *free to conduct their discussion* sections as they wish. They may explicate the material covered in readings and lectures, take off from the syllabus into related material, or go off on tangents. They may lecture, give quizzes, assign extra papers or readings, call on students, or allow students to determine the subjects discussed.

Instructors were orginally expected to teach ten hours a week of discussion classes (five sections), to attend all lectures of the course or courses in which they had discussion sections, and to advise students. The teaching load from the very first year was considerably lower than described in the Bluebook, with social scientists teaching the smallest number of sections and humanities instructors approaching the load anticipated in the original plan. It became clear early that the Bluebook was naive about the number of demands, activities, and hours covered by the term "advising" and about the time needed for planning curriculum.

The reader may have noted that there is no formal provision in the structure of the curriculum for the customary course in English composition. The improvement and guidance of student writing at Hawthorn is the responsibility of all instructors in all three departments throughout the four years of the program. Students are given many written assignments in all three departments, including natural sciences. The ideal is that essays and papers are graded not only for content, but for adequacy of style as well. Students who are deficient in writing skills are offered special assistance and, sometimes, formal tutorials in writing.

The final significant features of the curriculum center on the encouragement of independent work. It is expected that by the time the student reaches his junior or senior year, he will be able to work by himself. Several devices are designed to promote this aim. All students are expected to take the final semester of any one of the basic sequences "independantly". They may attend the large lectures, but may not attend any of the discussion sections. They may go to faculty members occasionally for advice, but not "too often." At the end of the term, the independent students must take the regular course examination and complete all of the assignments required of students taking the course in the ordinary way. The senior seminar, also, was expected to require minimal faculty direction of student work. Finally, a recent development at the college--courses taught by students or by students and faculty--is both an outcome and a mechanism for encouraging student self-education.

## Educational Goals

We are now in a position to examine in more detail the problems which led to the founding of the college and the educational goals which underlie it. I have already mentioned the long-standing concern at Clay for the relations between professional training and a liberal education. The deans and some faculty at the pre-professional schools were dissatisfied with the quality of the liberal arts portion of their students' education. Hawthorn was to provide the students with a better general education. Yet, it has the virtue that, in claiming only between one-half and one-quarter of a student's credit hours and in allowing students to take specialties in other colleges at the university, it does not threaten the pre-professional requirements. There was, at the time, also discontent with the education of nonprofessional students, i.e., those who either had no area of specialization or whose specialization was in one of the academic disciplines. It was felt that a new kind of vocationalism had developed, an academic vocationalism which biased course offerings in the academic departments toward those majoring in the discipline and thus forced students to define their specialties prematurely.

Thus, Hawthorn in some senses both promotes and discourages vocationalism in higher education. It recognizes and allows for the need for specialization in some profession or academic discipline; at the same time, it requires that all of its students renounce this need for a fixed proportion of their time. The Bluebook put the question of vocationalism in these terms:

> What is disturbing is the fact that in the process of translation (of educational purposes into

> educational procedures), the colleges have too frequently allowed their commitment to become distorted as they yielded to the supposedly irresistible pressures exerted upon those purposes by the need for training young people in the professions and specialties and by the intense vocational aspirations of their students themselves (Hawthorn College, 1958).

What conception of general education did the founders have? They assumed that there were certain things--"a common body of knowledge"-- and ways of thinking which every man should possess if he were to be called "educated." The curriculum is directed explicitly toward this future "educated layman" and directed explicitly away from the academic specialist.

> Students should develop a sense of the continuity in man's quest for ways to express his understanding of the human condition...General education is not a brief introduction to the disciplines of the academic world. It is not a substitute for the beginning courses in academic departments. It is not a bird's eye view of the big names, the milestone ideas, or the significant problems of the major fields of study (Hawthorn College, 1964).

A number of explicit statements and a variety of institutional features reveal a goal which can be called, in summary, concern with effects. Hawthorn was to combat the growing "depersonalization" of higher education, through the establishment of a "small genuine academic community."

The design of Hawthorn copied features of some of the successful elite small colleges across the country, e.g., a small student body, high faculty-student ratio, seminars and tutorials, independent study, and encouragements for a student community. The justification for stressing these features was their presumed greater effects on students. The first page of the College Bulletin states:

> Good small colleges in the United States are known to have contributed significantly to the general education of under-graduates and to the training of students who have become out-standing scholars and professional people. That this should be true is not surprising if higher education is viewed as the transmission of intellectual enthusiasm as well as curricular materials. One of the values of the small college is the immediacy of the relationship among students, faculty, and courses which heighten the stimulation of newly acquired knowledge,

the sense of excitement in the pursuit of new ideas.[1]

A group of faculty members issued a more radical statement of the concern with effects:

> There is need for an atmosphere which is osmotic, i.e., which can make students receptive to the content and concepts to which they are introduced through the curriculum. A common ground among heterogeneous groups of students must be created so that we can reach all of them, not just a select minority. Psychological and spiritual support in the period of transition from the home and social community to the intellectual and historical community is required. Students who are still narrowly bound to their social-cultural background need to experience the conditions necessary for intellectual choice. In view of these necessities a community should be fostered.[2]

A continuous social psychological study of the college and the students (supported by foundation funds) has been operating since the college opened. This, too, can be seen as part of the concern with effects. It is a source of information for the faculty about the less obvious characteristics of their students and about their effects on the students. A page in the College Bulletin is devoted to the research project and tells prospective students that the project itself is a tool "...in the student's development as a self-critical, independent person and as a full-fledged member of the Hawthorn community."[1]

Hawthorn is not an honors college. It "explicitly (welcomes) the ordinary, average student when most universities take the clamor at the gates as a signal to raise standards of admission."[2] It uses no special devices for screening entrants other than those used at the university. Difficult demands are made on the "average" students, but "the planners of the program and the staff...are committed to demonstrating that this is feasible with the students whom Clay accepts under its present standards of admission."[3] This goal of the college may have arisen from political necessity, but it has since become a strongly approved independent feature of the college.

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[1] College Bulletin, 1961-1962

[2] Faculty report, Spring 1961

[3] College Bulletin, 1961-1962

## The Emerging Hawthorn Culture

Over the years, Hawthorn has come to be recognized as a distinct entity within the university as well as in the larger community. Whether described in positive terms or negative terms, there are some features mentioned repeatedly: Intellectuality. Hawthorn students are seen as somehow more intellectual, brighter, less vocational-minded than the average students at Clay. The Hawthorn program stresses the pursuit of ideas for its own sake. The Hawthorn faculty is more "highbrow" than most faculty at Clay.

Activity. Hawthorn students have a reputation for being more radical politically and more active in organizations at Clay than their numbers would warrant. This certanly seems to be the case. Within Hawthorn, students early organized a student government, committees were formed to organize programs and to invite speakers; a number of plays were presented. A student newspaper was founded; student publications containing orginal essays, poetry, dialogues, plays manifestoes expired and reappeared regularly. In the university, a Hawthorn student was elected president of a university-wide student-faculty committee. Scarcely a week passes without some mention and/or criticism of activities and controversies at Hawthorn in the Clay University student newspaper.

Faculty at the other colleges at Clay claim they can identify Hawthorn students in their classes. They talk more, criticize and argue more, are generally more stimulating and bothersome than other students. They are also less likely to respect the authority and prorogatives of faculty members and sometimes provoke extreme hostility from Clay faculty. One of my informants at Hawthorn reported a complaint from an instructor at one of the other colleges about a student who

> ...met with him during office hours, and asked what he (the instructor) regarded as some rather personal questions--about his own background...to what extent he had acquired the education and experience that made him qualified to teach this course... The instructor complained to the dean of his college. (adminis-tion 69)

Rebelliousness. Another theme in descriptions of Hawthorn ~~is the emphasis~~ is the emphasis on the off-beat. To some extent, the descriptions of the high activity level of Hawthorn students have some of this meaning. Yet, there is a long tradition of political activity among a small proportion of Clay students. The activities in which Hawthorn students engage, if not representative of the student body at large, are seen as legitimate pursuits. The comments about the off-beat quality of Hawthorn are different;

they imply attitudes and behavior which are seen as beyond the pale. One hears of "beatniks," "beards," and "bare foot"; of promiscuity and wild parties, of nihilism and communism, of separatism and snobbery.

In short, Hawthorn has fast gotten a reputation not dissimilar to that of the small colleges it tries to emulate. The distinctness of its image, the content of the descriptions, and the feelings it provokes are similar to colleges like Antioch, Reed, Bard. The atmosphere of the college is reminiscent of these colleges. There are some students at Hawthorn who look as if they had come directly from Yellow Springs, Ohio. The bulletin boards are crammed with announcements, notes, and petitions. There is confusion, excitement, and constant conversation.

### Rationale for Studying Hawthorn

Why is Hawthorn a good place for studying the problems discussed in the preceding chapters? To what extent is Hawthorn an organization in which there are maximal conditions for members to have effects? Drawing on the conditions outlined in Chapter I,[1] it may be seen that Hawthorn meets most of these conditions.

Condition 1: Newness. Hawthorn is an organization which was created *de novo*. Although it drew on an already existing organization for some faculty and for its students, it was conceived as and continues to be a separate college, one among other separate and relatively autonomous colleges loosely joined together in the university. There were few existing patterns or precedents which would determine the structure and functioning of the college at the beginning. Thus, it was theoratically "open" to influence.

Condition 2: Diffuse, vague, implicit, or undefined goals. On the other hand, the clarity of Hawthorn's goals and the specificity of the College Plan could be expected to limit responsiveness to pressures from any source. Even at the beginning, when the situation was most fluid, it would have been highly improbable that the college would respond to student pressures, for example, to reduce or alter the order of the core courses.

Condition 3: Competition over scarce resources. Although Hawthorn is independent of the university and other colleges at the university in its internal operations, it cannot be completely autonomous. It must have some support from other colleges at the university and from the community to attract enough students. It must have supporters in the university administration and in the state legislature to receive adequate appropriations. This means that Hawthorn advertises itself in the most favorable terms to the outside world and tries to keep controversies and internal disputes from becoming public. To the extent that student pressures receive support from important groups in the community and at the university, they should be potent.

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[1] See Chapter I, pp. 19-20, for a summary of the conditions which maximize organizational responsivences to members.

Condition 4: Nonselective recruitment of members. One of the most unusual features of Hawthorn, given its high academic demands and intellectual stance, is its nonselective recruitment. Other than meeting Clay's criteria for admission, any student who wishes to do so may attend Hawthorn. This means that some students may come to Hawthorn, either through ignorance or accident, who may not support its goals or have the requisite skills and motivations to meet the demands of the college.

Condition 5: Members as organizational output. Hawthorn is an educational institution, which means that its "products" are human beings. Even more than most institutions of higher education, Hawthorn is greatly concerned about its effects on students and contains several institutional features to maximize and monitor effects.

Condition 6: Incongruence between members and organization. There is one final condition to be fulfilled, the existence of important disparities between the members and organization. This is so complicated an issue that all of Chapter V is devoted to assessing the extent and kind of incongruence between Hawthorn and its students. At this point, let us be clear about the main characteristics of the institution.

Hawthorn College is a four-year general education college located in an industrial city and affiliated with a large state university. Its program consists of a staff-taught core curriculum in the natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities. All students are required to take the core courses in a given sequence, which accounts for about forty percent of their credit hours, and are free to take the remainder of their courses anywhere else in the university. Almost all students commute to the college from homes in the metropolitan area. There are no special entrance requirements.

Hawthorn has modelled itself on some of the highly productive liberal arts colleges across the country. There is a strong anti-vocational emphasis in the conception of the college and in its curriculum; education is treated much as an end in itself. There is a concern with the effects of the college on students, and a strong desire to have a lasting impact on students. The pervasive tone of the culture which early developed at the college is one of great energy and activity, intellectuality, and rebelliousness.

# PERSONALITY AND EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

Gabriel Breton

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## PERSONALITY AND EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

A number of empirical studies are presented in this paper as indirect support for a general hypothesis about the interaction of personality and environment, more particularly the college environment. Before stating this hypothesis, a general discussion of the concept of environment follows.

## I. - THE CONCEPT OF ENVIRONMENT

### A. Definition.

In the broadest sense, the environment is the context or the structure within which an organism lives, thrives or deteriorates. There are two major aspects to this environmental structure: first, it generates and/or makes available need-objects and rewards - this aspect is defined in terms of the organism's configurations of needs and aspirations; secondly, it constitutes the constraints placed on the individual's actions, or the external factors which condition his successes and failures. Thus if we know the individual's needs and aspirations, we can characterize the environment in terms of the range of his choices in fulfilling them, or in terms of external facilitating and inhibiting conditions.

A psychological environment, like any biological environment, is defined as: a) a reward structure, and b) a constraint-facilitation structure. Thus defined, a psychological environment can only be identified from the perspective of the individuals within it.

## B. Sociological and economic approaches.

A very comprehensive review of the many different approaches to the measurement of college environments has been done by Barton (1961). Needless to say, most of the characteristics that have been measured are not specifically psychological dimensions. Such characteristics as type of personnel (age, number of Ph.D.'s; other characteristics); economic resources; physical facilities; formal authority, power, and communication structures; division of labor; official institutional goals, rules and norms; administrative devices, etc. can be measured in a very objective way, many of them from official documents. However, to predict how the interaction of environment and personality affects educational outcomes, one would want to know how these various environmental characteristics make their impact on the individual, whether they operate singly or in combinations, their variable importance for different individuals, and so on. Such total measures of the environment do not exist; the only approximations appear to be the Syracuse Indexes, which will be discussed later.

## C. The general hypothesis.

The present paper is concerned with the following general hypothesis.

(1) Each individual, given his configuration of needs and aspirations, will seek an environment that will maximize the probability of fulfillment of those needs and aspirations. This will be called a compatible environment.

(2) Should an individual be born, or wander into an incompatible environment, social-psychological forces will emerge which will either pressure him out of that environment or change his personality (i.e., his pattern of needs and aspirations).

It is easier to find evidence in support of the first part of this hypothesis. Evidence relevant to the second part is more scanty.

The studies reviewed in the following section seek to demonstrate differences of personality traits and needs between students in different educational environments or sub-environments. The presence of these differences does not constitute direct support for the hypothesis that students with different personalities will seek different environments, since the presence of students in different environments could be determined by factors other than personality traits and needs, with which these personality traits and needs would covary. Still, the findings can be taken as indirect support for the hypothesis.

The evidence is taken from the educational environment, and within that environment, the focus is on the college level, since this is likely to be a level at which there is a sufficient amount of choice to make a difference. It is assumed that the existence of a modal pattern of personality characteristics reflects the existence of a compatible environment and that the presence of the individuals in it is the result of a choice on the part of most of them. This assumption is necessary, since in the great majority of these studies there is no independent measurement of the characteristics of the environment.

## II - A REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH

### A. The course as environment.

The knowledge which an individual has of a new environment upon entering it may be very detailed or it may be very limited. Similarly, his knowledge of himself and of his needs and aspirations may be quite vague or very differentiated. And again, whether detailed or vague this knowledge of himself and of the new environment may be valid or it may be erroneous. If he knows what he wants, he will orient himself in this new environment accordingly. If he is wrong, he should theoretically discover it sooner or later, depending on the relative freedom from both external and internal constraints. If he knows what he wants but does not know where to go to find it, or if he does not know what he wants, then his behavior would presumably be of the more or less random trial and error type. When a high school graduate enters college, he more often than not is unsure about what he wants or where to go. The various course offerings represent subenvironments between which he can choose to discover more about his needs, and the environmental rewards and constraints (or facilitators). His choices can be completely random, as they sometimes are when the student finds that he is incapable of identifying his needs and preferences. But more often, the student chooses on the basis of more or less definite preferences, and some tentative ideas about the nature of the course, i.e., whether it is likely to provide rewards that he seeks, or instrumentalities in the attainment of them.

Needless to say, not many courses have been studied from that point of view. There are two studies on students enrolling in Abnormal Psychology, one being a continuation and an extension of the other. Mills (1955) compared students enrolled in an Abnormal Psychology course with students in a European History course. The criteria for selecting the Abnormal Psychology group were that the students not be enrolled in any other psychology, or sociology, or criminology course, were not in psychological or medical therapy, and had completed at lease two years of college.

The first of these criteria are important from our point of view, since it is necessary that the selection of the course by those students represent a choice not dictated by major or other requirements. The European History group were selected on the basis of similar criteria, with the addition that they should not be enrolled in any psychology course. All were tested at the beginning of the semester to eliminate possible effects of exposure to the course. Mills found that the Abnormal Psychology group (10 men - 11 women) had significantly poorer Rorschach adjustment scores (using the Monroe Inspection Technique). They appeared to be more introversive and to have a significantly higher number of *m*, *k*, and *K* responses than the European History group. On a version of the Madeleine Thomas Completion Stories Test (stories dealing with college life), the Abnormal Psychology group had a significantly higher number of anxiety, escape and depression themes. They also gave a higher number of sex themes in both these stories and the Rorschach. In an autobiography which had been analyzed by two judges on nine rating scales consisting of nine of H. Murray's personality variables, this group showed a significantly higher tendency toward succorance and self-love.

Wise (1959) followed up on Mills' study. His hypothesis was that it is not psychology, but morbid and bizarre content which acts as a selecting factor in attracting less adjusted students. He used the Cornell Index, Form N 2, which is an objectively scored measure of number of neuropsychiatric and psychosomatic symptoms. This was administered to 4 groups of students, again at the beginning of the year, in each of 4 courses assumed to vary increasingly in amount of morbid subject matter: Communications (N-46); General Psychology (N-56); Child Psychology (N-33); Abnormal Psychology (N-36). t-tests for comparison of courses taken two at a time were significant for Communications versus Abnormal Psychology; General and Child Psychology (combined) versus Abnormal Psychology; and General and Child Psychology (combined) versus Communications.

Two tentative conclusions may be drawn from these studies. First, within the college environment, there are subenvironments possessing characteristics which attract students with a particular pattern of needs; and secondly, some of these characteristics are dimensional: i.e., different subenvironments can be located at different points on a continuum. Presumably, each subenvironment is multidimensional.

These characteristics of an environment, however, are identified in terms of the needs or personality traits of the students in them. The identification can be made only to the extent that the students are homogeneous with respect to some variable. The greater the variability in the group, the more it will be difficult to characterize the environment.

In a fairly exhaustive search of the literature, the only other course subject for which relevant personality studies were found was mathematics. And here the evidence is more indirect. Dreger and Aiken (1957) have identified a "number anxiety" factor, which they found to be separate from general anxiety (as measured by Taylor's MAS). This factor is unrelated to intelligence and aptitude, but it is inversely related to grades in mathematics. The same investigators (Aiken and Dreger, 1961) developed an Attitude toward Mathematics scale which they found to contribute in the prediction of grades in mathematics, but only for females. They therefore investigated the personality correlates of this attitude in a group of college females (Aiken, 1963). The personality measures were the California Personality Inventory, the Cattell 16 Personality Factor Questionnaire, and the Allport-Vernon Study of Values. Out of 42 correlations of personality variables with the Mathematics Attitude Scale, 16 were statistically significant. On the basis of these significant correlations Aiken describes women with favorable attitudes toward mathematics as tending "to be more outgoing, conscientious, intellectually mature, and to place more value on theoretical matters than those with less favorable attitudes." When mathematical ability (as measured by the Scholastic Aptitude Test) is partialled out, the following description emerges: high scorers on the Mathematics attitude scale "tend to be more socially and intellectually mature, more self-controlled, and to place more value on theoretical matters than low scorers on the scale". The subjects in this last study were 160 sophomores enrolled in a psychology laboratory course.

There is no direct evidence in these studies concerning courses in mathematics as subenvironments. But to the extent that "number anxiety" and attitude toward mathematics are related to grades in mathematics, which they both are (though only for women in the case of mathematics attitude), it is not unreasonable to assume that mathematics courses function as environments which attract certain personalities and reject others.

B. The college major as environment.

Choice of college major is generally definite by the time the student undertakes his third year in college. By this time, the student is likely to have identified more clearly his pattern of interests and aspirations, and to have detected in the academic environment the area most likely to contain the possibilities of satisfying them. We should therefore expect that students grouped by majors be more alike in needs and personality traits within groups than between groups. There are a number of studies which provide evidence to support this expectation. Unfortunately, it is not possible to make comparisons between the different studies because each study is based on a different measuring instrument, and in the case where the same instrument is used, different majors are studied, or else the measurements are treated differently (i.e., factor analysis versus anlysis of variance). Another drawback with respect to comparisons is that majors are grouped differently by different investigators: for instance one author will group psychology with anthropology, whereas another will pair it with sociology, while others will pair sociology with economics. It is quite likely that psychology has environmental characteristics in common with sociology, but different ones with anthropology, and still others with physics. The ideal studies, therefore, should always keep each major separate from the others, and measure each one on as many dimensions as possible.

Clark (1953) compared MMPI profiles of students in different major areas, with mean scores of college students. He studied men (N-707) and women (N-763) separately. When he compares the mean scores on each MMPI scale of male major groups with mean college male scores, he finds that the following majors do not have profiles significantly different from the total male profile: Art, Biological Science, Economics, Education and Music. But compared to mean male scores, the following significant differences were found: English and Foreign Languages, high on *Mf*; Industrial Arts, low on *Pd* and *Mf*; Mathematics, Physical Sciences and Physical Education, low on *Mf*; Psychology, high on *Pd*, Social Science, high on *Hy*, *Pd*, *Mf*, *Hs*, *Sc*; Speech, high on *Mf*, and *Ma*. For women, when mean scores on each scale is compared to mean scores for college females, no significant differences are found in the case of Art, Home Economics, Mathematics-Physical Sciences, Music, Psychology, Social Sciences. But the following significant differences were found: Biological Science, low on *Hy*; Education, low on *Sc*. and *Pd*; English and Foreign Languages, low on *Mf*; Physical Education, high on *Mf*, but low on *D*; Speech, high on *Hs*, *Pd* and *Ma*. Both men and women obtain more feminine scores in English and Foreign Languages, and more masculine scores in Physical Education. Although these results do not provide much information about majors as psychological environments, the following tentative conclusions suggest themselves: men and women in the same major do not necessarily have the same configuration of personality traits, and therefore, a given major may constitute a different psychological environment for men than for women, though some majors seem to satisfy identical needs in both sexes such as English and Foreign languages, and Physical Education. A point should be made about the method. Profiles for each major are compared with mean college profiles. Clark points out that college means on MMPI scales are higher than in the general population. If this is the case, the method used would fail to show fully the peculiarities of each major group.

Another study using the MMPI was done by Lundin and Lathrop (1963). Their sample was much smaller than Clark's and limited to three major groups: Biology-Chemistry, History, and English Literature. Each group consisted originally of 20 students, but as a result of a first analysis of the data, 6 students from each area were chosen on the basis that they indicated a definite plan to pursue graduate work in that area. Analysis of variance on the original group of 60 students revealed no significant differences between scores on MMPI and choice of major. When the analysis is done on the reduced group of 18 students the only significant differences found were between English Literature and History students with the former being higher on both Pt and Sc scores. The study was done at Hamilton College, and the authors cite the homogeneity of the college population as an explanation of the lack of relationships. The explanation is plausible, especially in the case of a small college with a select population. But both this study and the one by Clark suggest that MMPI is perhaps not the best instrument to use to obtain differential patterns of needs and other traits in a population of presumably normal individuals. Many real differences are not likely to be picked up by this test.

Sternberg (1955) used the MMPI in combination with the Kuder Preference Record and the Allport-Vernon Study of Values. These were administered to 270 students (30 in each of 9 majors: Biochemistry, Chemistry, Economics, English, History, Mathematics, Music, Political Science, Psychology). Every student had completed two years of college. The scores on the 24 subscales were correlated and factor-analyzed by the Thurstone centroid method. Seven factors were extracted, six of them bipolar. Sternberg retains only five of these in comparing the different majors. Each major is ranked on the basis of the mean score on each factor. The pattern of interest, needs and values summarized by each of the five factors reveals something of the complex environmental characteristics of each major area. Here are the 5 factors and the ranking of the nine majors on each one: (the names given to the factors are perhaps not the most appropriate):

Factor I - Aesthetic communication versus practical science: English (+), Music (+), Political Science (+), History (+); Economics (-), Psychology (-), Biochemistry (-), Mathematics (-), Chemistry (-).

Factor II - The go-getter versus the passive aesthete: Psychology (+), Economics (+), Biochemistry (+), Political Science (+), Mathematics (+); History (-), Chemistry (-), Music (-), English (-).

Factor III - Self-expression through art versus Faith through good works: Music (+), English (+), Chemistry (+); Methematics (-), Economics (-), Psychology (-), Biochemistry (-), Political Science (-), History (-).

Factor IV - The driven extravert versus the pure scientist: Economics (+), Political Science (+), English (+), History (+); Music (-), Psychology (-), Chemistry (-), Mathematics (-), Biochemistry (-).

Factor VI - Quantitative detail versus social welfare: Mathematics (+), Economics (+), Chemistry (+), Political Science (+); English (-), History (-), Music (-), Psychology (-), Biochemistry (-).

It is possible, by looking at the rank order of any major on each factor, to give a description of the needs and interest of the people majoring in that area. The English major for instance has very high literary, aesthetic and musical interest. He scores on the femininity end of masculinity-femininity scales. He has little interest in working on external reality except for purposes of self-expression. He is not moved to self-promotional activity nor to altruistic pursuits. He is neither the driven extravert nor the pure scientist. Indeed he is more of an introvert, and more curious of his own feelings and reactions than of the nature of external reality.

Sternberg's findings are clearer than those of Clark and Lundin and Lathrop in revealing patterns of traits characteristic of the different majors. They also support the notion suggested earlier that two subenvironments may be alike on some characteristics and different on others. For instance, English and Music are close together on all the five factors. People in these two majors "show strong preferences for aesthetic activities. They have tendencies toward maladjustment. They are interested in communicating with people but for ideational motivations rather than interpersonal ones. They have an aversion for business and scientific activities." Biochemistry and Psychology are close on factors II, III, and VI, but significantly different on factors I and IV. Both "merge scientific attitudes with interest in helping people. They both exhibit a stronger interest in prestige and power than might have been expected."

There is perhaps one shortcoming in this study, and that is its failure to take into account the diversity within such classifications as economics and psychology. Economics comprises students who are oriented toward economics proper, business and accounting. The psychology students might be oriented toward social, clinical or experimental psychology, and each of these groups would presumably exhibit differences in patterns of needs and traits.

One of the instruments developed as part of the Vassar study of higher education is a Developmental Scale which measures personality development in late adolescence. Webster (1956) did an analysis of variance of scores on this scale as related to major area. The variation in means was significant at the .05 level. Here is a list of the majors in order of desreasing developmental score (a high score means greater degree of development): Psychology and Anthropology; English; Language; Art, Music and Drama; Political Science; Economics and Sociology; Child Study; History and Philosophy. Here are some of the traits which characterize the more developed students: "They possess more flexibility and tolerance of ambiguity, freedom from compulsiveness, tolerant and impunitive attitudes toward others, critical attitudes toward their parents and family, critical and rebellious attitudes toward rules or laws and toward institutions, religious liberalism, mature interests, unconventionality, rejection of traditional feminine roles, freedom from cynicism about people, self- confidence and neurotic trends."

There are studies which have investigated differences between majors on a single trait. Martoccia (1964) for instance studied the relationship of authoritarianism (as measured by the Pensacola Z-scale) to major. He reports that an analysis of variance was significant at the .01 level, but he is not absolutely confident in his results since he thinks that homogeneity of variance could not be assumed. He does not indicate how the majors ranked on the trait.

Stephanson (1955) focused on attitude toward Negroes. This study, like the next two which will be reported deal with fairly homogeneous environments. It was done in a school of education. All students presumably have in common an interest in teaching. Still, Stephenson sought to discover whether attitude toward Negroes was correlated with area of major concentration. All subjects studied were seniors. Two hundred of these students were administered the two forms of the Hinckley Scale of Attitudes toward Negroes. The most favorable attitudes were found among those education students who were majoring in Social Science, Art Education, and Mathematical Science, followed by Language, Music Education, Business Education, Health and Physical Education (women), Industrial Arts (women), Four-year Elementary Education, Home Economics, Industrial Arts (men), and Physical Education (men). Significant differences were found between the following pairs: Social Science versus Industrial Arts and Physical Education (men); Social Science versus Home Economics, Mathematical Science versus Industrial Arts and Physical Education (men).

Another study in a presumably homogeneous environment was done by Nadler and Krulee (1961) in a School of Science and Technology. The authors used H. Murray's two dichotomous personality variables: extraception-intraception, exocathection-endocathection.

The first refers to the direction of interests (outward or inward), the other refers to the object of interests (things or ideas). The four possible combinations of these two dichotomous variables yield 4 personality types: (1) Extraception-Exocathection; (2) Intraception-exocathection; (3) extraception-endocathection; (4) Intraception-endocathection. Only the extraceptives are of interest in this study, so only these two types will be described. Extraception-exocathection: "To adapt to the world as it stands; to be interested in tangible results; to be very practical; to amass a fortune; to become a member of clubs and institutions; to be without illusions; to conserve established values. To work effectively with mechanical appliances." Extraception-endocathection: "To be interested in ideas and theories about substantial events (v.g. physical sciences). To reflect and write about external occurrences and systems; history, economics, government, education. To collect data and think inductively."

The authors hypothesized that the two extraceptives would be the prodominant types in a school of Science and Technology. They developed a large questionnaire which they administered to 432 male freshmen. The questions pertained to social class background, career goals, life values and evaluation of curricula and courses. Five questions, each containing four alternatives corresponding to the four personality types, were included. If a student chose three or more alternatives characteristic of a single type, he was placed in that type. The authors report nothing concerning the reliability or validity of this instrument. The results confirm the hypothesis: 35% of the students were classified as extraceptive-exocathecting and 19% as extraceptive-endocathecting; 5.5% fell into the two intraceptive categories; the remainder (42%) fell into the miscellaneous or mixed group (i.e., students giving fewer than three responses of one type). In analyzing the other questionnaire responses of the 54% extraceptives, the authors find significant differences in the social class backgrounds of the exocathection and endocathection groups (the former are referred to as having a practical orientation, the latter as theoretically oriented). The most significant difference between the two groups was with respect to grade point average at the end of the first semester, to the advantage of the theoretical group. The two groups were not different on the Mathematical Aptitude test of the College Entrance Examination, but the theoretical men were significantly better on the Verbal Aptitude test ($p < .05$ on a one-tailed test but not on a two-tailed test).

The following finding from the Nadler and Krulee study comes closest, from all the investigations reported here, to supporting the second part of the general hypothesis of this paper. The two groups of extraceptives showed no difference in the number of separations (drop-outs) at the end of the first semester (22% of the practicals, 20% of the theoreticals). But when they were divided on the basis of those who made compatible or ego-syntonic choices and those who did not, of 174 compatibles 17% dropped out, whereas 34% of the 50 incompatibles did. The differences are significant beyond the .01 level. A compatible or ego-syntonic choice is that of a practically oriented student who chooses engineering, or of a theoretically-oriented student choosing science. These results would tend to confirm the hypothesis that students who choose an incompatible academic environment will be submitted to pressures to leave this environment. For the second part of the general hypothesis to be fully supported it would be necessary to know whether the incompatibles who did not separate still belonged in the same personality category in which they had been placed at the beginning of the term. For instance, would they now tend to fall in the mixed category, or in one of the other three groups. This information is not available.

The fact that the practical students are socio-economically different from the theoretical students is suggestive with respect to the idea that educational environments are selected as a function of need structure. Indeed, this study strongly supports the hypothesis of this paper, and it is therefore unfortunate that information is lacking regarding the reliability and validity of the personality measure.

The next investigation was conducted in a Junior College with occupationally oriented curricula. Stewart (1966) studied six male and four female curricula: Building and Construction, Aeronautics, Automotive, Drafting, Electrical, Machine Technology, Medical Assistant, Fashion Arts, Dental Assistant, and Vocational Nursing. The same consisted of 285 males and 115 females. They were given the IAS (Interest Assessment Scales) and the OPI (Omnibus Personality Inventory). The data were analyzed by means of multivariate analysis of variance. The hypothesis that the factor structure underlying the tests was different for the various curricula was eliminated. A significant F-ratio confirmed the hypothesis that the tests would differentiate between the curricular groups. For the OPI, the significance was at the .05 level, though the author felt that the differences were too small to use them as a basis for meaningful psychological descriptions of the different groups. The IAS profile differences were significant at the .01 level. Here is a description of the Aeronautics group: "Males enrolled in Aeronautics tended to be interested in adventurous and daring activities, to have an applied orientation to tasks, to possess high aesthetic interests, and to have a low preference for activities involving written expression and nurturance."

A study of particular interest here is the one by Astin (1965) on classroom environments. Astin sought to describe classroom environment by major field, but across colleges. A 35-item questionnaire was administered to 4,109 students from 19 different majors. Here is how the sample was constructed. The author tried to obtain one student in each of the 19 fields from each of 246 institutions. When a studant could not be found for a field in one institution, the author took two from another institutions. There were never more than 3 students per field from a given institution. The range of subjects per field was 124 to 246, with a median of 243.

The questionnaire called for "objective information about the instructor's behavior and techniques, the students' behavior in relation to the course, the interaction among students, the interaction between students and instructor, and other factors related to the classroom environment." The 19 fields sampled were: Accounting, Biology, Business Administration, Chemistry, Economics, Engineering, English, Fine Arts, French, German, History, Mathematics, Music, Physics, Political Science, Psychology, Sociology, Spanish, Western Civilization.

First, the proportions of students endorsing each item were computed separately by field and the differences were evaluated by means of a 2 x 19 chi-square test. Each of the 35 items was found to discriminate significantly ($p < .001$) among the 19 fields.

Then, the 19 fields were rank-ordered on each of the 35 items, and the ranks were converted into normalized standard scores. One hundred and seventy-one Q correlations were computed and factor analyzed. Three factors were extracted. Here are the factors along with some of the constituting items.

Factor I - Foreign languages versus Social Sciences: Spanish (.80), French (.76), German (.71), Music (.67), versus Economics (-.74), Sociology (-.73), Political Science (-.63), Psychology (-54). The item which discriminates most clearly between the Foreign Language and Social Science classes is: "The instructor knew me by name." On this item French, German, Spanish and Music rank first, second, third, and fourth, whereas Economics, Political Science, Sociology, and Psychology rank thirteenth, Seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth. And although the two groups of majors are considerably different on class size, with Foreign Languages having the smallest of all classes and Social Sciences tending to have classes slightly larger than average, even when one controls for class size, it still seems that Social Science instructors tend to know their students by name less than instructors in other areas. Among other characteristics of the two groups are the following. "Pop" quizzes are more likely to be used in Foreign Languages and Music classes. "Instructors in Foreign Languages and Music were rated 'enthusiastic' relatively often, and rated 'dull' and 'speaks in a monotone' relatively rarely. They also have their students as guests in their homes relatively often. The opposite pattern of ratings was found for instructors in Economics and Sociology (though not so much for those in Psychology and Political Science). Students in Sociology and Economics, compared with those in Foreign Languages and Music, are more likely not to speak in class unless called on, more likely to take notes in class and less likely to do the assigned reading. Students in Political Science, Economics and Sociology are also more likely than students in French and German to argue openly with the instructor'."

Factor II - Natural Science versus English and Fine Arts: Chemistry (.83), Biology (.82), Physics (.67) versus English (-.73), Fine Arts (-.68). "Classes in the Natural Sciences tend to be larger and to meet at an earlier hour than classes in English and Fine Arts. The Natural Science instructor is more likely to be a man, to be older, and to be judged by the students as well grounded in the subject matter of the course. The instructor in English or Fine Arts, on the other hand, is more likely to be sarcastic in class, to encourage class discussion, to know the student's name, and to give essay (rather than objective) exams. The English instructor (but not the Fine Arts instructor) is further distinguished from the instructor in Natural Science by his relatively good sense of humor. Students in the Natural Sciences, compared with students in English and Fine Arts, are more likely to take notes in class and not to speak in class unless called on. Students in English and Fine Arts are more likely to type their written assignments and to argue openly with the instructor. Classes in English and Fine Arts are much more likely to be regarded as "bluff" courses than are classes in the Natural Sciences."

Factor III - Business versus History: Accounting (.79), Business Administration (.76), Engineering (.57) versus Western Civilization (-.73) and History (-.52). "Instructors in Business courses tend to be younger, are more likely to be regarded as dull, and less likely to be regarded as enthusiastic, then are instructors in History courses. Also, they are more likely to give "pop" quizzes and objective examinations and to follow the textbook closely, and less likely to engage in research. Students in History courses, compared with students in Business courses, are more likely to know the instructor personally and to take notes in class."

This study by Astin was reported in great detail because, since it focuses on a description of the environment, rather than on the need structure of the students, it makes independently the point that major fields as psychological environments can be differentiated. The environment described consists of people, types of interaction, etc. and not of physical facilities. The questionnaire which was used, also attempts to reveal not only the reward structure of the environment, but even more those aspects which were referred to earlier as constraints and facilitators.

Also relevant to the notion of environment as a constraint and facilitator structure is the study by Isaacson (1964) on the relation between achievement motivation and curricular choice. The motivation score was derived by subtracting a Mandler-Sarason Test Anxiety Questionnaire z-score from a nAch z-score (McClelland method). Students above the median were classified in the "achievement" group, those below, in the "failure avoidance" group. On the basis of Atkinson's model, Isaacson predicted that students with high need for achievement would select curricular areas characterized as having an intermediate probability of success, and that those having a high "failure avoidance" score would tend to choose areas of high or low probabilities of success. Though he does not give the classification of areas in terms of probability of success, he reports that his hypothesis was confirmed, but only for men. The different results for women are explained in terms of the well-known lack of success of need for achievement measures with women populations. But even so, those results tend to confirm the hypothesis that curricular choices are related to need structure.

### C. School divisions as environment.

The term school division refers to groups of majors such as Humanities, Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, or to professional schools such as Medicine, Engineering, Architecture, etc. As psychological environments they represent a less differentiated level than the major. Still, one would expect students within one division to be more similar in need and aspiration than students of different divisions. The studies reviewed here tend to confirm this expectation. Strictly speaking, the study by Astin reported in the previous section should belong here, for although the sample was constructed on the basis of major areas, the results were presented for groups of majors.

The Blacky Pictures Test was administered to 29 Humanities students, (Music, Art, German, French and English), 28 Social Sciences students (Government, Economics, History) and 28 Natural Sciences students (Geology, Astronomy, Biology, Physics, and Chemistry). The author (Teevan, 1954) found the following characteristics to differentiate significantly between the three groups: the Humanities students (22 out of the 29 were English majors) had the highest disturbance score on Oral Eroticism; the Social Sciences students had higher scores on Oral Sadism, Oedipal Intensity, Guilt feelings, Anaclitic Love Object; and finally, the Natural Sciences students had the lowest disturbance scores on nearly all categories.

Magnussen replicated this study in 1959. He administered the Blacky Pictures Test to 20 males from the English department; 20 males from Government, History and Economics, and 20 males from

Biology, Geology, Chemistry and Physics. To make sure that his samples consisted of students seriously involved in their field, Magnussen included only those with a B+ or higher grade average. This study replicated a number of Teevan's results. The literature division showed higher disturbance scores on Oral Eroticism than the other two divisions. The Social Sciences division exhibited higher disturbance scores on Oral Sadism and nearly significant differences ( $p = .06$) on Guilt Feelings. However, the differences with respect to Oedipal Intensity and Anaclitic Love Object were not significant. Finally the Natural Sciences students again obtained the lowest disturbance score in practically all categories.

This is the only instance, among the studies surveyed here, of an exact replication of a study. The reliability of the findings is impressive and encouraging with regards to the hypothesis proposed in this paper.

Norman and Redlo (1952) used the MMPI to investigate personality patterns among seven groups of majors. These were Psychology and Sociology (N=20), Mathematics-Chemistry-Physics (N=18), Engineering (N=29), Business Administration (N=23), Art and Music (N=17), Anthropology (N=22), and Geology (N=8). The authors concluded that the MMPI was "valid for distinguishing personality trends amonst various major groupings." They also found "a tendency for students who were strongly satisfied with their major to resemble their own groupings on discriminative scales. " This finding confirms the expectation that, if a given educational environment represents a reward structure, the individuals in that environment, especially those who express satisfaction with it, should exhibit homogeneity of need structure. A large number of t-tests were done for each of the MMPI scales, and a large number of significant differences emerged. For instance, Art and Music students had a significantly higher score than Psychology and Sociology and Engineering on the L scale, than Engineering on the Hy and Sc scales; and then each of the other six groups on the Mf scale. Their high scores were significantly different from the total (total group minus contrasted subgroup), on both the L and Mf scales. The Engineering group had significantly lower scores than Anthropology on the F scale; and than Psychology and Sociology, Business Administration, Art and Music, and Geology on the Ma scale. Its low scores were significantly different from the total on the F, Mf and Ma scales. The following groups had scores significantly lower than the total: Business Administration on the D scale; Psychology and Sociology on the Pa scale; and Mathematics-Chemistry-Physics, on the Sc scale.

Some of these findings coincide with Clark's, as quoted earlier. Clark also found Psychology and Social Sciences male students to be higher on Pd. Both Clark and Norman and Redlo report

Mathematics and Physical Science students (though only the males in Clark's study) to be low on the Mf scale. These are the only comparisons that seem possible between the two studies because of the differences in method and sampling. Still, when comparisons are possible, it would seem that results tend to show personality similarities within majors and within divisions, even across institutions.

Another study done with the MMPI is that reported by Hancock and Carter (1954). The test was administered to students in three divisions: 93 College of Engineering students, 203 College of Liberal Arts and Sciences students, and 54 College of Commerce students. In this study, L.S.A. and Commerce students appear to be quite similar. On only one scale was there a statistically significant difference between the two groups: L.S.A. students were higher on the Pa scale. But a number of significant differences emerged between Engineering and Commerce students, and L.S.A. and Engineering students. Commerce students had significantly higher scores than Engineering students on the Hs, Hy, Pd, Mf, and Pt scales. L.S.A. students obtained signifcantly higher scores than Engineering students on the Hs, Hy, Pd, and Pa scales. The findings duplicate those of Norman and Redlo with respect to the Mf scale (Engineers scoring lower than all groups). On the Hy scale, Norman and Redlo found Art and Music students significantly higher than Engineering students, and Hancock and Carter report L.S.A. students to score significantly higher than the Engineering students. Those are the only comparisons that can be drawn between the two studies, again because of dissimilar grouping of majors.

The next four studies pertain to attitudes and values of college students, as they relate to curricular choice. Warnath and Fordyce (1961) hypothesized that students choosing different majors would show different values even before they enter into a specific program of study, that "early selection of a major is based on certain previously formed stereotypes of what the values will be in that major." For the analysis of the results the students are grouped according to five major divisions: 55 from Humanities (29 in Art and Architecture, the remainder from Speech, Music, English, Languages, Journalism); 60 from Natural Sciences (18 premedical and predental students, 16 from prenursing, the remainder from Chemistry, Physics, Geology, Biology, Mathmmatics or "undifferentiated science programs"); 34 from Social Sciences (History, pre-law, Political Science, Sociology, Social Work, Psychology, Geography); 34 from Business; and 32 from Education. To obtain the classification each of 205 randomly selected entering freshmen was asked to designate his most probably major course of study. The students were given the Poe Inventory of Values. This instrument yields eight value scales: aesthetic, intellectual, material (sample item: "My great ambition is to own a Cadillac"), power, social contact, religious, prestige, and humanitarian. It has 150 items. The students from the different divisions scored high on the following scales: Business on "material" and on "prestige"; Education on "religion" and on "social contact"; Humanities on "aesthetic" and on "humanitarian"; Natural Sciences on "intellectual"; and Social Sciences on "power". It may be recalled that Sternberg had found Biochemistry (premed), and Psychology majors to show a high need for power.

Warnath and Fordyce did a series of t-tests and found 19 differences between divisions to be significant at or beyond the .05 level. The most striking differences were between Humanities and all other groups on "aesthetic", and between Business and all other groups on "material". It is not necessary to list all the other significant differences. The results do support the hypothesis that values are related to choice of major, and to the extent that values are an index of at least some of the individuals' needs and aspiration, the results are more evidence in favor of the central hypothesis of this paper.

Stephenson, whose study of attitudes toward Negroes in a School of Education was reported earlier, extended his population in a later study (Stephenson 1952) to include freshmen and seniors in the College of Arts and Science, the School of Business Administration and the School of Education of Miami University. He again used both forms of the Hinckley Attitude Toward the Negro Scale. He found that both male and female education freshmen and female freshmen in Arts and Science had a significantly more favorable attitude toward Negroes than male Business Administration freshmen. Female Arts and Science freshmen have "near" significantly more favorable attitudes than males in the same class, while the latter have "near" significantly more favorable attitudes than male Business Administration freshmen. No significant differences were found between the average scores of Education and Arts and Science freshmen groups, or between those of senior groups of these same schools. However, male Arts and Science seniors were more like Business Administration males, and less similar to the other three senior groups (female Arts and Science, male and female Education). Both men and women seniors in Education have significantly more favorable attitudes than freshmen entering the same school. This is not true of any other group.

Kelly and Ferson (1958) developed a D-scale (attitude toward desegration scale) of 26 items. Item selection was done following the Thurstone method, but scoring was done on a Likert scale. The Scale was administered to 606 undergraduates selected at random. The scores were found to correlate with a number of factors, but of principal interest here was the highly significant differentiation between major groups. The groups ranked in the following way, from least favorable attitude to most favorable attitude: Business, Pharmacy, Education, Engineering, Humanities, "Miscellaneous", Fine Arts, Natural Science, Social Science, General (no major). The study was conducted in a Southern College.

In a research aimed at finding whether there is ideological consistency in college students, Robin and Story (1964) correlated scores on an Attitude toward the Bill of Rights scale with scores on an Attitude toward Minority Groups scale. The sample was, among other things, broken down into college subgroups (Agriculture, Engineering, Forestry, etc.), but no significant differences were found between any of the colleges on either of the two scales.

Although the implications of the last three studies are not great, the first two (Stephenson; Kelly and Ferson) suggest that even on a single attitude it is possible to distinguish between major groups. But here, geographical location might be important, a fact which is not inconsistent with the general theoretical framework adopted here.

Another study on the relationship of curricular choice to a single trait is that reported by Blum (1961), on the desire for security and field of study. Blum devised a Security Inventory which he administered, along with the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule to 404 male juniors and seniors. He found significant positive correlations ($p < .01$) between scores on his Security Inventory and the following EPPS scales: Deference, Order, Succorance, Abasement; and significant ($p < .01$) negative correlations between Security scores and scores on the Achievement, Autonomy, Dominance and Change scales. An analysis of variance between average scores in various fields of study was significant ($p < .05$). The fields ranked as follows from high to low need for security: Teaching, Business, Social Studies, Engineering, Humanities, Science, Pre-medical and pre-dental, pre-law.

The problem of the relationship between personality traits and curricular choice can also be approached from a slightly different angle. Most college entrance exams provide a verbal and a quantative score. To the extent that these differences in intellectual aptitude are correlated with differences in personality structure on the one hand and with differences in choice of field of study on the other, this approach would provide evidence in support of the general hypothesis. A few studies will be presented to make this point. Altus (1959) developed a personality questionnaire made of 25 items which he constructed on the basis of leads from two previous studies (Altus 1952, 1958). He administered this questionnaire to 1,092 incoming University of California students. From these students' scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Test, he derived a Verbal-Mathematical discrepancy score. This score was the difference between the VAT and MAT standard scores. The VAT-MAT discrepancy scores ranged from +27 to -28. The correlation between these scores and the personality scores were .26 for 638 women and .28 for 454 men, with a total *r* of .27. All correlations were highly significant. Then Altus discarded the 10 least discriminating items and added 15 others. Scores on the new 30-item scale correlated .32 (for 439 females), .32 (for 253 males), and .32 (total) with the VAT-MAT discrepancy score. Fifteen of these 30 items were found to discriminate significantly (p = from .05 to .0001) between students having a positive discrepancy score and those having a negative score (i.e. between mainly verbal and mainly quantitative students). Here is a description of the verbally superior student, drawn by Altus on the basis of those 15 items: "He is somewhat more mature or sophisticated; he appears to be somewhat less constrained by the requirements of social convention. It seems probably that he enjoys rather better relations with his immediate family and that he finds social gatherings somewhat less to his taste."

A somewhat more detailed differentiation of verbal and quantitative personality types emerges from the study by Sanders, Mefferd, and Bown (1960). On the basis of performance on the University of Texas Admission Test, these investigators selected 3 groups of students: 30 with a high verbal score and a low quantitative score (*Vq*), 25 with a low verbal score and a high quantitative score (*vQ*) and 29 with high verbal and high quantitative scores (*VQ*). Three personality measures were administered: the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, the McGuire Q-check, and that Holtman Ink Blot Test. In addition, 4 overnight urine samples were taken, covering known time-intervals: these were analyzed for 31 constituents (e.g., Magnesium/calcium ratio, urea, serotonin and epinephrine, and amino acids such as creatine, arginine, glutamine, etc.). When they compared the scholastic performance of their three groups, the authors found that the *VQ* group had high grades in all courses; the *Vq* group did best in verbal courses though not as well as the *VQ* group obtained their highest grades in quantitative courses, though again, their performance was not as good as that of *VQ* students. These results are not different from what one might guess on a common sense basis. Some personality differences emerged. On the Holtzman Ink Blot Test, the only finding was that the *Vq* group had a significantly shorter reaction time than the *VQ* group. However, the authors report that the examiner could accurately place 60% of the students in their respective groups.

On the EPPS, three scales yielded significant differences. The *Vq* students were higher than the *VQ* group on the Autonomy scale; the *VQ* group were higher than the *vQ* group on Dominance; and *Vq* was lower than both on the Endurance scale. On the McGuire Q-check, the Vq students described themselves as having a significantly more intensional or personal orientation and as rejecting authority more strongly. This description, in slightly different terms, matches the one given by Altus of students with higher verbal than quantitative scores. The vQ group appeared, on the same instrument, as significantly more rejecting of an extensional or reality orientation than the other two groups. On the physiological measures, it was found that the vQ group had a "strikingly lower urine flow and excretion rate for most variables than did the other two groups. 24 of 31 urinary constituents were lowest in this group, while 2 of the phenolic acids were highest in it." Here are excerpts from the personality descriptions which the authors give of two of the groups: Vq students are somewhat idealistic, subjective, imaginative, intuitive, independent and aloof from higher authority; vQ students are inclined to be introspective, objective, systematic, perserverant and factual, ambivalent, and dependent on higher authority and group affiliation, more physically active (e.g. football) than the other groups.

These two studies provide some evidence that high verbal students can be differentiated from high quantitative students on personality characteristics. Gilbert (1963) reviewed the literature on this topic. Though there does not appear to have been much research done on this question, Gilbert concluded that "conceptualization is associated differentially with certain kinds of behavior. Individuals who tend to be oriented toward quantitative concepts are reported to have personality characteristics which distinguish them from those who are oriented more toward linguistic, nonquantitative concepts." Gilbert tried to relate these conceptual preferences with choice of major and success in that field. He developed a measure of conceptual preference. The test consists of 60 statements which the subject must classify as either a form, a specific, an affective or an evaluative statement. The author argues that form and specific responses involve minimization of such stimuli as feelings and value judgments contained in the statements. On the basis of findings from the research which he has reviewed the author assumes that people making these choices (form p specific) are quantitatively oriented and the others are not. In any case, the scores on his instrument discriminated significantly between two groups of majors within a Liberal Arts College: (1) Chemistry, Mathematics and Physics; (2) Philosophy, History, Geology, Zoology, Political Science, Music, and Sociology. But it did not discriminate Engineering groups from the second group of majors, something which the author suggests might be explained by the fact that these are applied sciences. This explanation, however, is far from being convincing.

Before terminating this section, two attempts to validate some aspect of Super's theory of vocational development will be presented.

Warren (1961) focused on Super's theory that vocational options are acts in the implementation of a self-concept. He hypothesized that changes in college field of specialization or college major are likely to occur when a discrepancy exists between self-concept and expected occupational role. By using the OPI (Omnibus Personality Inventory) as the measure of self-concept, and 13 scales on which 13 sources of job satisfaction are rated (i.e., freedom from supervision, opportunity to work with people) as the measure of expected occupational role, Warren derived a self-role discrepancy score. Then he classified students in a number of "change" categories. Students were asked before entering college to state the field in which they proposed to enter. On the basis of the field in which these students were actually enrolled in the spring of their freshman and sophomore years they were then placed in the following categories: "no change", "minor change" (a change between closely related fields") "Major change" (a change between unrelated fields). An alaysis of variance of differences of self-role discrepancy scores between these three categories was not significant. When Warren refined his categories to cover five discrete steps instead of three, the analysis of variance was significant at the .05 level. Warren concludes that his hypothesis, while not unequivocally verified, has received some support. It seems difficult, however, to draw any conclusion regarding discrepancies between self-concept and expected occupational role, when nothing is known regarding the validity of the measures of these variables, and more important, whether the index of discrepancy is either reliable or valid in terms of the predictions of the theory.

The study by Cole, Wilson and Tiedeman (1964) is more specifically relevant to the present discussion. Super's theory leads the authors to assume that students "who are alike choose alike, and that the choice remains as it originally was for a period of time in direct relation to the number in the group with identical characteristics, i.e., the more numerous one's replicas, the longer one's choice endures." On the basis of these assumptions they formulate the following hypothesis: "The homogeneity of multivariate test scores for a group of students graduating in a particular area of concentration is greater than the homogeneity of that group of students upon entry into the area." The authors apply dispersion analysis to the scores on a number of tests of two groups of students: one from Rochester, the other from Harvard. The results from the Rochester sample support our general hypothesis: (1) homogeneity of multivariate scores is greater in the final than in the beginning group in each field of concentration; (2) atypical students have a tendency to migrate in other areas of concentration; (3) the multivariate score of migrating students is more typical of the group to which they move. The same results were found in the Harvard sample except that for this group "migration was not a function of antecedent patterns of personal traits."

D. The institution as environment.

This is the level at which the greater proportion of the research has been done, and at which tools have been specifically developed to measure the interaction between personality and college environment. Since this research has already been reviewed in a number of places (Pace and McFee, 1960; Stern, 1962(a); Stern, 1962(b); Stern, 1963), only an illustrative sample will be discussed here.

It should first be emphasized that different institutions bearing the same name are not necessarily similar. McConnell (1961) has argued that current college typologies are not too meaningful; that the categories "private", "public", "liberal arts", "professional", "vocational", etc. do not correspond to actual real differences and similarities. He points out, for instance, that Liberal Arts schools show great variety in their selectivity, and in the Scholastic Aptitude Test averages of their students. Similar points have been made by Heist and Webster (1960), and McConnell and Heist (1964). For this reason, attempts have been made to classify institutions differently. Two such approaches are presented here.

The first of these classifies colleges in terms of productivity, i.e., in terms of the number of Ph.D.'s or the number of scientists, researchers, writers, etc, they turn out. There are two well-known productivity indexes that have been developed, by Knapp and Goodrich (1952), and Knapp and Greenbaum (1953). In a study designed to check the"institutional" hypothesis implied in these indexes, namely that highly productive *institutions are more* efficient in their educational methods, Holland (1957) discovered particularly interesting characteristics of the human environment which makes up these institutions. Taking the 50 Knapp and Greenbaum and the 50 Knapp and Goodrich criterion lists of "high" productive colleges and equal numbers of "low" productive colleges, he compared them with respect to the expected number of high-aptitude students, and the observed number of such students to attend these schools. Talented students in Holland's study were winners or near-winners of the National Merit Scholarship. The expected number of National Merit Scholarship students at a given institution was taken to be the percentage of the total national undergraduate population which attended that institution. Holland found that "for both lists of colleges (i.e., Knapp and Goodrich, and Knapp and Greenbaum), for both winners and near-winners, for males and females (i.e., eight 2 x 2 tables in all), the differences were significant beyond the .001 level." Thus, "high" and "low" productive colleges have significantly different populations. Holland also finds that, although high-aptitude selectivity is not related to socio-economic status, there are significant differences between high-aptitude students attending "high" productive institutions and those attending "low" productive institutions with respect to their fathers' occupations. Essentially, "high" productive colleges tend to "attract students whose fathers work with their hands (machines or tools), with scientific ideas of apparatus, or with people in a social-service sense (especially teaching). Such a background appears to be conducive to achievement in science or to an emphasis on intellectual achievement. In contrast "low" productive schools attract students whose fathers' work is characterized more by its oral, persuasive, or leadership activities (in particular, supervisory and ownership positions in business, law, and government). Correspondingly,these backgrounds appear to be less fertile for the development of young scientists." From his results, Holland drew the conclusion that "the 'high' productive institutions are 'high' not because they do something better to the students but because 'input' is better to begin with." He would have us believe that these institutions are different only with respect to student environment. However, that is not completely true. There are also differences with respect to other aspects of the educational environments, as Thistlethwaite (1959) demonstrated in a fairly extensive study. This author developed two productivity indexes, one for Natural Science (NS), and for Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences (AHSS), which contolled for original talent input. The indexes "are the discrepancies between a school's expected rate of Ph.D. productivity (NS or AHSS), as predicted from its enrollment of talented students (percentage of freshman class who were National Merit Scholarship finalists), and its actual rate of productivity. Figures for a particular school indicate the relative success of that school in stimulating its undergraduates to get Ph.D.'s of a given type, the rating of success being independent of the quality of the student body."

Having adjusted the productivity indexes for talent input, the author still finds significant differences between colleges in their productivity. Here is how he ranks them with respect to NS productivity (F-ratio = 43.5, $p < .01$): (1) professional or technical schools, (2) men's colleges and universities, (3) public coed universities, (4) private coed colleges, (5) private coed universities, (6) public coed colleges, (7) women's colleges and technical schools. Using the same indexes, the author also finds significant geographical differences in the productivity of institutions. Geographical productivity rankings are as follows: for NS - New England, Far West, Middle West, Atlantic Seaboard, South; for AHSS - Middle West, New England, Atlantic Seaboard, Far West, South. There was also a productivity difference in both NS and AHSS between Catholic and Protestant institutions, the former being significantly less productive. With respect to characteristics of the institutions, both NS and AHSS productivity was found to be significantly correlated with type of student body (coed), and with number of books in the library. Productivity in NS alone was significantly correlated with size of 1956 freshman class (+.22); graduate programs offering the Ph.D.; absence of religious affiliation; public control. Productivity in AHSS alone correlated with size of city (negative correlation): student/faculty ratio (contrary to expectation productive AHSS institutions tend to have large numbers of students per faculty member). Finally productivity is correlated with faculty behavior (as measured by the College Characteristics Index which will be described later). Here is how Thistlethwaite describes the behavior characteristics of the faculty of the 12 institutions most productive in NS Ph.D.'s, out of a sample of 36: "First, their contacts with students are characterized by informality and warmth: open displays of emotion are not likely to embarass them; in talking to students they frequently refer to colleagues by their first names; they are not as likely to be described as practical and efficient in dealing with students; students do not feel obliged to address them as professor or doctor. Second, they emphasize high academic standards: according to student reports, their standards are exacting; they see through the pretenses and bluffs of students: they push students to the limits of their capacities; and they give examinations which are genuine measures of the student's achievement and understanding. Third, they have high standards for evaluating faculty productivity and selecting new faculty members. The faculty values pure scholarship and basic research, and the course offerings and faculty in the natural sciences are outstanding. Fourth, the faculty does not play the role of Big Brother: students need not sit in assigned seats and attendance is not taken; student organizations are not closely supervised to guard against mistakes; faculty members are tolerant and understanding in dealing with violations of rules. Finally, they tend to be more nondirective in teaching methods: students find it relatively hard to predict examination questions and to take clear notes in class; instructors less frequently outline explicit goals and purposes for the course; students are not required to submit outlines before writing term papers and reports."

The behavior of the faculty in the 12 most productive AHSS institutions was characterized as follows: "Excellent social science faculty and resources; a high degree of energy and controversy in instruction; broad intellectual emphasis (i.e. abstract); frequent contacts with students outside the classroom; a flexible, or somewhat unstructured curriculum; emphasis upon independent study and development of a critical attitude, excellent offerings in the arts and drama; and relatively infrequent appraisals of student performance."

Thus, it appears from Holland's and Thistlethwaite's investigations that "high" and "low" productive institutions constitute significantly different types of environments with respect to the intellectual talent of the students and a number of characteristics of the colleges and the faculties. The next two studies show that they also differ with respect to the non-intellective personality characteristics of the student body. Heist (1960) compared the Omnibus Personality Inventory (OPI), and Allport-Vernon Study of Values scores of students from "high" and "low" productive institutions using the Knapp and Greenbaum criterion. The "high" productive group was significantly different from the "low" group on 5 OPI scales: these students were higher on Thinking Introversion, Complexity of Outlook, Originality, Social Maturity, and they were lower on Authoritarianism. On the Study of Values they had significantly higher Theoretical, and Aesthetic scores, and lower Religious scores. When the author matched 50 students from each sample with respect to Scholastic Aptitude Test scores, the "high" productive sample was still significantly higher on Complexity of Outlook ($p < .01$) and Originality ($p < .01$), but significantly lower on Social Introversion and on Authoritarianism; and significantly higher on Aesthetic, and lower on Social and Religious in the Study of Values.

In a further study, Heist, McConnell, Matsler and Williams (1961) confirmed these findings. From National Merit Scholarship winners and near-winners, they chose two samples, one from the 31 most productive institutions on the Knapp and Greenbaum list, and one from other less productive institutions. These two samples were matched for aptitude, and were administered the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, the Allport-Vernon Study of Values, and the OPI. Significant differences on the OPI were as follows: for males, the "high" productive group was higher on Social Introversion, on Complexity of Outlook, on Originality, and lower on Authoritarianism; for females the "high" group was higher on Thinking Introversion, Complexity of Outlook and Ego Strength, and lower on Authoritarianism. The Study of Values yielded the following significant differences: "high" productive males were higher on Theoretical and Aesthetic, and lower on Religious; "high" productive females were higher on Aesthetic and lower on Religious. These results essentially replicate those from the previous study. For the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, the authors used Weissman's categorization of the scales into Theoretical, Applied-professional, and Applied-technical. This classification gives rise to the following significant differences: more "high" productive than "low" productive males have Theoretical interests; but more "low" than "high" productive males have Applied-technical interests. For females the results are slightly different: there are more "high" than "low" productive students in the Theoretical category; but more "low" than "high" in the Applied-professional category. The authors conclude that "students of high ability attending highly productive institutions have a pattern of traits, values, and attitudes which is more closely related to serious intellectual pursuits than have students of high ability attending less productive institutions." The other approach to the study of institutional environments to be presented here utilizes the Syracuse Indexes. A considerable amount of research has already been done with these instruments. Since this research is reviewed by Stern and others in the references indicated earlier, only a description of the Indexes and a sample of the findings will be given.

There are Two Sets of Indexes: one measuring personality needs, and several indexes measuring environmental presses in several educational environments (i.e., high school, college, night school). The concepts of need and press are those developed by H. Murray. Each Index consists of 30 scales of 10 items each. For each of the 30 need scales, there is in the environmental indexes a corresponding press scale. The rationale for the method is discussed by Stern (1963) in an article entitled "B=f (P,E)", K. Lewin's equation for the definition of behavior. To predict behavior, the author reasons, one should know the central features of the personality, of its environment, and of the nature of the relationship between the two. Stern distinguishes three components of the personality: percepts (knowledge of the meaning of the situation); need ("the behavior is dependent not only on what is perceived to be relevant, but also on the need to respond appropriately"); sanctions ("an ideological mandate which rationalizes the expression of the behavior", i.e., it is seen as appropriate).

What are the characteristics of the environment? Stern states: "These molar environmental conditions constitute the proximal stimulus configuration. As such they have already been accounted for as an aspect of P (personality), and incorporated in the enumeration of P's percepts." To avoid falling into the situation of describing the person and the environment in the exact same terms, the environment is defined "independently of P in terms of the percepts and sanctions shared consensually by interacting Ps." The justification for this is that "the perceived environment is both personal and social. It includes a public world largely shared by other (non-primitive, non-pathological) selves viewing each other as external people confronting the same external circumstances."

These theoretical considerations lead Stern to conclude that "we should in principle be able to predict behavior from a purely phenomenological analysis of the individual". In other words, we should be able to obtain from the individual, through projective techniques or other methods, material from which to obtain "a basis for insight into the self and the phenomenal world of which it is the center." The Syracuse researchers devised, as a result of this rationale, the corresponding need-press indexes.

The Activities Index is designed to measure the personality needs. Needs are assumed to be revealed in the modes of behavior employed by the individuals. The items are, therefore, statements of various types of activities. By finding in which of these the respondent is likely to engage one obtains an estimate of the strength of each of the 30 needs (e.g., achievement, deference, affiliation, harmavoidance, etc.). The environmental measures (College Characteristics Index, High School Characteristics Index) are made up of items which are framed in such a way as to get the characteristics of an environment "which would be satisfying to or tend to reinforce or reward an individual who had a high need for order, autonomy, nurturance, or understanding, or play, etc.." (Pace and Stern, 1958). Although the assessment of the environment is done through the individuals in it, McFee (1961) has determined that CCI and AI scores were statistically independent. The CCI has now "been tried out in nearly 100 colleges and universities." (Pace, 1960). Test-retest reliabilities in the order of .90 have been obtained. From a set of 60 institutions in which groups of students filled out the CCI, Pace (1960) selected 32 as a normative sample, "consisting of liberal arts colleges (highly selective and relatively unselective, nonsectarian and denominational, coeducational and non-coeducational), universities (public and private), and various professional schools (education, engineering, and business, some separate and some parts of larger universities)." One thing which the analysis of the data revealed was the great dissimilarity of educational environments among these institutions. The 30 scale scores were transformed into standard scores and rank ordered from high to low. Rank order correlations for the 32 institutions ranged from +.93 to -.87. Thus it appears that some educational environments are almost totally opposite to each other. For seven liberal arts colleges, all private and non-sectarian, correlations ranged from +.93 to -.01. For small liberal arts denominational colleges, they ranged from +.78 to -.35; among three teacher training schools, from +.71 to -.35; among four engineering schools, from +.64 to +.10. The same diversity appears when correlations are computed among institutions within the same geographical area. For six institutions, in southeastern states, correlations ranged from +.82 to -.75.

These findings would tend to weaken the argument in favor of homogeneity of similar curricula, for instance, of engineering schools. Pace does not provide any information about possible factors making for heterogeneity. For instance, is the difference in environment of the four engineering schools attributable to differences in geographic location (i.e., South versus Far West), to the aptitude level of the student population, or to "high" productive - "low" productive factors? We have seen that such variables significantly affect the nature of the educational environment. It seems plausible that, if this information was available, it might account for much of the diversity reflected in Pace's correlations.

When the data were factor analyzed, it seemed that two factors accounted for most of the differences among colleges: an intellectual and a social factor. Each factor is bipolar, and the high end of the intellectual factor apparently branches off into two clusters: one with a humanistic and one with a scientific emphasis. "The intellectual factor runs from a high stress on abstract, theoretical, scholarly understanding to a high stress on practical, status-oriented concerns. The social dimension runs from a high stress on group welfare to a rebellion against group life." Thus there are five clusters and Pace describes five types of college environments. A brief description of each follows. It will be seen that the first two correspond essentially to Thistlethwaite's "high" productive NS and AHSS institutions.

First type: High scores on the following press scales: Humanism, Reflectiveness, Sentience, Understanding, Objectivity, Energy and Achievement. "The School offers many opportunities for students to understand and criticize important works in art, music and drama. A lecture by an outstanding literary critic would be well attended. Books dealing with psychological problems or personal values are widely read and discussed. Long, serious intellectual discussions are common among the students. . . Concerts and art exhibits always draw big crowds of students. . . The professors really push the students' capacities to the limit. Students set high standards of achievement for themselves. Faculty members put a lot of energy and enthusiasm into their teaching."

Second type: High scores on Scientism, Change, Fantasied Achievement; low scores on Adaptiveness and Order. "Laboratory facilities in natural sciences are excellent. Many of the science professors are actively engaged in research. . . Most students do not dress and act very much alike. . . Student organizations are not closely supervised. Professors do not regularly check up on the students to make sure that assignments are being carried out properly and on time. Professors do not usually take attendance."

Third type: High scores on Practicality, Abasement, Dominance, Play, and Sex. "The dominant concern is with the practical and applied rather than the theoretical; and with this goes an equally strong concern for establishing one's status in relation to peers and accepting one's status in relation to authority."

Fourth type: High scores on Affiliation, Nurturance, Succorance and Conjunctivity. "The emphasis is on human relations, group welfare, social responsibility, and the well-mannered and well-managed community."

Fifth type: High scores on Aggression and Impulsion. "Students are sometimes noisy and inattentive at concerts or lectures. Many students seem to expect other people to adapt to them rather than trying to adapt themselves to others. Students occasionally plot some sort of escapade or rebellion. Many informal student activities are unplanned and spontaneous. There seems to be a jumble of papers and books in most faculty offices. Students often start projects without trying to decide in advance how they will develop or where they may end."

The material presented here, though only a sample of research on institutional environments, is sufficient to demonstrate that, in spite of the apparent diversity, it is possible to differentiate and classify these environments in a systematic way. The Syracuse approach, in particular, appears to be unusually promising.

## III - CONCLUSION.

A number of research findings have been reviewed in favor of a general hypothesis concerning the relationship of personality and environment. Essentially, this hypothesis states that given a degree of environmental differentiation, and the opportunity for mobility within it, the individual will orient himself toward that area of the environment which appears to him to offer the maximum possibility of fulfilling his needs and aspirations. If this is the case, and if there is a large number of individuals in the environment, then one should expect any area or subarea of the environment to be populated by a group of individuals exhibiting a recognizable modal pattern of needs and personality traits. The limiting factors are presumed to be the following: low mobility due to environmental obstacles or to shortcomings of the individuals; lack of knowledge on the part of individuals of the nature of the environment or difficulty in identifying their own needs; and finally, the continual ecological flux due to the interaction between personality and environment. This last factor is important: it is assumed that through this interaction the individual comes to discriminate the environment better and to identify his needs better, and that, as a result, individuals will move about in the environment, but also that changes inside the individual or in the environment can take place.

The review of the research attempted to demonstrate that whatever subarea or area of the environment one focuses on, recognizable modal need patterns appear. It could be pointed out that in many cases the evidence is meager or incomplete, but the bulk of it weighs in favor of the general hypothesis. Only in two cases were the results negative. In the few cases where findings could be compared across studies, the results tended to coincide.

No doubt, there is a great need for replications, and for standardization of research designs and the use of common measuring devices to facilitate comparisons. Much more research should be done at the level of Majors, and arbitrary grouping should be avoided. There may be some argument for saying that History, Law, Political Science and Sociology are all Social Sciences, but the individuals who take Sociology are generally clear that they are in a field quite distinct from Law or History. Thus, when Majors are studied, there is no justification for comparing, for instance, Anthropology on the one hand, with History and Sociology on the other. Any other grouping (e.g. History and Anthropology versus Sociology) would have been just as logical.

In conclusion, it can be said that available evidence provides indirect support for the hypothesis that individuals with a given pattern of needs and aspirations will seek compatible environments. The second part of the general hypothesis (that concerning incompatible choices) awaits further research.

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## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF A "WORK ORIENTATION" TOWARD LEARNING

### Introduction

This paper will attempt to show how a work orientation, with its own peculiar values and goals, can be seen to permeate a particular student culture. The indicators and the consequences of such an orientation will be presented.

In this context, a work orientation is taken to mean a system of values which can be seen in the type of belief system described by Weber in The Protestant Ethic. This orientation also contains many of the problems to which Marx and Veblen allude in their negative evaluation of the work situation where man is abstracted from his own labor.

The work situation occurs within the problematic and distressiing exigencies of modern life.[1] Nonetheless, the value of such an orientation in a complex and efficiency-oriented society is such that an understanding of and a belief in all or part of the value system of thrift, planning, organization, industry and so on pervades both work and play in modern society.[2] Such an orientation is also evident in predispositions within university training programs to rationalize and identify their scholarly purposes with efficiency or work purposes. The usefulness of higher education to progress in the modern world is a major tenet through which the ideology of higher education is re-inforced and expanded.[3]

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[1] See Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," from The Sociology of Georg Simmel, translated and edited by Kurt H. Wolff (Glencoe: The Free Press), (1950), p. 410. See also David Reisman, with Nathan Glazer and Ruel Denney, The Lonely Crowd, (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., Inc.), (1950), p. 165.

[2] Martha Wolfenstein, "The Emergence of Fun Morality," in Mass Leisure, ed. Eric Larrabie and Rolf Meyersohn, (Glencoe: The Free Press), (1959), p. 93.

[3] "The university has become a prime instrument of national purpose. . . . This is the essence of the transformation now engulfing our universities. Basic to this transformation is the growth of the "knowledge industry," which is coming to permeate government and business. . . What the railroads did for the second half of this century, the knowledge industry may do for the second half of this century, that is, to serve as the focal point for national growth. And the University is at the center of the knowledge process." Clark Kerr, (President of the University of California), The Uses of the University, quoted by Irving Howe in "Universities and Intellectuals," Dissent Magazine, (Winter, 1964), p. 9.

Consideration of this element in education leads to speculation about the advantages and disadvantages of a work orientation perspective in higher learning.[1] Business interests may be attracted to support higher education opportunities and legislatures may commit themselves to the funding and sponsoring of more education. On the other hand, university goals and humanitarian perspectives which flourish in a less practical and market-oriented schema may be discouraged or de-emphasized when academic institutions are, in some ways, pressed or encouraged to meet business institution criteria of success and failure.

Such questions have been, and are currently, discussed in the popular, educational, and sociological literature. In most of these discussions, the emphasis has been on the influence exerted by various competing institutions and values for the attention and commitment of students in the educational process. But relatively little attention has been paid to the activity of students themselves in directing the focus or value orientation of the academic institutions.[2]

In the following presentation, an attempt is made to indicate how students who are work-oriented face up to -- and resist -- a college atmosphere which de-emphasizes the value of a work-orientation in an academic setting and which focusses instead upon a growth-orientation: that is, on humanistic and scholarly values most traditionally associated with aristocratic patterns and values in education.

## The Problem

This study attempts to describe and explain some of the resistances to a small, elite college atmosphere from working-class, commuting college students to whom this type of education was offered. Hawthorn College began as an experimental college within City University. Students from the surrounding Detroit area could choose to go to this school or to the other colleges within the State University complex.

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[1] See David Reisman, Constraint and Variety in American Education, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press), (1956).

[2] Although some studies have been suggestive of this point, they are few in number. See for example Nevitt Sanford's study of Vassar Students where he suggests that the student culture sets the tone and standard of academic learning irrespective of faculty goals. Sanford, Nevitt. The American College. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1962.

Although Hawthorn was explicitly designed to offer the type of higher education promoting opportunities for personal growth and enrichment offered to the "more fortunate" student in small colleges, students were often reluctant to take advantage of the opportunity. The percentage of Hawthorn withdrawals from the class entering in 1959 who transferred to other colleges and universities is almost three times as high as the average liberal arts college.[1] And the school has not yet been able to attract the full enrollment it had anticipated.[2]

The immediate aim in this study is to uncover and describe what motivated students to withdraw from Hawthorn. In so doing, it is hoped to further understanding of the scope and content of the work/learning orientation as students experienced it.

## The Area Studied: Description of the Group

The students concerned with here are those in the first class entering Hawthorn in the Fall of 1959. By the Fall of 1963, eighty per cent of the original class had withdrawn from the college. There were two hundred and fifty-four withdrawals, forty-eight of whom were engineering students. The population for this study was selected from these students. Withdrawals, qualifying for this population, were those who had left Hawthorn and had not returned as of the Fall of 1963 and who, at the time of their official departure, had a grade point average of 1.9 (C) or above. This group was selected in order to deal with students who left for reasons other than inability to perform on a college level. Forty-three of the ninety-five students who made up this population were interviewed.

A high percentage of withdrawals, 77 per cent, transferred into the larger university, City, of which Hawthorn is a part. Primarily this number turned to the Liberal Arts College.

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[1] According to a study conducted by Robert Iffert in 1962, in a sample of one hundred and forty-seven colleges throughout the country, 23 per cent of all withdrawals were transfers to other colleges. From official school transcripts we are able to ascertain that at least 60 per cent of all withdrawals from Hawthorn were transfers; or to say it another way, while 77 per cent of all withdrawals from other colleges were drop outs, only 40 per cent of Hawthorn's withdrawals fit this category.

[2] As of the Fall of 1963, there were 751 out of an expected 1200 students enrolled in Hawthorn.

This choice seems to indicate that the withdrawals' reasons for leaving Hawthorn lie in the differences between City's Liberal Arts College and Hawthorn. (See Table 1)

TABLE 1

WHERE WITHDRAWERS WENT AS OF SPRING 1963*

| | INTERVIEWED | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|
| Transferred to another college at city | 29 | 46 |
| Transferred to LA | (15) | (23) |
| Transferred to professional school | (14) | (22) |
| Transferred to a different university | 7 | 8 |
| Dropped Out | 7 | 30 |
| Directly | ( 5) | ( 5) |
| After trying another college | ( 2) | (25) |
| Destination Unknown | 0 | 11 |
| | 43 | 95 |

*Seven came back to Hawthorn and tried again. Only one was interviewed. Twenty-one of the fifty-four who successfully transferred to another college tried two colleges before settling down. Of these, eleven were interviewed.

In both the interviewed sample and the population, the heaviest withdrawals occurred during the first year. (See Table 2 from original text, p. 19)

TABLE 2

SEMESTER LAST ATTENDED CLASSES AT HAWTHORN

| Semester Last Attended | | Sample | Population |
|---|---|---|---|
| First | | 13 (30%) | 28 (29%) |
| Second | | 11 (26%) | 28 (29%) |
| | Subtotal | 24 (56%) | 56 (58%) |
| Third | | 4 (9%) | 6 (6%) |
| Fourth | | 6 (14%) | 13 (14%) |
| Fifth | | 6 (14%) | 8 (8%) |
| Sixth | | 3 (7%) | 10 (11%) |
| Seventh | | 0 (0%) | 1 (1%) |
| Eighth | | 0 (0%) | 1 (1%) |
| | Subtotal | 19 (44%) | 39 (41%) |
| | Total | 43 (100%) | 95 (99%) |

Cumulative honor point averages last achieved in Hawthorn were dispersed; most of the sample and population achieving the averages at the lower end of the range. (See Table 3 from original text, p. 20)

TABLE 3

CUMULATIVE HONOR POINT AVERAGE
AT TIME OF OFFICIALLY LEAVING HAWTHORN

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1.9 | 2.0 | 2.1 | 2.2 | 2.3 | 2.4 | 2.5 | Subtotal |
| Population | 8 | 14 | 4 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 54 (57%) |
| Sample | 4 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 24 (56%) |
| | 2.6 | 2.7 | 2.8 | 2.9 | 3.0 | 3.1 | Subtotal | |
| Population | 5 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 8 | 4 | 27 (28%) | |
| Sample | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 10 (23%) | |
| | 3.2 | 3.3 | 3.4 | 3.5 | 3.6 | 3.7 | Subtotal | |
| Population | 1 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 14 (15%) | |
| Sample | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 9 (21%) | |
| | | | | Population Total | | | | 95 (100%) |
| | | | | Sample Total | | | | 43 (100%) |

The five dropouts in the sample were the most positive[1] in their feelings toward Hawthorn. Two said that they planned to return as soon as they could; one said she would like to, but financially it would be impossible; one said that she liked Hawthorn and regretted leaving, but would not want to return to school again. And one indicated that she had mixed feelings about Hawthorn, but would not want to return. Marriage caused four students to drop out; the other dropped out to work.

## The Area Studied: The Questionnaire

A questionnaire was constructed to cover the following topics: experiences of students in conducting their social science research projects; and the quantity and nature of the respondent's exposure to various elements of Hawthorn--Student Centers, student groups, advisors, faculty-- and of the college to which he transferred.

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[1] The most concise way of indicating the extent of the positive feelings of the dropouts of the sample is to refer to the rating given respondents for the number of areas in which they had negative feelings toward Hawthorn. The range of possibilities was between zero and five. The areas were feelings about independence, course work, discussions, students, and practical considerations. A positive or unascertained reply was considered a zero. Each negative statement was given a score of one. The mean score for the sample was 3; for the dropouts the mean was 0.6.

Another group of questions dealt with the respondent's home, social, organizational, and work backgrounds. These attempted to determine the extent and kinds of influences coming from these sources on the respondent's feelings toward Hawthorn and on his decision to withdraw. The final group of questions concerned the respondent's general attitudes toward college, their study habits, and their definitions of their life style and life goals.

## The Work-Orientations of Withdrawals From Hawthorn

### GRADING AS INCENTIVE

Many withdrawals from Hawthorn had values toward education very much like those held toward work by workers still endowed with the Protestant ethic. The more one works, the more one produces; therefore if one does not work hard, one cannot be producing much, and hence one is not learning. Therefore, to be "paid" a sum (to be given a grade) which is supposedly paid only for working hard (an A or B) when one has not worked hard at all, is very disrupting. The boss/instructor or the factory/school must be at fault, incompetent, or dishonest. In illustration, here are comments of two students who were annoyed with Hawthorn because of the grades they received.

> Interviewer: What were the advantages of going to Hawthorn Hawthorn for you?
>
> #4 (Education major): Yeh, one and this is personal to me--ah, this sorta brought the idea home that you don't get something for nothing. *And the idea that you don't gain knowledge, and you don't get yourself any place by not doing anything regardless of what the grade is.*[1] I came out (of Hawthorn) with two A's and I did absolutely nothing; really, it's fantastic. . . . And yet I did see some kids who came out with C's, D's, and E's, and I felt kind of sorry for them because I felt that they were trying to make it more difficult than it really was.
>
> #15 (History major): Another reason, and this is rather critical of Hawthorn, I had the feeling--I got fairly decent grades in Hawthorn--a couple of B's and an A. . . . I had the feeling while I was in Hawthorn that because we were the first class, the instructors were bending over backwards with grades; and I received a couple of B's that I don't really think I deserved. And I turned in some papers that I didn't think met the standards of B work and I did

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[1] Italics supplied by the author here and throughout quotations.

> receive B. And I had the feeling that if I went into Liberal Arts, these instructors would be much more critical of my work than the Hawthorn instructors . . . and I think it was because we were the first group, and they wanted to make sure that we did a good showing.

With a work orientation toward school, it is reasonable to assume that the situations these students found themselves in might be quite troublesome. An obvious alternative to leaving Hawthorn was for them to say to themselves, "Since I feel badly because I didn't work hard enough or produce satisfactorily this semester, I will have to do better in the next." This line of thinking is not effective because, as will be shown in the section on independence, these respondents feel that they cannot do better unless the grading is "stricter." The second respondent quoted says that he is switching to Liberal Arts because there he will be "paid" fairly. He won't "goof-off" as much; he will work harder, because he knows that if he doesn't, he will get punished. Thus, the grades act, as he sees it, as the whips of the authority figure which will guarantee him that he will be forced to "learn something." The respondents need incentive to make them work hard. In many other areas besides grading, withdrawals expressed feelings of non-commitment to their own educational growth. These areas are explored in the following sections.

### PRAGMATIC CONSIDERATIONS

Probably the most overt expression of a work orientation toward learning can be seen in the pragmatic considerations which played an important role in motivating students to leave Hawthorn.

Just as the worker may judge the worth of a job by the amount of pay involved, so too, many respondents seem to give great credence to the idea that learning is a means to some end, rather than an end in itself. Since the assumption is made that learning is important only as it eventually provides for monetary success, it is logical to switch out of Hawthorn if this aim is more efficiently and effectively insured elsewhere.

Nineteen respondents (or 44 per cent of the sample) pointed to pragmatic considerations as being totally or partially responsible for their leaving. (See Table from original text, p. 37)

PRAGMATIC CONSIDERATIONS

| Reason for withdrawing | Number |
|---|---|
| Pragmatic considerations | |
| Hawthorn interfered with major/english | 8 |
| Bachelor of Philosophy degree would not be useful | 7 |
| Hawthorn credits not transferable | 2 |
| Hawthorn no longer justified avoiding taking courses required in other colleges | 2 |
| Subtotal | 19 (44%) |
| No pragmatic considerations | 24 (56%) |
| Total | 43 (100%) |

What were some of the pragmatic considerations affecting students in this group? Two respondents felt that Hawthorn provided inadequate training in English; and Hawthorn classes took away from time spent and course credit earned more beneficially in English courses. Six respondents indicated that Hawthorn courses interfered with their majors. For example:

> # 10 (Mathematics major): When I was in Hawthorn, I think I was able to only take four hours of my own in those three years. This could have been my own fault. Maybe I could have taken more, but there were other pre-requisites I needed, such as English and Physical Education, and so forth.[1] And I had to take those with my Hawthorn courses and my major in history. It was only after I got out of Hawthorn that I really got into my field. What was it--you had to take 22 hours the first semester, right? . . . I'll show you an example. So you take 12 hours of Hawthorn, that leaves you four hours of going into your major. Well, if you have to take English or you have to take some other class--in fact--I think that first semester was physical education. I needed physical education so there was no history at all that first semester. The second semester it was the same thing--you needed 12 hours. And maybe I did get my basic history course, okay, that is just one, and even in the second semester or in the third semester, I had to take one history course--at the end of a year and a half I only had eight hours of history and I wanted more.

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[1] These prerequisites were not Hawthorn's but those of the School of Education.

One informant in this group found herself in a conflict because her values were both growth and work oriented. She would spend a great deal more time on her Hawthorn social science course work than was required because she felt a definite personal commitment and interest in the course material and in the faculty. However, the time and energy she was expending in this way was at the expense of her major courses in mathematics and ultimately at the expense of her future career in computer programming. "There's a time and a place for everything" the saying goes, and for this respondent, school was not the place for getting involved in ideas or in personal intellectual exploration; it was a place where one works at getting a degree. (# 19): "I'm definitely a job oriented person," she explained, " which would require me to know something in my major area and I would definitely ignore it in Hawthorn."

Seven respondents felt that a Bachelor of Philosophy degree would be a hindrance to their future career plans either in terms of getting a job upon graduation or continuing their education in graduate school. For example:

> # 32 (Nursing major)[1]: I'm married now. But at the time, I didn't know what I'd be doing, and I'd have to support myself some day; and if I had gone four years in Hawthorn, I would have ended up with a degree in philosophy--is it? And which I could not do much with unless I went for further graduate work; and most of the kids I know, that's exactly what they're doing. Well, four years of college is pretty long, and it's expensive, you know. And if you've got to support yourself on four years of college, you're not going to do that in Hawthorn too well, I don't think. And this is kind of--I don't know--if I were a real wealthy kind of girl or boy, and I didn't have to worry about money, and I was seeking intellectual thought, then Hawthorn is a fine idea. But for me personally, it wouldn't have done too well. . . .

> # 8 (Business Administration major): I just wanted the degree for the money; and I couldn't see where Hawthorn would afford me a bargaining position. . . . A Bachelor of Philosophy degree is not exactly common, and the opportunity for using such a degree is quite limited--I should think--in the outside world. . . . As far as the selling feature, Hawthorn doesn't offer anything. In fact, some people when you mention the name-you'd be very fortunate if you spoke to a hundred

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[1] Went into Nursing after leaving Hawthorn.

> people outside the university who ever heard of Hawthorn.

Two others, who had transferred to the University of Michigan, said that they thought Hawthorn course credit would not be transferable. Rather than continuing in Hawthorn accumulating credits which they felt would be worthless to them, they transferred to Liberal Arts for the duration of their stay at City.

> # 17 (Pre-Law): I dropped out of Hawthorn because I intended to go to the University of Michigan and I wanted to make sure that I could take courses which would not only be accepted at the University of Michigan, but which would be pre-requisite in the courses I wanted to continue in as a junior at the University of Michigan. I was given information by a counselor at University of Michigan, off the cuff, as to what courses would be the right pre-reqs and those were all Liberal Arts courses. . . . And secondly, I was worried at the time I dropped out of Hawthorn because nobody, including the professors I spoke to, knew what kind of degree we were going to get--whether it was going to be Bachelor of Philosophy or a Bachelor of Arts. . . .And I didn't like the idea of spending all that time in school and later find out I was getting a degree that most people would chuckle at, you know.

Finally, two respondents found themselves double-crossed by their own work values toward learning. These two entered Hawthorn in the Fall of 1959, not because of some positive interest or curiosity, but because Hawthorn could allow them to avoid taking certain courses which would be requirements in other colleges.

> # 13 (Mathematics major): When I first entered (Hawthorn) I thought, "Well, this is a way to get out of a language," but then I looked ahead and saw that it wouldn't do me any good, that I'd have to take one sooner or later since I wanted to go on for a Ph.D.; and so (I transferred out).
>
> Interviewer: Why did you drop out of Hawthorn?
>
> # 30 (Electrical Engineering): It all started when I got into Hawthorn in the first place. It was that I kind of dreaded taking the English courses. And you took Hawthorn and of course, you didn't have to take English and some other courses; so I decided I might as well try Hawthorn and see how it would go. And after I got into it and I took it for a year. . . .

> I found that I really wasn't that interested in it; and I found out I had to stay the four years in order to be exempt from the English and everything else. So, I figured, I might as well just drop Hawthorn and go ahead and take the required courses.

Although practical and pragmatic values are elements of going to school and must be taken into account, it seems that many respondents may over-value this aspect while underrating other values, as self-development or growth, in an education. Learning continues to look very much like a business venture.

## COURSE CONTENT

Students' feelings about the course content--assignments and readings--in the Natural Science and Social Science sequences show more about the work/learning process.

Fourteen respondents (33 per cent of the sample) expressed negative feelings about both Natural Science and Social Science. Five respondents (12 per cent of the sample) were negative about Social Science and positive about Natural Science course work. Nine respondents (21 per cent of the sample) had negative feelings about Natural Science and positive about Social Science course work. Fourteen respondents (33 per cent of the sample) were positive about both sequences. (One respondent was categorized as unknown in this area.) (See Table from original text, p. 43, and added footnote.)

Respondents who expressed negative feelings toward course content in Science of Society (their Social Science course) were also the most satisfied about leaving Hawthorn. And respondents with positive feelings about course content in Social Science tended to be regretful about leaving.[1]

Respondents' complaints or difficulties, regardless of the course or courses that were involved,[2] were founded on the same assumptions: learning should be work and learning materials should be like work materials. The worker/student does not view course work in personal and emotional terms. He sees it more as something he must mechanically manipulate in order to "produce" satisfactorily.

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[1] One respondent's feelings are unknown.

[2] Except for a few cases where a respondent's dislike for Natural Science was based on lack of aptitude in mathematics.

## TABLE 5

Feelings About Course Materials In:

| Science of Society |  | Natural Science | Number of Students |
|---|---|---|---|
| negative | and | negative | 14 |
| negative | and | positive | 5 |
| positive | and | negative | 9 |
| positive | and | positive | 14 |
| unknown |  |  | 1 |
|  |  | Total | 43 |

Three Ways Feelings About Courses Were Divided*

Feelings about Natural Science:

| Positive | Negative |
|---|---|
| 19 (44%) | 23 (53%) |

Feelings about Social Science:

| Positive | Negative |
|---|---|
| 23 (53%) | 19 (44%) |

Feelings about courses in general:

| Positive<br>(Any positive feelings about either course | Negative<br>(Only negative feelings about both courses) |
|---|---|
| 28 (64%) | 14 (33%) |

---

*The actual cross tabulations were as follows:

Attitude Toward Leaving Hawthorn

| Evaluations of Social Science Course Work |  | Satisfied With Leaving | Dissatisfied With Leaving |
|---|---|---|---|
|  | Pos. | 10 | 9 |
|  | Neg. | 18 | 2 |

Hawthorn course material and assignments were oriented toward self development. Respondents could not make sense out of this orientation. The knowledge they were being exposed to seemed to have no practical purpose.

> Interviewer: What did you think about the research project in Science of Society 132?
>
> # 21 (Engineering): About doing the research project? Well, I think some research projects would be a good idea, but the one I had, I don't think I benefited from it that much. It really didn't mean that much at all.
>
> Interviewer: Why was that?
>
> #21 Well, it was of no use to me. It just took up time. I went around and interviewed old folks in various areas. And as far as educational purposes--it added very little to it because you listen to their problems and--I mean, naturally you feel you gain a little bit. You get an understanding of the problems of old folks and the medical care for them, but as a whole, I don't think it was very worthwhile, that particular project, at least.
>
> # 23 (Pre-Pharmacy major): The way I felt then was--to use a plain term--snowed under to a certain extent. . . . The one course I was taking, I couldn't see--because it was so petty. . . . At the time we were studying the theory of numbers and all that. . . . And at the time I thought it would be just--I couldn't understand why we were studying something like this in college. I could see going on to higher mathematics, but I couldn't see knowing why two and two is four.

From a work/learning orientation not only should learning material be usable, but it should be simple, accessible and arranged in such a way that studying becomes more a matter of absorption than of thinking. Encyclopedic texts which summarize and categorize knowledge into neat, easily memorized bundles of facts and figures are quite adaptable to a work approach. Hawthorn's texts were organized so that the student could become involved in gaining insights and developing intellectual tools. As he read through the various excerpts and articles, he could note relationships, contradictions, similarities, compare disciplines and so on. Thinking through the material in this personal and reflective way is contradictory to the material acquisition-of-knowledge version of work/learning to which worker/students adhered; to them, it seemed that they weren't "learning anything."

Interviewer: Did Hawthorn meet the expectations that you had about it?

# 9 (German major): I don't feel I did get anything out of it. It wasn't all my fault. . . . It was disorganization and maybe just the courses themselves. Like I enjoyed their Social Science course; I don't think I learned anything. In the same book--I believe it was how to take care of children and how to shoot an elephant (laughingly), all in the same book, you know. And I really enjoyed the course, but I can't really say I learned anything. It struck me as really being ridiculous, to be perfectly honest. I got a B in the course--I don't even recall how to shoot an elephant.

Interviewer: What did you think about the way the sequences were organized and presented?

#9: To tell you the truth to this day I don't know how they organized that first Science of Society course, how they started with the brain washing of Korean prisoners and child care, the shooting of elephants--and I still don't know what the object was. It seemed to be a little bit of everything and that's what I mean about not being directed; I finished that course not knowing where I was going. I had learned a little bit about various things, but what good had it done me? . . . If you'd have an objective throughout all that you're doing and then wind up your objective and see where you've reached or you haven't reached it.

# 37 (Elementary education): Even though I would like the Social Science better . . . the material in the syllabus, many of the articles were just dull. I didn't enjoy reading them. And I think I didn't because you jumped from place to place. You just got a smattering of this and a smattering of that. But Natural Science was more logical; you had a whole section about one subject.

Worker/students don't want any if's-and's-or-but's in their learning material. Uncertainties make their task that much more difficult. Students feel they are hindered in their chances of doing what they are expected to do, and so the size of their paychecks/grades is endangered.

The following respondents ask in essence, how can students acquire a store of concrete knowledge to utilize on their tests, papers, and in their professions, if Hawthorn offered mainly growth-oriented material?

> Interviewer: How did being on your own affect you?
>
> # 36 (Education major): Well, I did the work; I was able to. I think at the time I left I had a feeling that I wanted a little more direct purpose in a course. And I think at the time, thinking back, that Hawthorn did in a way seem to generalize. I felt I wanted a more direct approach to my education.
>
> Interviewer: More direct?
>
> # 36: Yah, more cut and dry in taking these courses.
>
> # 38 (Mass communications major): When I was in Hawthorn I got the feeling I just wasn't learning anything. There was nothing I could put my finger on and say this is what I really learned. I can see the purpose of most of the courses but I like to deal with hard and fast facts and I just wasn't getting anywhere. . . . After the first quarter I seemed to lose interest in classes; they just didn't seem too terribly interesting to me. So after a while I just didn't go.

The following respondent gives another nuance of meaning to the work/learning process; the student pays his money and is taught information very much like a consumer purchases goods.

> Interviewer: What were the disadvantages of going to Hawthorn for you?
>
> # 38: I would say that it was a sense of academic lack as far as I was concerned, that I just felt I wasn't learning anything; and I was putting down good money and investing good time; and well, I, hopefully, expected an education and Hawthorn didn't live up to what my idea of what an education was. I could see the point in broadening the individual, but as I said before, I'm a person that likes to deal in facts and concrete things; I wasn't getting much out of it.

In the comments of the following respondent, we see the connedtion between course material and independence which helps to make clear the strong relationship between the two. The lack of explicit definitions and procedures for course work can be frustrating to a work-oriented student. The idea here is: how can you learn anything if you aren't told how and what you're supposed to be learning? Also, one does not work by "experiencing" something, but by directly, physically performing the assigned task. The worker, after all, is not interested in changing himself, he is interested in doing what he's supposed to, getting the job done. To observe children, for example, seems a very unproductive expenditure of time if one is concerned with acquiring concrete knowledge that has already been ordered and given rational meanings by "experts"--knowledge which is safe and efficient.

> # 24 (Psychology major): I got much more out of my Liberal Arts courses, take for example, the social science course. I think I learned more in my sociology course than for the year and a half I was in social science in Hawthorn. These are the main reasons, I think.
>
> Interviewer: Could you tell me a little bit more about that? About the sociology course?
>
> # 24: Well, maybe it was partly my fault; maybe I didn't spend as much time studying in my freshman year as I did in my other two years; and then just as far as an overall approach to sociology or social science, I got much more out of the Liberal Arts social science course.
>
> Interviewer: What do you mean when you say you got more out of it in Liberal Arts?
>
> # 24: I remember from sociology. And I understand more about it than I did from the Hawthorn social science course. Another thing that I didn't like, I thought some of the assignments were much too difficult. I remember when I was a first semester freshman, we had to go to Child-Lab and observe. And I had no background in this sort of thing. I feel I could do the assignments now; maybe that's a result of maybe four years of education; I don't know. I was stunned; I didn't know what to do. And other students--they didn't know what to do either. You know, "what do you do? What do you look for?"--things like that. We were just in a couple of weeks and we were thrown into this thing.

By "objectifying" knowledge, and by seeking only concrete, easily absorbed assignments and readings, respondents are expressing an assumption that the student should be uninvolved or uncommitted to the content of his learning experience. Like the factory worker, he should deal with the materials of his work only in so far as it will have some direct practical gain for him.

## EXPRESSIVENESS IN DISCUSSION GROUPS

In this section, we will be concerned with students' feelings about discussion classes and their feelings about "intellectual Hawthorn students."

The worker when he comes home after a day at the factory or office talks about his dislike for his boss, how he had to work overtime because the office had a rush job to get done, and how difficult his work had been for him that day. And so, too, does the worker/student talk about school in these terms. "Mr. so-and-so is a stupid teacher; but he's an easy marker." "I was late to my physics class because my Econ. instructor kept us after the bell rang." "I took a test today and it was really hard." The growth-oriented student is also concerned with the people and the incidents surrounding his day at school; but at the same time he is thinking about the content of his educational experience and wants to talk about it, argue, and build on it with others. Although the material the worker/student deals with has meanings and significance broader and potentially, at least, more personally meaningful than the materials of a clerk or key-punch operator, he talks about learning as if it were the same.

Discussions at Hawthorn are structured so that they call for students verbally to present themselves as people interested in academic or intellectual matters. They involve student participation in a group where interactions are supposed to be founded on common desire to gain insights and to understand. And they require involvement in confrontations of values and attitudes with a peer group and with instructors. In discussions, students are asked to take ideas seriously, to talk about the content of their learning--this is very much opposed to a work/learning perspective. The basic similarity which runs through expression of feelings about course materials and feelings about discussions helps to exemplify this and explain the response of work-oriented students in this regard.

There were three groups of reasons given by respondents as explanations for their negative feelings. Eleven had dificulty being verbal or articulate about course content. For example:

> # 2 (Elementary education major): I didn't think that I fit in exactly.
>
> Interviewer: What do you mean?
>
> # 2: Well, for one thing they wanted--they had small groups and they wanted discussions and I never would contribute. (Slight embarrassed laugh) I'd get--I just didn't feel like I belonged there. It wasn't right for me. . . .I had some informal classes in high school, it wasn't that it was informal that bothered me. I had art classes and they're usually not as structured. You just go in and do what you want to.

Interviewer: And you didn't have discussions?

# 2: Well, I talked; I just talked to other people. I didn't have to say something significant.

The informant talks to other people about school, no doubt, in the same sense that one talks about the weather or what one had for dinner, but to express herself on course content was a step she could not take.

The respondent in the next illustration saw the discussions as a debate or a competitive situation.

> # 42 (Electrical Engineering): I didn't enjoy too much the--these classes with a lot of false happy discussions; I enjoyed being there, but I am not the type that participates in it well enough. I may understand and everything but it usually takes a little thinking for me to be able to offer anything worthwhile. After three or four semesters of it, I was getting tired of it so I (left). . . . I would be in a class and not talk hardly at all--mainly because if somebody would present an argument and I can't come up with a good counter argument, it just doesn't occur to me immediately; or I like to think things over quite a while; so I normally didn't take part too much, and I admire the students who can. Most of them could, but it's not . . . easy, it's not a matter of just studying the subject and doing it until you do become more proficient at it especially-- it's just a sort of talent that you have to have, I think.

Five respondents expressed distaste with the style or content of discussions per se. The following quotation illustrates the difficulties of respondents in this respect. This respondent could participate and liked discussions until the issues became emotionally charged and not easily resolved.

> # 16 (Elementary education): I had one obnoxious person in my Social Science class. It was about the Jewish people and it just got off on a binge and I didn't enjoy it 'cause I don't enjoy arguing about things like that. You know, open-ended things that go on and on.
>
> Interviewer: What kind of things do you like to discuss?
>
> # 16: I like to talk about just about anything but not the sort of things that have no answers and breed sort of discontent among your classmates. It got too heated for me and I dropped out before it did. I was interested in it for awhile but when it started

> getting heated then I wasn't interested any more, when it excites . . . angry feelings.

Other respondents centered their complaints on the actual content of discussions. Pragmatic considerations again appear in this new context.

> Interviewer: Were there any discussions which you particularly disliked?
>
> # 23 (Pre-pharmacy major): Yes, I can--a paper I had to write on face work--a discussion I disliked (sic). Not because it was embarrassing to me or anything, I just wasn't interested in it. It was one of the particular things that sticks in my memory as boring me to death--that's all. Some of the discussions we had were rather--oh, what would you say?--way out, sort of odd-ballish. At the time it seemed a little bit useless to me, even the fact of the type of discussions we were in; but still--face work, what's the action between one person and the other person . . . not spoken reaction, but the feeling of two people as they pass each other walking down the street; this sort of thing to me didn't seem appropriate at all. It seemed a waste of time.

There were seven respondents who experienced the independence given students in discussion as the primary source of trouble and also gave reasons similar to those expressed about course content. Here are two examples of this view.

> # 19 (Mathematics major): Actually, I prefer discussion sessions where the instructor in charge lectures. . . at least a good daal of the time. In other words, if you meet three times a week, I prefer for him to lecture most of the two times and devote complete time to student discussion maybe only one time because in general students' discussions are not particularly productive. And I just think the student learns more if the instructor kind of lectures. . . . This kind of discussion, I think is beneficial as long as the instructor takes the lead but just something thrown open to the class as I've seen some of the professors' classes done--they're very unproductive and boring.
>
> # 34 (Education major): I didn't feel that I was getting that much out of it. And I mean, you go to a class where a kid can argue and argue and argue on an insignificant point for fifteen, twenty minutes; well, I used to bring the City Gazette to class and read it and do my other homework because I would get bored silly and that's the

> main reason. . . .
>
> Interviewer: Did Hawthorn meet the expectations that you had about it?
>
> #34: The main reason was the small classes appealed to me at the time--twelve kids in a section sounded very good to me. However, when I was in the sections--especially Science of Society. . . I found when kids started monopolizing the conversation-- (sic) I mean it was the same kind of discussion you could have in the student center over coffee; I didn't feel it was a learning experience any more. And when I pay my money I want to get something for it, really. And the European system or this lecturing business is okay by me because I'm coming to hear someone who knows his field; and you take one of the history classes, for example, say Hooper's History of Greece or Rome, or Kelly's class or something like that, you go there, and I know this is very traditional, and you listen to the lecture and you take notes and you have tests, etc. And I felt I was learning something.

In this perspective, to allow students to lead or create their own discussions is wasteful. When an instructor leads a discussion or lectures, things are much more "productive." The instructor knows what's important, he is the one who constructs and grades examinations. He will give only useful, valid information while students may take up time talking about things which are inaccurate or uninformed and which may be irrelevant. Even if students do manage to come up with something useful, it takes too much time to get there. The inefficiency of discussions is deplorable when you realize that the instructor could have stated in a few minutes what it took the class a whole hour to discover.

Difficulties over expressiveness in discussion groups were manifested in another way. There were several reasons why respondents disliked discussion with other Hawthorn students and/or could not get along with these students.

Six respondents thought that Hawthorn students who discussed the content of their learning experiences with each other were too intellectual, or phony intellectuals.[1] Three of these had indicated negative feelings about discussions as well. The other three had indicated only positive feelings in this respect. If we add these former three to the respondents with negative feelings about discussions, we have a group (60 per cent of the sample) who generally had negative feelings about expressiveness, the pressure to speak up, in discussion groups at Hawthorn. (See Table from original text, p. 59)

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[1] There were no other common characteristics held by this group.

### REASONS GIVEN FOR DISLIKING EXPRESSIVENESS IN DISCUSSION GROUPS

| Reason | Number of respondents |
|---|---|
| In discussion classes | |
| The need to be verbal and feeling inadequate | 11 |
| Dislike of style or content of discussions | 5 |
| Dislike of independence given students | 7 |
| | 23 (53%) |
| Evaluation of students | |
| Too intellectual | 3 |
| | 26 (60%) |

One of the respondents in this general group defines a true intellectual for us; he is a good student and a "hard worker."

> # 32 (Nursing major): The common thought of what a beatnik looks like, acts like, and is, yes, you'll find this at Hawthorn. And I'm sure more so than anywhere else around the university. That's because the kind of student that wants to live this kind of pseudo life, they know they can find it in Hawthorn, and they can find it with great acceptance--so you'll find them there. But I think the people who are really intellectual and that aren't really the pseudo person. . . they aren't around the student center that much--if they really want to learn, they're home studying or over in the library.

Another respondent cannot believe that someone can honestly or unaffectedly carry interest in intellectual matters out of the classroom.

> # 27 (Education major): Another disadvantage (to Hawthorn) again, this intellectual atmosphere that I thought was kind of a pseudo-intellectual atmosphere. . . . This was something that I disliked, a disadvantage being that it was apart from the rest

> of the group.
>
> Interviewer: Could you go into this pseudo-intellectual atmosphere a little bit more?
>
> # 27: Well, this is just the impression I got from people who seemed to be--I don't know-- I hate to say "impressed" with the idea of being in Hawthorn, but this was what it seemed to be to me that this idea of the small discussion group and the more intimate relationship with the instructor--I don't know; it seemed to me that the people that carried this about with them or something and became intellectual bean-sprouts, whatever (laughingly) they were--you know; talking in this type of tone or, I mean, in a conversational type of language that was too intellectual, that sounded false to me from them. . . .

She goes on to illustrate her point.

> It's just this idea, well, I think you can do it with money, too. People that are constantly talking about their money, you find out that they aren't quite as well off as they seem to think they are or they know they aren't. But people with a lot of money, never mention it; this is the idea I got. I mean, the intelligent people, very intelligent people, you didn't get this impression from them at all, but you did from some of the people who I class as not intelligent, who seemed to be trying to put this across to other people.

It is possible that the choice of an analogy in which money is the prime theme may reveal an underlying attitude. This respondent is saying that the knowledge we have at our disposal, we possess in a material sense. Money is paralleled to knowledge, and earning money to learning. It follows, then that if knowledge is likened to material wealth, it is wasteful. In fact, irrational to give it away, to talk to people in a context where this knowledge will serve no practical purpose. It must simply be pretentiousness that motivates Hawthorn students to talk the way they do.

The following respondent makes a similar point. He asks--who works when he's not getting paid? Does a laborer, after a day at the factory, come home and tighten some nuts on some bolts just for fun? Does the typist spend her vacation typing just for the hell of it? Work is unpleasant, so why work when you don't have to?

> # 13 (Mathematics major): In my opinion they (Hawthorn students) were so-called quote-- beatniks.

Interviewer: Well, what do you think about beatniks?

> # 13: Sloppy attire . . . fine; if they want to talk about their courses all the time--fine and dandy; to me, this isn't living. When I study, I'll study hard and when I don't, I like to have some fun. Maybe their way of amusing themselves is a little different from mine.

Some respondents seemed to see Hawthorn students, because of their verbalized interest in the content of school, as immature and unfocussed when there was work to be done. Others saw them as beatnikish and "pseudo."

It could be argued that work-oriented students found students who enjoyed situations encouraging free expression of intellectual interests threatening. Persons actively enjoying intellectual life suggest another possibility in life styles from the way chosen by work-oriented students. And young people, in positions very similar to those of the work-oriented, can and do choose this alien pattern. Many respondents, in labeling Hawthorn students as phonies, immature, and "beatniks," might be seen as attempting to tell themselves that students who took their education personally, who experimented and who questioned and reflected on their world, were not to be taken seriously. "They're just faking and being childish," the work-oriented student tells himself, perhaps in an attempt at denying that a way of life contrary to his own can be a meaningful one.

## INDEPENDENCE

In this section, the primary concern is with the concept of independence in relation to a general style of education. Encouragement of independence is a means by which students can be encouraged to direct and structure their own learning experiences apart from references to course material or expressiveness in discussion groups.

For the student who accepts Hawthorn ideas, learning is something personal, and since he wants to learn more than he cares about grades, he is less concerned with instructor expectations than he is with expressing his own interests and in creating personal meanings out of the learning material. For him, the less restrictions, the better.

The work-oriented student sees things differently, however. If one is to do a good job, he must understand what his boss/instructor expects of him, since it is the boss/instructor who evaluates his work and pays/grades him on this basis. The more explicitly standards, procedures, and definitions are provided, the more likely the worker/student feels he will do the job he is expected to do. A lack of such guidance is very irritating and frustrating to him.

Hawthorn College provided for more independence for students than most other Liberal Arts colleges. A review of responses by withdrawals to this aspect of Hawthorn illustrates another dimension of a work-orientation toward learning.

Eleven respondents had no difficulties performing within the context of the independence they were given. Except for five respondents whose feelings in this matter were not adequately known, the remainder of the sample felt that they were unable to perform as well as they thought that they should have because of the independence offered them. Twenty-seven respondents (or 63 per cent of the sample) fell into this last group.

FEELINGS ABOUT INDEPENDENCE

| Feelings | Number of Respondents |
|---|---|
| Positive | 11 (26%) |
| Negative | 27 (63%) |
| Unknown | 5 (12%) |
| Total | 43 (100%) |

It is not surprising, then, that in many ways feelings about independence related to other factors quite significantly. We have touched on some of the elements that come to play important parts here when we discussed students' feelings toward course material and expressiveness. In both cases, respondents felt that they needed more guidance from instructors.

Respondents who were negative about independence tended to have had more negative feelings toward Hawthorn upon leaving than those with positive feelings about independence.

EVALUATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE BY ATTITUDES TOWARD HAWTHORN UPON LEAVING[1]

| Attitudes toward Hawthorn | Evaluations of Independence | |
|---|---|---|
| | Positive | Negative |
| Positive | 8 | 10 |
| Negative | 3 | 16 |

---

[1] Totals to 43 with addition of 6 "unknowns."

Feelings about independence were also related to academic achievement. Respondents who were negative about independence had a lower cumulative honor point average in Social Science upon leaving Hawthorn than those who were positive. Also, respondents who were negative about independence had a lower overall cumulative average for all their Hawthorn courses upon leaving Hawthorn than those who were positive.

Respondents with negative feelings about independence were also less active in Hawthorn social and academic affairs than those with positive feelings.

## FEELINGS TOWARD INDEPENDENCE[1]

Social Science course work: by a difference of percentage of 40%.
Natural Science course work: by a difference of percentage of 38%.
Course work in general: by a difference od percentage of 33%.

Pragmatic considerations were factors in students' feelings in this area. The material covered in classes was not concrete, it was not usable. Since there was no overtly practical reason for attending classes, some respondents did not attend. The following respondent had more useful things to do with her time, she explained.

> Interviewer: Some people think that Hawthorn students are left too much on their own. How do you feel about that?

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[1] The actual cross tabulations were as follows:

| | Evaluations of Independence* | |
|---|---|---|
| Evaluations of Course Work | Positive | Negative |
| Social Science | | |
| Positive | 9 | 11 |
| Negative | 2 | 15 |
| Natural Science | | |
| Positive | 8 | 9 |
| Negative | 3 | 17 |
| General | | |
| Positive | 10 | 15 |
| Negative | 1 | 11 |

*Six "unknowns."

> # 4 (Education major): If it had been necessary to master the course, the subject matter given, in either the lectures or the discussions, I know I would have been there because in classes when the subject matter has nothing to do with mastering the course. . . I generally cut them, because I have a billion things to do.

Other respondents found fault with Hawthorn because there was a lack of strong authority figures who would rigidly control student learning experience. One respondent felt that she couldn't pin down her instructors and find out what they expected of her.

> Interviewer: Some people think that Hawthorn students are left too much on their own. How do you feel about this?
>
> # 24 (Psychology major): In reference to assignments and things, to a certain extent they were, or the students were left too much on their own. We would be told an assignment and the instructor would say, "I don't know; you know what to do with it." You know, you'd ask them, "Well what do you mean specifically?"

An engineering student found the lack of work schedule procedures and production standards a hindrance.

> Interviewer: Some people think that Hawthorn students are left too much on their own. What do you think about this?
>
> # 30 (Electrical engineering major): Well, yeh, I found that was the case in the courses I took. And in a way, it's good, and in a way, it's just a question of how much freedom you should have; and I know a lot of times there's not quite enough supervision, or set pattern, or way you should do things, and some times, there's not enough explanation . . . so I think you should really have a pretty definite set pattern and I--in the courses I took--it wasn't quite as set a pattern as I thought it should possibly be.

Instructors should have pressured students more, should have been more demanding about having them meet requirements.

> Interviewer: Some people think that Hawthorn students are left too much on their own. How do you feel about this?
>
> # 33 (Psychology major): As freshmen, I think we

were catered to too much; in a lot of other (non-Hawthorn) courses, you are still getting the "did you do your homework last night" routine. I think (at Hawthorn) we were left too much on our own in that so many people were taking incompletes instead of finishing up a course. They should have been a little bit more exacting in their program . . . Not necessarily demanding, that the five hundred pages should have been read "last night," but insisting that the projects were done by the end of the term or you just aren't going to get a grade for it . . . . Although you actually did complete a project, you tended to become lax about it.

Interviewer: How did this affect you?

# 33: Uh, I tended to--of course, I tend to be a little bit lax anyway; I tended to be a little bit more so.

Instructors are unrealistic in their expectations of what may be demanded of the average student.

# 4 (Education major): I think one of the ideas of Hawthorn was the thought that if you give the kid the lead, they will follow up what their interest is; and . . . to me this is a bunch of nonsense. It takes a superior kind of person to do that thing. I had an A grade level in high school and I was no dummy, and certain things that interested me I would follow up, but generally I wouldn't unless I was pressured; and I think most kids are this way. That's why this kind of program might be good for masters or Ph.D. students of a certain character, but not just the general run of students. I certainly didn't profit from Hawthorn because I didn't follow up anything.

# 9 (German major): I would say for a more mature student, it would be advantageous to be left more on your own, but for a student who is just out of high school, I don't think it's good at all. I'd be the first one to admit that I cut classes quite a bit and it was because--I never cut a single class in high school--but I got to college and found out you could and I did. And it was especially easy in Hawthorn. And I think probably it would be a little bit better, maybe in the Freshman or Sophomore year, if the student was supervised a lot more. . . .

# 15 (History major): I would say that I think it's rather hard for an incoming freshman to--

> an incoming freshman hasn't disciplined himself yet, at eighteen years old, and I think it is necessary when he enters college that this discipline on the part of the administration and instructors is still there. I did have the feeling in Hawthorn that you could goof off, you could take your own sweet time about doing things, and for this particular reason, myself included, and some of the people I know, we tended to do other things rather than study. If, like in Liberal Arts today, something is required, it's required, and you have to meet those standards. Probably this is an indication of my own immaturity. I couldn't discipline myself--expecially since I was older than the other students--but I would argue that especially because these students are so young, just comimg out of the typical, you know, public high school, that they still need this in college.
>
> Interviewer: How did this being on your own affect you?
>
> # 15: I caught myself goofing off, letting my Hawthorn work go last, and meeting the requirements from the Liberal Arts school, the other courses I took, and usually it turned out I don't think I had an incom--I think I had one incomplete in Hawthorn (sic). But it's just that I don't think I did the caliber of work I would have done if these standards of discipline were a little more rigid.

How do instructors/supervisors expect the work to get done, goes the reasoning of the worker/students, if they don't keep the workers on their toes?

In a factory, there is no room or no necessity for the worker to make decisions about how he will do his work. His job is to get the assignment done the way the boss, who pays him, wants it done--to follow orders. Instructors should control education, should take the responsibility for student learning much the same as a supervisor in a factory takes responsibility for his workers.

Hawthorn instructors did not play the role of supervisors concerned that workers performed their assigned tasks to exact specifications. Under this circumstance, and lacking the self-motivation that may come from a personal commitment to learning, students often had difficulties doing their "work" properly.

Reisman says, "What looks like laziness (in the factory) may be a reaction against the kind of work people are forced to do and the way they are forced to define it."[1] At Hawthorn it is possible that respondents were lax because they defined the learning situation as a work one, irrespective of the types of definitions held by faculty and students accepting faculty definitions.

## Motivations for Withdrawal from Hawthorn

The themes underlying the problems faced by withdrawals and the unpleasant feelings they experienced suggest that the motivations behind their decisions to leave Hawthorn are rooted in a common outlook on education. This common outlook is what is meant by a work orientation toward learning. But in Hawthorn there is an expectation for students to be expressive on intellectual matters. A high value is placed on intellectual independence, a commitment to utilizing course readings and assignments creatively, and an expectation that Hawthorn should be valued for its intrinsic, educational worth aside from specifically practical considerations.

Hawthorn makes demands on its students based on an *educational orientation* encouraging intellectual growth. The respondents discussed in this paper were motivated to withdraw because education for them had incongruent meanings. For these students, Hawthorn, if not somewhat incomprehensible, was, at least, very impractical. For them, expediency was essential; and thus all practical factors are crucial: strict supervision, easily digested course work, and "productive," fact-filled discussions are necessities.

## Sources of a Work Orientation

Two sources may have helped to create the withdrawal's work/learning orientation. These are his high school background and his parents' attitudes. Interviews provide some data in these areas.

### 1. High School Background

Many high schools are organized in ways which encourage a work/learning orientation. All the elements of an education that make up the work/learning orientation are structured into many high school curriculums.

Data on high school experiences were gathered primarily from answers to the question: "How would you describe the transition for you, between high school and Hawthorn?" Twenty students (47 per cent of the sample) felt that their high school had not prepared them for Hawthorn. Of these, fifteen (35 per cent of the sample) explicitly said that their high school did not prepare them for the independence at Hawthorn. Hawthorn was a new kind of experience for many entering freshmen.

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[1] See David Reisman, The Lonely Crowd, (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Book), (1953), p. 300.

> # 23 (Pre-Pharmacy major): I was used to a different educational method in high school than there turned out to be here -- Of course, that would be any college freshman whether he's in Hawthorn or not. I think more or less the free wheeling that they give the student is for some students--isn't exactly desirable in the first year of college.
>
> Interviewer: Could you go into that a little bit more?
>
> # 23: Well, all I can say is that some students when they make a change from secondary education to college education, I think the methods are different; and you just take somebody right out of high school, and say, "Here's what we want you to learn and that's it;" and giving them all these that I don't think they're quite equipped--now I can't go into what things--when he's not equipped to handle by himself--it isn't right. . . (sic) Just coming out from high school, being told what to do--"this is what you're going to do--go ahead." And then they expect you to come across on your own. . . . I suppose I should have been able to do it, but at the time, I wasn't emotionally grown up enough to handle the situation. That's the way I look at it.
>
> # 32 (Nursing major): I don't know why--I was really kind of lost in Hawthorn. It was just a little bit too much for me, I think, at the time. Perhaps, it was because . . . my secondary education wasn't oriented to this kind of thought. I would read a book and think that this is God's law; and Hawthorn was a little too much for me at first.

There was an interesting relationship between the quality of the high school and the respondent's ability to make the transition to Hawthorn. Respondents from high schools with good ratings had the least trouble in this respect, and those rated the lowest had the most.

### HIGH SCHOOL RATINGS

| | Excellent | Good | Fair | Poor | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Transition in General | | | | | |
| Not difficult | 10 (45%) | 9 (41%) | 2 ( 9%) | 1 ( 5%) | 22 (100%) |
| Difficult | 2 (10%) | 9 (45%) | 8 (40%) | 1 ( 5%) | 20 (100%) |
| | 12 | 18 | 10 | 2 | 42[1] |
| Associated difficulty with independence with high school | 2 (13%) | 7 (47%) | 5 (33%) | 1 ( 7%) | 15 (100%) |
| Did not associate difficulty with independence with high school | 10 (37%) | 11 (41%) | 5 (19%) | 1 ( 3%) | 27 (100%) |
| | 12 | 18 | 10 | 2 | 42 |

Not only the quality of the high school, but also the extent to which the respondent identified with or was satisfied with his high school education is important. Respondents who seemed to fit the least well into their high schools or feel the least satisfied with their experience in high school tended to be the most positive about Hawthorn and those that were the most satisfied with their high school experience tended to be the most negative about Hawthorn. Respondents who were motivated to leave Hawthorn at the end of the first or second semester tended to be the most satisfied with their academic preparation in high school, and those leaving Hawthorn at the end of the third semester, or later, were the least satisfied with their preparation in high school.[1]

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[1] The rating for one high school is unknown.

Further, there is a contrast between the kind of course material students were exposed to in high school and the kind they were exposed to in Hawthorn. Respondents who were the most satisfied with the learning situation in their high school tended to be the ones who felt negatively about course work in Natural Science and course work at Hawthorn in general. In answer to the question, "How much do you feel you have learned in high school?" they answered, "A great deal." On the other hand, students who answered, "Some," or "Very little," tended to be the most positive about course material.

2. Parental Attitudes

The majority of parents of respondents seemed to view learning as a work process just as the respondents did. In the interviews, respondents were asked, "What did your parents think about your education at Hawthorn?" "Do your parents differentiate between Hawthorn and Liberal Arts (or your new college)?" And "What did your parents think about you dropping out of Hawthorn?" Parental attitudes, as described by respondents, grouped themselves into three categories: positive, negative, and indifferent. (See Table from original text, p. 81)

Of those parents with positive feelings, some seemed to feel the way they did about Hawthorn for reasons not always based on any accurate picture of Hawthorn.

> Interviewer: What did your parents think about your education at Hawthorn?
>
> # 5: I have a slight idea that they felt that Hawthorn

---

[1] The question of concern here was, "In general, how do you feel about the academic preparation for Hawthorn/Clay which you received in high school?" Respondents who answered, "I feel entirely confident that I can handle the work," implied that their high school had adequately prepared them for college, or that their high schools had at least allowed them to be adequately prepared for college. These respondents tended to leave Hawthorn after one or two semesters. While those who answered the question by, "Generally speaking, I should be able to do the work, but there's a weak spot here and there" or "I expect some trouble in most of my courses, but I should manage to get by"--thus implying some dissatisfaction with their high school learning experience--tended to have left later, at the end of three or more semesters.

PARENTAL ATTITUDES TOWARD HAWTHORN

| Attitudes | | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|
| Positive | | 11 | 27 |
| Indifferent | | 10 | 24 |
| Negative | | 21 | 50 |
| Hawthorn is too radical | (4) | | |
| Hawthorn is impractical | (19)[1] | | |
| | Total | 42[2] | 101 |

was for an honor type student, and so they were very happy about the whole situation--that I was asked to go into Hawthorn.

#43 (Education major): They didn't understand college in any sort of way . . . You were bring home the message. They read the brochure, articles on Hawthorn. They were upset when I left, frankly. They weren't strong in that I should stay, but they were very upset that I was asked to come in, or I found a foothold here, and then I leave right away. They were very upset about this.

Interviewer: Do your parents differentiate between Hawthorn and Liberal Arts?

#43: No, absolutely not. You might get this in a family where the mother went to University of Michigan, and the father went to Michigan State, and they went through Liberal Arts. . . . My parents didn't know anything about college, so they are accepting Hawthorn for Hawthorn's sake.

Interviewer: What did your parents think about your education at Hawthorn?

#20 (English major): Oh, they thought it was really nice, not because of its educational attitude necessarily, but because Hawthorn was something new; and they thought it was a privilege to be included.

---

[1] Two respondents indicated that their parents had negative feelings for both reasons and are here counted twice.

[2] One respondent's parents were deceased.

> Interviewer: Do your parents differentiate between Hawthorn and Liberal Arts?
>
> # 20: No, they don't. . . .they just know that Hawthorn is a different name than Liberal Arts. And they knew that I had to do quite a bit of work, and having both gone to college, they remembered how much they had to do.

The "indifferent to Hawthorn" category contained the largest number of parents. Basically, there was little variation to the way respondents perceived their parents' attitudes in this case. Parents, here, feel that the nature of the learning process which their children were undergoing was relevant only as it leads to the attainment of an education--any kind of education--and to a degree.

The twenty-one parents who were reported as being critical of Hawthorn can be divided into two groups. Four parents seemed to dislike Hawthorn because of its radicalism or the radical people associated with it. It might be argued that this is the same fear or distaste for the new and different that was expressed by respondents in their evaluations of Hawthorn students and instructors.

Evaluation of Hawthorn Staff and Students[1]

| | Positive | Negative | N/A |
|---|---|---|---|
| Staff | 29 | 10 | 4 |
| Students | 17 | 22 | 4 |

Main objections:

Staff: incompetent 6, too liberal 2, distant 2
Students: cliquish 10, too liberal 9, too intellectual 6
(four thought both too liberal and too intellectual)

> Interviewer: What do your parents think about your education at Hawthorn?
>
> # 38 (Mass Communications major): My mother is a great believer in hearsay, and my mother has heard it said that Hawthorn is a hot-bed of communists. . . . and she believes that if I keep on going down there, I will become a communist. . . .

---

[1] There is some indication that disapproval of Hawthorn students is related to the withdrawer's own conservatism if estimated by his having the same religion as his parents.

> Interviewer: What did your parents think about your education at Hawthorn?
>
> # 41 (Electrical Engineering major): They didn't understand really--they just did about everything in their power to make me dissatisfied about the situation.
>
> Interviewer: Did your parents differentiate between Hawthorn and Liberal Arts?
>
> # 41: Well, to some degree, as far as the work went, and. . .
>
> Interviewer: What did they see as the difference?
>
> # 41: Well, a little more freedom , and therefore in their minds, confusion. What I encountered in Liberal Arts was more cut and dry, black and white, and I would get excited about some of the things associated with Hawthorn, and I think they sensed it was a little more radical than the university at large; and this upset them or dismayed them.

The others (as well as two parents from the previous group) objected to the impracticality of a Hawthorn education.

> Interviewer: Do your parents differentiate between Hawthorn and the college of Liberal Arts?
>
> # 11 (Psychology major): As a matter of fact, I would say (that) they thought this was a little too general, too abstract for reality.

Other themes in parental views repeat student views already discussed: knowledge is object-like and should be so treated; the amount one learns is equivalent to the amount of mental and physical exertion one puts forth.

> Interviewer: What did your parents think about your education at Hawthorn?
>
> # 4 (Education major): Well, my dad is very interested in education and in my education in particular, and he talked to me about education from the time I was old enough to hear, I think, and (talked about) how important education is, and a good education; and I think one of the reasons I did drop out of Hawthorn was through him and through my own experiences. I had the feeling that you had to work to get an education, and you had to learn something, and I didn't see where I was learning anything in Hawthorn, and,really, neither did he. . . . He couldn't believe that he had a daughter in college who

> never studied and came home with A's. It just completely floored him because he was worried sick I was gonna flunk out. . . . When I did come home with A's in both my Hawthorn classes, he agreed that it would be better if I hustled myself into Liberal Arts.
>
> Interviewer: What did your parents think about your education at Hawthorn?
>
> # 32 (Nursing major): They didn't understand. And the reports they heard from Hawthorn was really too bad, you know. They just heard the bad side. And they wanted to know, "What am I going to get out of it?" --that was the question. Just what am I going to get after four years of college. "What are you learning? This kind of junk you're bringing home doesn't mean anything to me." And it didn't to them, you had to bring home an A on a report card to mean anything. And this is not their fault; it's been the whole educational system. But they had to evaluate it this way. They, themselves, never went to school and they didn't know how to evaluate. And they just couldn't see what I was getting. To them you had to show proof.

Parents with these kinds of overtly negative attitudes, as well as parents who were indifferent, saw learning as a means to an end. For the latter, Hawthorn was not important in itself, and for the former, Hawthorn was unsuitable because it was viewed as endangering the achievement of the end desired.

Parents who themselves are the most "work oriented" in their relationships to their occupations may transfer the definitions and values they have formulated in this way to their concept of the learning process, and this in turn is passed on to their children. Men whose jobs are at the lower end of the occupational scale where there is a great deal of supervision from above and little latitude for individual creativity would tend to be more "work oriented" than men on the upper end of the occupational scale whose training and skills allow them to have positions of more responsibility and with more leeway for personal expressions.

And fathers with more than high school educations are more likely to understand and appreciate a growth education than those only exposed to learning on the elementary and high school level. This sensitivity, or lack of it, may be transmitted to their children as these findings suggest. (See Tables)

PARENTAL FEELINGS

| Father's Level of Education | Positive | Indifferent | Negative |
|---|---|---|---|
| Did not complete High school | 4 (20%) | 10 (50%) | 6 (30%) |
| Completed high school or more | 6 (33%) | 6 (33%) | 6 (33%) |

PARENTAL ATTITUDES

| Father's occupational status[1] | Positive | Indifferent | Negative |
|---|---|---|---|
| Professional, proprietor, managers, skilled | 4 (29%) | 8 (57%) | 2 (14%) |
| Clerical, semi-skilled, unskilled | 4 (18%) | 8 (36%) | 10 (46%) |

## Conclusions and Speculations

A description of the work-orientation among students who withdraw from Hawthorn College has been presented in order to suggest some of the problems facing educational policy makers who attempt to offer some of the "advantages" of a growth-oriented or humanistic education. This type of education originally developed to educate the elite group of the aristocratic or intellectual minority. Today the possibility of offering such an education to a democratically selected mass student body presents difficulties not only because of expenses and similar practical considerations involved; but for other reasons as well. An important source of difficulty may be the resistance of a segment of the student body itself to these "advantages" which have elitist and aristocratic overtones.

The value of such a presentation as the foregoing, then, lies not in any quantifying or systematic dissection of the categories which have been presented as comprising the work orientation. It is not suggested that these categories - as independence, course content, and so on - are mutually exclusive; nor have the limits of the interviewing and sampling procedures permitted any rigorous specifications about overlapping and interrelationships between categories. Rather, it is felt that the responses of withdrawal students at Hawthorn could be categorized and described. These categories are themselves suggestive of key areas of difficulties which educators at Hawthorn -- and at other colleges as well -- face when they try to present the best in educational opportunities to a large and differentially receptive student audience.

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[1] One father is retired; another's occupation is not known.

What alternatives face institutions of higher learning in view of this difficulty? One possibility is the mechanization and production of education in line with mass society ideas about technology and organization. In accepting this alternative, educators can also show appreciation for the consequences of the wishes and the expectations of the work-oriented student. Acceptance of this possibility leads to the proliferation of audio-visual aids and other attempts to rationalize or "streamline" the education process in many ways desirable to the work-oriented approach. The advantages, but more especially the disadvantages, of such an approach are debated at length before the interested public.[1, 2]

Whatever the pros and cons of "programmed learning" over a more humanistic (and expensive, time-consuming) approach, many universities today may rely heavily on the technological advances in education further to diffuse their already practical minded, work-oriented approaches and curricula. In so doing, the expectations of work-oriented students seeking a higher education will be fulfilled.

The Hawthorn experiment, whatever may be said of its successes, is not able to reach that proportion of its audience entitled the work-oriented students. Is there any way to retain the advantages of a humanistic education without repelling or alienating these students? Perhaps they can be "saved" for a growth-oriented education if they are given more time or encouragement to observe the advantages of an "impractical" education. The categories within which discontents of the work-oriented have been structured suggest some practical measures

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[1] See Ronald Gross, "Toward a Technology of Teaching," Dissent Magazine, (Winter, 1964); and also Robert Hutchins, "A Conversation on Education," Library Journal, (October 15, 1963).

[2] James D. Firn, "The Franks Had the Right Idea," NEA Journal, (April, 1964), p. 26

which may be taken by educationists committed to a humanist approach in institutions of higher learning. An explicit awareness of the significance of the values in which, for example, such concerns as the fairness of the grading system are embedded, would benefit zealous instructors strongly imbued with the values and elitist-humanist institutions in which many of these instructors are themselves educated. If they had some clear notion of the background and ramifications of the work-oriented view, such instructors might, possibly, be able to make an intelligent defense of their own position. Or they might be able to formulate a creative compromise between the two perspectives -- theirs and their work-oriented students -- so that students could tolerate the unfamiliar view without withdrawing.

Educators in America from the highest policy makers to the humblest instructors increasingly face the problem of dealing with alien or unsympathetic students. Such problems are also occurring in other societies.

English institutions of higher education must face the problem of the rise of red brick universities and the concomittant decline of the elitist "Oxbridge" as the monolithic arbiter of what are the best and highest values in education. English students responsive to other values may now enter the dialogue of what education should be and how it can be distributed to the majority. Pressures in the form of complaints from discontented students -- corresponding to those described in this paper -- may be expected to arise in such settings.

An important debate for the future gives every evidence of appearing around these issues. If educators are going to prove that students should accept humanist "impractical" modes of education, they will have to present their arguments in the teeth of considerable opposition -- not only from the cultural-technological drift of the times but also from a substantial group of students. It may well be that students who are committed to the humanist tradition and to a philosophy of self-development through education will have to join the debate.

## FATHER'S EDUCATION

| | Graduateables | Withdrawers |
|---|---|---|
| Grammar school only | 7 | 12 |
| Some high school | 12 | 23 |
| Some high school and other training | 5 | 16 |
| Completed high school/completed high school and other training | 10 | 6 |
| Some College | 12 | 10 |
| Completed College | 10 | 8 |
| Graduate work | 11 | 9 |
| Total | 67 | 84* |

*11 "unknowns"

## FATHER'S OCCUPATION

| | Graduateables | Withdrawers |
|---|---|---|
| Professional, Technical and kindred workers, managers, officials and proprietors | 30 | 28 |
| Clerical and kindred workers/sales workers/foremen, craftsmen | 23 | 27 |
| Operatives and kindred workers/laborers/service workers | 11 | 21 |
| Retired | 3 | ÷4 |

*15 "unknowns"

÷This figure may be slightly inaccurate.

## INDEX OF SOCIAL POSITION

| | Graduateables | Withdrawers |
|---|---|---|
| 1 High | 8 | 8 |
| 2 | 14 | 10 |
| 3 | 19 | 24 |
| 4 | 20 | 29 |
| 5 Low | 3 | 13 |
| Total | 64* | 84* |

*3 "unknowns" *11 "unknowns"

## IMMIGRATION STATUS

| | Graduateables | Withdrawers |
|---|---|---|
| Student Foreign Born<br>Both Parents Foreign Born | 13 | 14 |
| Father Foreign Born<br>Mother Foreign Born | 19 | 12 |
| Four Grandparents Foreign Born<br>Three Grandparents Foreign Born | 11 | 23 |
| Two Grandparents Foreign Born<br>One Grandparent Foreign Born | 9 | 7 |
| All Born Here | 15 | 25 |
| Total | 67 | 81* |

*14 "unknowns"

## RELIGIOSITY

| | Graduateables | Withdrawers |
|---|---|---|
| I am more religious than my parents | 13 | 15 |
| I am about as religious | 37 | 50 |
| I am less religious | 14 | 20 |
| Total | 64* | 85* |

*3 "unknowns" *10 "unknowns"

## FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE

| | Graduateables | Withdrawers |
|---|---|---|
| Every day to once a week | 37 | 48 |
| Every two or three weeks to never | 38 | 37 |

## NUMBER OF STUDENTS KNEW WELL ENOUGH IN HIGH SCHOOL TO INVITE HOME

| | Graduateables | Withdrawers |
|---|---|---|
| None - 6 | 9 | 8 |
| 7 - 15 | 10 | 20 |
| 16 - 25 | 12 | 9 |
| 26 - 35 | 7 | 11 |
| 36 - 50 | 9 | 19 |
| 51 - 100 | 10 | 6 |
| More than 100 | 8 | 10 |
| Total | 65* | 83* |

*2 "unknowns" *12 "unknowns"

## RESPONDENT'S ENJOYMENT OF HIGH SCHOOL

| | Graduateables | Withdrawers |
|---|---|---|
| Enjoyed It | 54 | 63 |
| Did Not Enjoy It That Much | 13 | 23 |
| Total | 67 | 86* |

*9 "unknowns"

### PERCENTAGE OF HIGH SCHOOL CLASS GOING ON TO COLLEGE
### (RESPONDENT'S ESTIMATE)

| | Graduateables | Withdrawers |
|---|---|---|
| 5% - 20% | 7 | 13 |
| 21% - 49% | 14 | 20 |
| 50% - 60% | 10 | 12 |
| 61% - 90% | 18 | 17 |
| Total | 49* | 62* |
| | *16 "unknowns" | *33 "unknowns" |

### AMOUNT LEARNED IN HIGH SCHOOL

| | Graduateables | Withdrawers |
|---|---|---|
| A Great Deal | 48 | 51 |
| Some/Little | 19 | 35 |
| Total | 67 | 86* |
| | | *9 "unknowns" |

### RESPONDENT'S ESTIMATE OF PLACE IN HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATING CLASS

| | Graduateables | Withdrawers |
|---|---|---|
| Upper Fifth | 39 | 52 |
| Lower | 28 | 33 |
| Total | 67 | 85* |
| | | *10 "unknowns" |

### FEELINGS ABOUT ACADEMIC PREPARATION IN HIGH SCHOOL

| | Graduateables | Withdrawers |
|---|---|---|
| I feel extremely confident that I can handle my work at City | 25 | 28 |
| I do no feel entirely confident/ I expect to have some trouble | 42 | 58 |
| Total | 67 | 86* |
| | | *9 "unknowns" |

High academic participators lived in the outskirts or suburbs of Detroit, while low participators tended to live in Detroit itself.

PARTICIPATION IN HAWTHORN ACTIVITIES

| Where live | Social high | Social low | Academic high | Academic low |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Outskirts or Suburbs | 13 | 5 | 13 | 5 |
| Detroit | 5 | 14 | 6 | 13 |

*6 unknowns

## Feelings about discussions

Respondents with positive feelings about discussion tended to be more interested in social science courses in high school than those with negative feelings. (In a range of one to five, with one representing the most interest, the break was made between two and three.)

Interest in social science in high school: Significant to the .10 level

EVALUATIONS OF DISCUSSION GROUPS

| Interest in social science in high school | Positive | Negative |
|---|---|---|
| high* | 12 | 4 |
| low | 8 | 12 |

*Ranked from 1 to 5 with break occuring between 2 & 3

## Pragmatic considerations

In answer to the question: "Do you feel you will do better academically, about the same, or less well in college?" (1959, Twelve page questionnaire), respondents who gave pragmatic considerations about Hawthorn, said they would "do better", and those not giving pragmatic considerations tended to reply "about the same", or "less well".

PRAGMATIC CONSIDERATIONS

| How do you feel you will do academically? | gave some | did not give any |
|---|---|---|
| Do better | 14 | 4 |
| The same or less well | 5 | 12 |

## Evaluation of Hawthorn Students

The respondents who evaluated Hawthorn students positivly tended to be less religious than their parents, while those evaluating Hawthorn students negatively tended to be just as religious as their parents.

EVALUATION OF STUDENTS

| Religiousity | Positive | Negative |
|---|---|---|
| Same as parents | 4 | 16 |
| Less than parents | 9 | 2 |

# NOTES FROM THE FACULTY PARTICIPANT OBSERVER

Bevode McCall

## The Hawthorn Center

The Hawthorn Center at the time of the study was located in a former dwelling eventually to be demolished to provide for newer City University facilities. The Center provides facilities for a maximum of fifty students in continuous use, though as many as one hundred students may crowd in for parties. The limited facilities of the Center produce interesting behavioral patterns since as many as fifty students prevents its use for study, and lack of daytime supervision results in an unsightly mess.

The Center is supervised by members of the student board and at night by a student employee of the board. The attempt to restrict card-playing to the third floor attic room illustrates the factors involved. Originally the room was set aside for commuters to study and to eat lunch. The second floor was set aside for committee meetings and board meetings and the first floor was reserved for more social activities- conversation, muscis, dancing, etc.

With the development of the group interested in card-playing, most of the first floor at times was preempted by this activity. The non-card players appear to have felt that a small number of students were occupying the social space for relatively long periods of time. An attempt to move them to the third floor failed due to the fact that this floor has a lock on the door and those students using it sometimes keep it locked to prevent interruptions.

In general, students use Center facilities according to the rights they have established to a time niche in the overall pattern of use. One might say that those students who have not established such rights, or who reject the behavior evidenced, must find some other space to use; e.g. library, student union, facilities for engineering, medical or education students, the Hawthorn offices and "on campus" apartments (private apartments near the college.) Attempts to prevent this decentralization of student activities in space increase the deterioration of the temporal structure of Center use, as well as altering the temporal use of non-Center facilities. For example, faculty objections to senior colloquium meetings off campus, and other informal academic activities, increase the use of the Center for these purposes, reducing its value as a social center. This causes a situation in which students with social interests and those with educational are intermixed and the Center value to either group is reduced.

The limitations of the Hawthorn Center facilities put a premium upon aggressive and egocentric conduct; i.e., the most aggressive come to establish a "right to possession" since the quieter students with other interests are unable to assert claims to use Center space under these conditions. "On campus" apartments provide some facilities for the more unusual socio-sexual conducts, but most of these activity groups begin to coalesce at the Center. Much of this incipient coalescense of unusual behaviors seems to abort, but the diurnal use of the Center is much affected by it. This type of coaslesence is marked by an increased tempo of expressive behavior- not all eccentric, intensity and scale of interaction, and usually hilarity- a hilarity that may simulate the early stages of intoxication. As the tempo increases, students begin to leave for other locations when it reaches the point where it interferes with their objectives. If the density falls too rapidly, the expressive behavior dies down for lack of an audience. This pattern may be repeated several times before an action-interest group becomes structured enough to persist through a change of location.

The Center serves as a focus of an incipient form of prejudice, which student ideology officially disapproves. In the first year of the research,[1] the more bizarre behavior set off a group of students from others who attempt to use the Center, who are also Jewish. This latter group have more general social interests and look with amused tolerance upon the former group. This contrast provoked some anti-semitic comments, though it was impossible to explore anti-semitism in interviews since it was denied. The only overt example to be observed was the attempt of members of the more expressive group to "abolish" the Student Board. Several sharp comments were overheard which dealt with the "Jewish" nature of student government. Several of the "Jewish" group were on the Board, since the other group were not sufficiently interested to stand for election. In effect the Jewish president of the Board was in the position of trying to enforce rules against the more eccentric behaviors, and presumably served as a stereotyped focus of hostility over this interference with excessively expressive behaviora.

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[1] The first year of participant observation; i.e., 1962-63.

[2] The Hawthorn Student Board is composed of students who secure enough signatures to be placed on the ballot and at a subsequent election enough votes to be elected. In addition, a president of the Board is chosen by the same method. Various committees are appointed to conduct the business of the Center from board members and other interested students.

## On Campus Residences

The term, "on campus", is used by students to refer to apartments in the immediate neighborhood of the City University Campus and is used in contradistinction to living "at home". The on campus neighborhood is a deteriorated area scheduled for urban renewal. One group of students live in the same block in which a house of prostitution operates. During the research two murders also occured in this block. It is now being demolished. This neighborhood appears to have been the "bohemian" neighborhood of Detroit due to the relatively low rents, permissive attitudes on the part of some landlords, and the presence of those institutions and businesses which employ young intellectuals.

The area, at present, is a mixture of various groups, primarily Southern born Negro and whites. This produces some conflict both in terms of segregated rentals and problems with landlords, when both Negro and white students attend the same social activities. For example, when two of the coed students moved into an apartment, several Negro students were invited to a housewarming party, along with many white students. The girls were asked to move "because they were noisy," but on a promise not to invite Negroes were allowed to stay. Some landlords are fairly permissive, presumably because students are more desirable tenants than those alternative tenants who would live in this type of changing urban neighborhood.

Hawthorn students have been active in organizing picket lines around segregated apartments and have been singled out by the Dean of Students' Office at City University as "trouble makers" in this regard. There seems to be some continuing conflict between this administrative office and Hawthorn, due in part to internal political conflicts within the University, and also due to the special in-group nature of the students identification with Hawthorn. The Hawthorn students are relatively visible to the rest of the university community, since they are fairly active in organized and informal student activities. Another factor leading to the singling out of Hawthorn students as "trouble makers" is the confusion of Hawthorn students with the Uhuru, a Black Nationalist group of precominantly non-Hawthorn students (two members are Hawthorn students); this confusion is compounded by the leading role Hawthorn students play in the Northern Student Movement, an organization of college students for the purpose of providing free tutorial help to Negro "underachievers" in the public schools.

While the civil rights activities of Hawthorn students are interesting for the light they shed on the struggle for equal rights on a national scale; they are peripheral interests for all but a small minority of students. On campus residence is important to the student primarily because of the freedom he has for social experimentation, and because it allows him to make more efficient use of campus facilities- libraries, student center, faculty advisors and peer group contacts. The on campus residence provides the fortunate student with a place where his friends can drop in, where two or more students can study or talk, and a place for partying.

As is the case with Center activities, much of the on campus social activity has an adventitous nature. Often a group which coalesces at the student center will move on to an apartment where more freedom of expressive behavior is possible.

## The Hangers-On; Peaceniks

Much of the color of student activities is provided by a group of hangers-on who are not Hawthorn students. "Hangers-on" is used to designate these non-Hawthorn students who interact with Hawthorn students. The availability of the Hawthorn Center and of on campus residences attracts and provides a stage for the expressive behavior of this group. By seeking out Hawthorn students, they provide evidence that being a Hawthorn student is something special. They also provide living examples of some of the social types which students can interestingly observe. This group, most of whom live in the University neighborhood for various reasons, is composed of several diverse types. Some are ex-students who have remained because of the social ties they have formed; some are students in other City University colleges, especially those interested in art or drama.

These various groups interact socially and are interrelated by the Student Peace Union and civil rights activities. Hawthorn students are involved in several ways. A Hawthorn faculty and student group were very active in the Student Peace Union, though they did not seem aware of the number of "left-wingers" on the periphery of the group. The latter are not necessarily an important element in the Student Peace Union. Of a group of seventeen students who attempted to join the Veterans' Day parade, I was able to identify twelve as Hawthorn students. The role of the Student Peace Union in mobilizing the idealism of college students and faculty should not be underestimated on the basis of these remarks; but the Cuban missle crisis in the first quarter of research reduced visible activity considerably and precluded any extensive observation of these activities.

The arousal of intense interest in civil rights by the Birmingham incidents in the following Spring provoked an intense reaction in on campus groups. A group of Negro students at City University (15) and at Hawthorn (2) formed a group with Black Nationalist goals called Uhuru. (This is not a Black Muslim group, though it is thought to be so by some faculty.) In the picket line at the nearby police station, approximately 70 persons were present, nearly 50 white. The Uhuru is a loosely knit group and has been active in other civil rights groups. In instances in which police have arrested civil rights demonstrators in Detroit, one or more Uhuru have been involved.

Uhuru is significant in that it filled a gap in time between the "failure" of the Student Peace Union and the appearance at the beginning of the Summer of the National Student Movement. The members of the Student Peace Union at that stage provided a sympathetic environment for the Uhuru, though not evidencing much interest in its activities. If Hawthorn and City University are typical examples, the Student Peace Union provided the training ground in which the techniques and ideology of mass protest, so effective in the field of civil rights, were developed.

## The Individual Response To Challenge

The combination of a high demand curriculum and the absence of college imposed selectivity upon student admissions results in an interesting range of responses in terms of personal adjustments by Hawthorn students. This range of responses reflects both the heterogeneity of student backgrounds and the different degrees of personal adequacy brought to the learning situation. These responses of Hawthorn students are of a more general educational interest to the extent that they may reflect factors operating upon urban commuter students and the general influences operating upon this generation of college students.

These individual responses to challenge are described here in terms of a combination of social psychological attributes distributed along a twelve point continuum from successful adjustment to personal failure.[1] The twelve positions and the descriptive terms for each are derived from observations of individuals who were ranked relative to each other by use of interview data. In this sense it only applies to those ranked individuals who are known to each other and who are involved with each other to the extent that their interactions can be observed. This allows the observer to evaluate the extent to which an individual accepts the description of the positions as a self-designation for himself or others. The acceptance of these self-designations is a strong indication that the individual has incorporated them into his psychological makeup. Though in individual interviews the respondents describe the continuum in similar terms, they each tend to report themselves as outside the system. While this reflects in part their failure to achieve a permanent adjustment, or a personally acceptable one, it may also indicate that their ambition exceeds the resources, personal or institutional, available to them for realizing their goals.

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[1] See chart on p.

To the extent that this continuum defines most of the positions available for students,[1] it can serve as a scapegoating device. The less successful students serve as a negative example for the others of the type of behavior which leads to difficulties in adjusting to college. Any given student entering the social system can enter at any of these levels, and then rise or fall as he adapts to the behaviors anticipated by others. Also, he can withdraw from the system more or less completely is he cannot discover or attain a satisfactory level of adjustment.

## The Personal Adequacy Continuum

A model of the personal adequacy continuum is presented in Chart 1. Twelve positions ranging from high to low (from one to twelve) are distinguished and further subdivided into four stages: successful, slow-downs, potential drop-outs and failures. Each of the positions described and data from the interview sample are utilized to illustrate each position.[2]

## Stage One: The Successful

These individuals are those who are relatively successful both academically and socially.

### Position One: The Reality Oriented

This position is occupied by individuals who demonstrate both understanding and tolerance of other students and the ability to manipulate the others for group goals. The two individuals who define the position have been accepted for graduate study, one in the East and one in the Far West. B.D. has an excellent scholastic average and an unusual I.Q. He has been successful in campus wide student activities. He was also a member of the Hawthorn cabal which was reputed to be very influtential in the National Student Association. K.W. does not have as excellent scholastic record as does B.D., nor has he been as active in student organizations. As a result of his tolerance of "problem behavior" he has been relied upon by the college administration and by the students themselves to deal informally with potential "trouble makers." Both B.D. and K.W. are better "dressers" (and better groomed) than the usual Hawthorn student, and have established dating relations with highly desirable coeds.

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[1] The participant observer refers here to the relatively small number of students who live on campus. (editor's note)

[2] The data have been combined in such a way as to illustrate the position and modified to prevent the identification of students in the interview sample.

## CHART I: THE PERSONAL ADEQUACY CONTINUUM

This chart presents a model of the continuum which characterizes the personal adequacy of Hawthorn students to deal with the demands of the Hawthorn program. Although each student responds in terms of his own abilities to the challenge as he experiences it, this model provides some insight into the range of adjustments available to each student if he remains in the Hawthorn "community." [1]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| STAGE ONE: The Successful | 1 | The Reality Oriented | B.D.,K.W. |
| | 2 | The Complex | Q.T.,S.G.,N.V. |
| | 3 | The Involuted | K.C.,H.O.,S.N. |
| STAGE TWO: The Slow-downs | 4 | The Idiocrats | C.O.,E.C. |
| | 5 | The Idiopaths | S.F.,S.S. |
| | 6 | The Hip | D.K.,S.E. |
| STAGE THREE: Potential Dropouts | 7 | The Fatigued | V.F.,T.T. |
| | 8 | The Impoverished | K.D.,Q.R. |
| | 9 | The Camouflaged | S.H.,S.Q. |
| STAGE FOUR: Failures | 10 | The Strugglers | R.R. |
| | 11 | The Buffoons | C.Y.,P.D. |
| | 12 | The Night People | F.D.,T.G. |

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[1] Of the twenty-five students selected by the participant observer to typify the different positions, only eleven come from the 1959 entrants studied in this report; they make up the bulk of the "Successful" (6 out of 8). The two "Buffoons" also come from their ranks. It appears that the "image" of the college (created among other things by the behavior of the Buffoons themselves) attracted to Hawthorn Center the subsequent entrants who fill the intermediate positions.

(editor's note)

## Position Two: The Complex

This position is occupied by individuals who have outstanding scholastic records, but whose involvement with their ethnic background has prevented them from occupying position one. Both S.G. and N.V. have been accepted by leading graduate schools in their area of specialization. Their ethnic attributes make them highly visible to other students, and there is some indication that their scholastic success is a partial adjustment to this. N.V. does not date regularly. In his words, "..at Hawthorn we go to parties and see what happens." S.G. dates girls of his ethnic group and appears to be as much pursued as the pursuer. Q.T. is atheletically inclined as is N.V. While Q.T. seems sensitive about his ethnicity, he has compensated in part by being a highly successful "ladies' man." His scholastic achievement is high and he has been accepted by a highly desirable professional training program.[1] Each of these three have been successful in establishing personal relations with faculty and these relations appear to be of great emotional importance to them. In this they differ from the occupants of position one, whose relations with the faculty appear to more exploitive than emotional.

## Position Three: The Involuted

This position is occupied by individuals who have been successful scholastically, but whose success has been accompanied by an emotional strum und drang. That is, their angst is expressed in behavior, while that of the occupants of position two appears to have been adequately socialized in such a way as not to exacerbate their personal problems. These occupants of position three would probably be maladjusted in another college, less permissive than Hawthorn. Conversely, the extent to which the Hawthorn "freedom" provokes this emotional behavior might be absent in another milieu. K.C. entered Hawthorn as a transfer from another college and expressed the feeling that the faculty of Hawthorn is "impractical." His protest is turned upon himself as much as directed at the college. Only his strong motivation to graduate seems to keep him at this level of adjustment. H.O. and S.N. direct their hostility at the curriculum; S.N. in particular appears as ringleader of a group who chronically complain about the failure of the faculty to keep the "bargain"- to implement the promise of the "Hawthorn idea."

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[1] Q.T. is designated as F2 is Chapter III, Volume I.

## Stage Two: The Slow-downs

These individuals are those whose behavior prevents them from achieving either social or scholastic success equivalent to those in stage one. While possessed of a personal charm, they behave in such a way as to present problems to their associates. Their scholastic ability is high, and the faculty seems genuinely fond of them; but their inability to complete courses and their accumulation of "incompletes" place them behind fellow students of the same entrance class. These students would quite likely be "underachievers" at any college, if not failures. Part of their difficulty stems from the "tolerance" of the faculty and the college's failure to implement the advisory program. That is, with proper guidance, they may not have acquired poor academic records before the faculty became aware of it.

### Position Four: The Idiocrats

This position is occupied by individuals who are "almost" successful but whose personal idiosyncrasies seriously interfere with their participation in academic and social activities. C.O. has a serious involvement in gambling activity, to the extent that it appears to be a substitute for both intellectual and sexual outlets. During the research this involvement has become more socialized. E.C. is an older student whose drinking habits apparently mask some emotional difficulty. Both E.C. and C.O. have a high degree of intellectual ability but their personal problems cause them to do inadequate work in some of their courses. If they were able to establish adequate personal relations with the faculty, they should be able to move up at least to position two.

### Position Five: The Idiopaths

This position is occupied by individuals whose marked "individualism" sets them off from other students. The only obvious symptom to the casual observer is their failure to "follow through" at times, while at other times they may achieve a high level. S.F. might say, "To me nothing is alien." While quite concerned with ethical questions, he moves in a rather bizzare social circle, seemingly unaffected by his surroundings. Except for the possession of intellectual ability and a high, though sporadic, level of achievement, he might be described as a "dharma bum." S.S. superficially appears to be the opposite of S.F.; his blatant "swaggering" and his "toughness" have caused him to be the focus of astonishing rumors. These seem to reflect the feeling of his associates that he lacks empathy and social maturity.

### Position Six: The Hip

This position is occupied by individuals who assume some of the more blatant attributes of the "beatnik" for exhibitionist purposes. Their personal ability makes the pose somewhat acceptable to their associates, and keeps them well above position ten where this pose, if true, would place them. D.K. and S.E. are both of middle-class Protestant background, but attempt a caricature of working class dress and behavior for social and ideological reasons. This working class pose and a "Don Juanism" in their sexual relations indicate difficulty in establishing an adequate masculine identity, or an inability to adequately socialize their masculinity. Whatever the actual cause, neither has been able to complete half the courses for which he has registered.

## Stage Three: The Potential Dropouts

These individuals appear to be more like the "underachievers" and the "dropouts" now being discussed in the educational literature. They do not have the obvious charm and ability of the stage two slowdowns, which would allow them potentially to move into stage one; nor do they have the obvious psychological inadequacies of stage four. Superficially they appear "apathetic"; on further investigation they seem to be "out of it," unable to relate their background in a meaningful way to their life situation. A much more clear-cut set of academic demands might provide a "crutch" they need, or result in immediate failure.

### Position Seven: The Fatigued

This position is occupied by individuals who have made some adjustment both socially and occupationally, but who are as often unregistered as in school. V.F. and T.T. are similar in that both work part-time and are peripheral members of well organized cliques. V.F. is a white Protestant member of a Jewish social clique. Their peripheral status seems to be as much a function of their rejection of their background as of their inability to match the values of their associates.

### Position Eight: The Impoverished

This position is occupied by individuals whose emotional impoverishment prevents adequate performance. Unlike those in position seven who appear exhausted by their efforts to deal with a difficult task, these individuals lack the resources fully to participate in social activities, or to establish personal relations with faculty. Both K.D. and Q.R. are non-performing students. Most of their effort is expended upon a thorough involvement in civil rights- the Northern Student Movement- which seems to provide them with "meaning" rather than a sense of "contribution". This involvement serves to mask from themselves their transition to dropout status.

Position Nine: The Camouflaged
This position, like the positions below it in sage four, has few occupants since the behaviors involved limit the occupants' ability to maintain a position in the Hawthorn community. S.Q. might be termed a "camouflaged dropout". Due to a serious problem he had to"leave town". When he returned to City University he reestablished some of his previous social relations with Hawthorn students. S.H., after a similar experience, also returned to City University and some of his previous associations. Their prior difficulty is not widely known and although "cured" and relatively successful academically in another City University College, their psychological symptoms may lead to a relapse if supportive therapy is withdrawn.

## Stage Four: The Failures

These individuals are academic failures and their association with other students is limited. Their prior participation in student activities and continued residence in the campus area lead to their inclusion in the interview sample. Other students are reputed to have occupied similar positions but were not available for study.

Position Ten: The Strugglers
This position is occupied by individuals who leave Detroit and return, repeating the pattern of withdrawal and return several times. R.R. is the only individual observed at length. At the beginning of the research period, he was involved emotionally in the Psychedelic movement and went to San Francisco for "treatment". He states that he brought the knowledge of the Morning Glory seed back with him. Since his return he has attempted to remove his "incompletes" but his academic efforts have been sporadic. Unlike other failures his grasp of reality is sufficient to insure his completion of college, if he is ever able to understand that there are not pharmocological shortcuts to self understanding.

Position Eleven: The Buffoons
This position is occupied by individuals who have become the object of scapegoating. Both C.Y. and P.D., who occupied this position at the beginning of the research, have left the college community- one to continue study elsewhere and

one to work fulltime.[1]

### Position Twelve: The Night People

This position is occupied by individuals who are recognized by others, but not themselves, as failures. Both F.D. and T.G. are the children of successful professionals. At one time narcotic addicts, they are in their own words "cured", but still play around with it. To the casual observer they appear to have the potential to become more successful if they ever become sufficiently motivated.

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[1] These two students were both primarily interested in artistic expression. They came from very different social backgrounds; working class and professional. They had been very active in the early days of Hawthorn. P.D. is referred to as G1 in Chapter III of Volume I. (editor's note)

A WORKING PAPER

# Aspect of the Social Structure of the Hawthorn Community

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Informal Relations Between Student Types
and Models . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

Devode McCall

## INTRODUCTION

In addition to the social-psychological factors which influence the student's response to the Hawthorn curriculum, the structural integration of Hawthorn into City University is the source of influences which are experienced as intrusive by the students and faculty of Hawthorn. These forces affect the efficiency with which the college can pursue its stated goals of a high demand college.

City University is in its eighth year of transition from a municipal university toward a cosmopolitan type. The establishment of Hawthorn College in City University has effects upon the various political relations which characterize this transition of the parent organization; and as a result its role in the overall educational goals of City University is perceived with some ambiguity. The participation of Hawthorn faculty and students in the formal and informal activities of City University provides channels through which this ambiguity can influence the development of Hawthorn as a stable organism.

Like most faculties, the Hawthorn faculty can be described as consisting of both "locals" and "cosmopolitans" (Riesman, D., Variety and Constraint in American Education, Anchor Books A-135, 1958, pp. 36-39)[1] The locals have a commitment both to Hawthorn and to City University to make them sensitive to criticism from colleagues in other City University colleges. The cosmopolitans do not have these social relations and appear sometimes to feel that the introduction of these criticisms into the faculty decision making process is as much to influence decisions in the direction desired by the locals as for meeting valid criticisms of the college.

Hawthorn students take courses in other colleges and are exposed to criticisms of the Hawthorn program from students and faculty of those colleges. Those students in Hawthorn (approx. 50 per cent) who plan to major in one of the professional colleges take one half of their credit hours in other colleges. To the extent that their academic identity is with a profession, they are highly sensitive to criticism which implies that they are not following the proper "track" to insure adult success.

These criticisms which reflect the discontinuity between the educational goals followed by Hawthorn and the other colleges operate with a force greater perhaps than to be expected, due to the open structure within the college. This open structure results from the attempt to maintain informal student-faculty relations as a norm and its corollary, the use of indirect methods of social control to secure desired faculty and student activities. On the operational level of the college's structure of its activities, the actual extent of these criticisms is not as important as the fact that they are felt to exist and thus become factors influencing behavior.

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[1] This contrast was particularly striking in the early days of Hawthorn, when the "cosmopolitans" were also strangers to the local scene.

## The Municipal and the Cosmopolitan University

One way in which the environment of Hawthorn affects its efficiency can be expressed by placing it in the context of American education in general. At one extreme there is the cosmopolitan university, what Riesman refers to as a leader of the academic procession (in Variety and Constraint in American Education), which has as a goal the advancement of knowledge and the production of an intellectual elite. At the other extreme is the university, usually municipal, which serves a local geographic area and as a goal has the assimilation of the post-ethnic urban population to middle class values. The location of any college or university on this continuum would require detailed analysis of its internal characteristics as well as its stated objectives.

E. L. Lively has discussed the difference between these two university types in terms of the factors involved.[1] A comparison of the two types is presented in Chart II based on charts in Lively's paper.

Recruitment of students in the cosmopolitan university is made on the basis of high criteria and with a high degree of selectivity. In the municipal university, recruitment is based on low criteria and is characterized by a relatively low degree of selectivity. A high criteria of selectivity expresses a university's attitude that its educational goals are not only high but can be attained. A high degree of selectivity insures that students can be exposed to these requirements with a high probability of academic success. The university's resources can thus be disposed in such a manner as insure attainment of its goals. On the other hand the municipal university, that recruits with a low degree of selectivity, may find that a larger proportion of its resources must be expended in what is essentially remedial education for social mobility towards narrowly defined adult roles.

Socialization of students in the cosmopolitan university to the institutional norms is high, to community norms low. Perhaps in part because selectivity operates to insure recruitment of students whose prior socialization has already prepared them in a general sense for the social skills necessary for both academic and adult roles. In the municipal university socialization to institutional norms is low, to community norms high. A low degree of selectivity results in the recruitment of a student body which is heterogeneous in family and neighborhood background and in terms of prior preparation for academic and adult roles.

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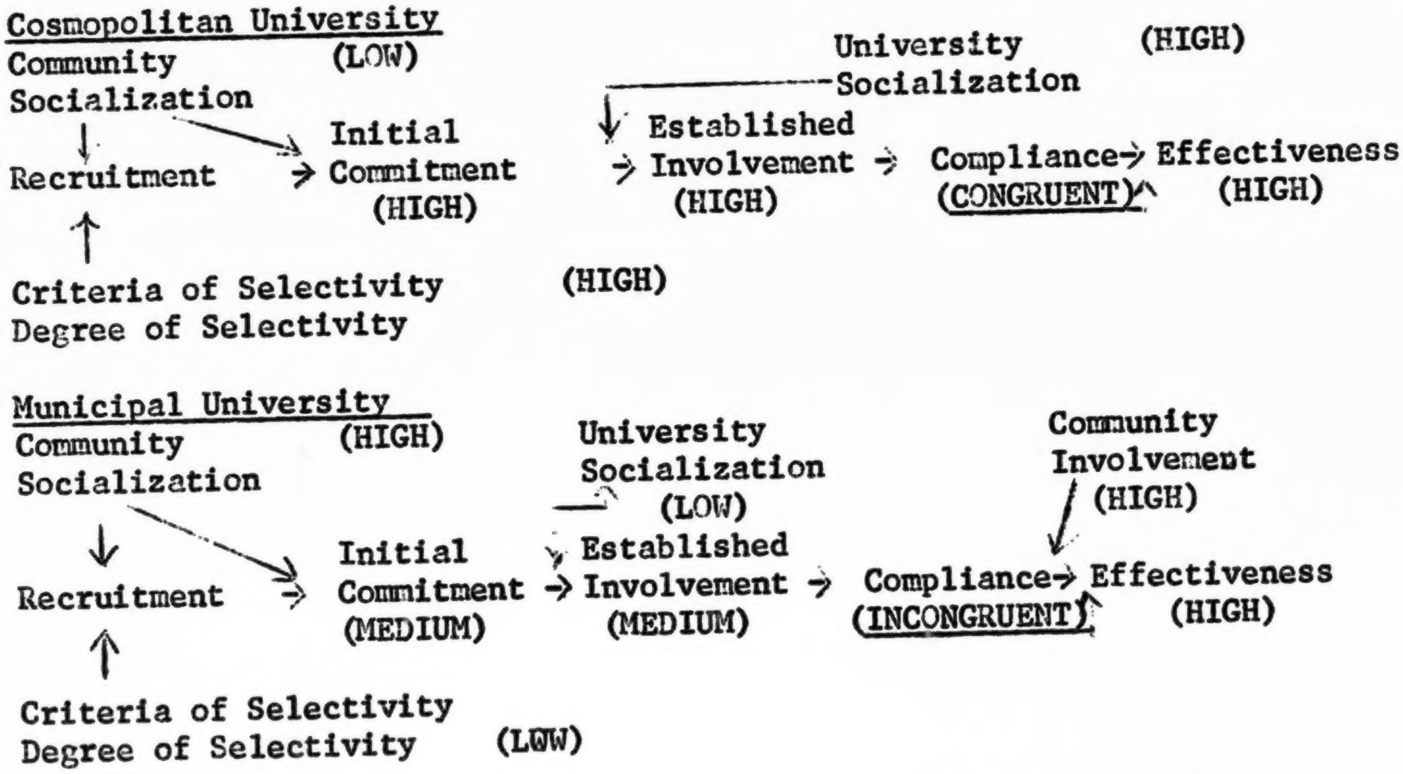
[1] Some Observations on the Municipal University as a Complex Organization, unpublished manuscript, University of Akron, 1964

# CHART II

## RECRUITMENT, SOCIALIZATION AND EFFECTIVENESS OF UNIVERSITIES IN GENERAL, COMPARED TO THE MUNICIPAL UNIVERSITY


Cosmopolitan University
Community Socialization (LOW)
Recruitment
Initial Commitment (HIGH)
University Socialization (HIGH)
Established Involvement (HIGH)
Compliance (CONGRUENT)
Effectiveness (HIGH)
Criteria of Selectivity
Degree of Selectivity (HIGH)
Municipal University
Community Socialization (HIGH)
Recruitment
Initial Commitment (MEDIUM)
University Socialization (LOW)
Established Involvement (MEDIUM)
Community Involvement (HIGH)
Compliance (INCONGRUENT)
Effectiveness (HIGH)
Criteria of Selectivity
Degree of Selectivity (LOW)

This chart presents some of the differences between these two ideal types of universities in terms of the way in which certain characteristics affect the educational process.

The manner in which students are recruited, and the type of commitment with which they enter differs. This plus socialization to the institution's goals produces a different type of involvement in academic activities. These differences are described as congruent and incongruent depending upon the institutional use of different kinds of power, and the student's attitude towards higher education.

In terms of David Reisman's concepts of "anticipatory" and "retroactive" socialization,[1] the cosmopolitan university can concentrate on anticipatory socialization while the municipal university must expend as much, or more, effort on retroactive socialization as on anticipatory socialization. At the same time, it is hampered by the fact that its students remain in a family and neighborhood context; and those students who work may be involved in occupations which do not contribute to skills needed for adult careers, and which may in fact hamper their development.

*Involvement* of students in academic activities and their commitment to intellectual goals differ between the two types. In the cosmopolitan university, the students begin with a strong commitment to intellectual goals and establish a high involvement in academic activities. The student in the municipal university begins with little initial commitment to intellectual goals, the existence of which he may be unaware, and does not establish a high involvement in academic activities. Students in the two types of universities may begin with an equally strong commitment to "education" but may differ markedly in how they define it. Also their involvement in academic activities may be equally strong in terms of formal classroom activities but be quite different in terms of involvement in the informal learning that occurs in relations with faculty and students outside the classroom.

*Compliance* refers to the congruence, or lack of it, between the kind of power or social control used by the institution in pursuit of its goals and the kinds of involvement that characterize the students in the university. Lively[2] uses three concepts to describe kinds of power: coercive, remunerative and normative. To describe kinds of involvement he uses the terms: alienative, calculative and moral. While there are nine possible pairings between kind of social control used and kind of involvement, the congruent pairs are:

coercive . . . . . alienative
remunerative . . . calculative
normative . . . . moral

The cosmopolitan university type is characterized by the use of normative power, the manipulation of prestige and status symbols, to secure a positive, or moral, commitment of students to its educational goals. The municipal university uses normative power, but also coercive power, as its students are more calculative in their commitment to educational goals. One might say that their conception of educational goals is utilitarian and the use of coercive power becomes necessary due to the lack of effectiveness of normative power.

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[1] Riesman and Roseborough, "Careers and Consumer Behavior" in Clark, *Consumer Behavior*, Vol. II. New York University, 1953. Reprinted in Riesman, *Abundance for What*, Doubleday, 1964.

[2] *op. cit.*

In terms of student's goals the municipal university may be as effective as the cosmopolitan university, since its relative inability to establish a high degree of moral commitment to intellectual goals and involvement in formal or informal academic activities may be compensated for by a high degree of community involvement of its students.

Faculty recruitment can be considered in terms of this model since the nature of a university and the characteristics of its students is a major determinant in recruiting and keeping faculty members. The degree of selectivity exercised in recruitment will in part determine the extent to which a faculty will have a moral commitment to intellectual norms and it is likely that the reciprocal relations between faculty and students will function to insure that faculty and students have similar commitments to educational goals.[1]

## Relevance of the Typology

A consideration of structural factors in the situation of Hawthorn College as part of the City University complex reveals that this typology is useful in indicating the source and nature of the ambiguity which inhibits the effectiveness of the Hawthorn idea. City University is in transition from the municipal type to a cosmopolitan type. The rapidity with which this transition can be accomplished depends upon the extent to which City University programs can alter the component parts of the model. One of the roles of Hawthorn College is to provide a cosmopolitan model for the other colleges; a role that may be perceived as an implied criticism or the status quo by vested interests.

A detailed study of the various component colleges and divisions (Mortuary Science, Pharmacy, Nursing, Social Work, Business Administration, Engineering, Law, Medicine, Education, Liberal Arts, The Graduate Division, and The Adult Education Division) as well as

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[1] Similar commitments which are congruent will act to reinforce each other, and may produce a high involvement of both faculty and students in the educational process. Dissimilar commitments will inhibit the development of a high involvement of students and, probably of the faculty, in educational activities. Similar, but incongruent, commitments will act to reduce the involvement of both students and faculty.

Hawthorn could reveal the success each has had in recruiting faculty and students who more closely approximate the cosmopolitan type than the municipal type. Also such a study might pinpoint the sources of conservatism and innovation. The following discussion of Hawthorn in terms of this typology, while over-generalized, indicates some of the factors which influence the establishment of a feeling of identity as a community characterized by an immediacy of relationship between students and faculty.

Recruitment of students is made on the same basis of other City University colleges admitting freshmen. Data reported upon in other sections of this report indicate that some self-selection of students occurs upon the basis of the student's prior degree of commitment to intellectual goals, though the student's lack of economic resources, social skills and the necessity of working may prevent him from ignoring the utilitarian goals of education, or may force him to develop a utilitarian rationale for use with parents, peers and non-Hawthorn faculty.

Socialization to the Hawthorn idea is aided by small enrollment, student self-government and an advisory and tutorial program. It is inhibited by the continuing influence of family and neighborhood relations, and by work relations.

Involvement in Hawthorn activities depends upon the amount of emotional support provided at home; the interest in, and ability to, establish informal relations with several faculty members; and in some cases, the willingness to rebel against an over-restrictive home environment, and the competence to deal with the ensuing personal or social problems that may arise.

Positive Commitment to the intellectual goals of the college depends upon freedom from the necessity of calculative involvement with the problem of economic social mobility, or upon students' competence to relate calculative and moral commitments to each other and to enter into adult careers. In a more general sense, the student's personal competence may aid in the establishment of trust as an aspect of student-faculty relations and indirectly lead to a positive commitment. Such trust depends upon the student's ability to recognize a faculty model with which he is willing to identify.

## Faculty: Locals and Cosmopolitans

As an experiment, Hawthorn College had to recruit a faculty in a relative brief period and in a sense the establishment of faculty-student relations in the new college heightened the "immediacy" of the learning process, but the structural pattern those relations form is a function of the faculty type recruited. For our purposes it is sufficient to distinguish between "locals" and "cosmopolitans."

Joseph Gusfield and David Riesman in a forthcoming paper[1] have classified the Hawthorn faculty of the first two years. Of twenty-one faculty members, four were classified as "job-holders", six as "settlers" and eleven as "adventurers".[2] While this is a much more valuable means of classification of the faculty, I have used Riesman's earlier typology of locals and cosmopolitans as it is sufficiently detailed for the purpose intended; that is, a consideration of Hawthorn social structure as a factor in mediating the effect of intrusive forces and as a source of self-generated pressures on the formation of student culture. As a generalization one could say that locals or cosmopolitans could be anyone of the other three types as well, though in a faculty as small in number as that of Hawthorn all the possible combinations may not be present. The two typologies are not the same, nor do they serve the same classificatory purposes. In their discussion of the reason for choosing the typology used in their comparison of the Oakland and Hawthorn faculties, and as a warning against misinterpretation of its application, Gusfield and Riesman remark:

> "Two important qualifications must be kept in mind here, as in most typologies. First, most respondents demonstrate a little of each type- they are at once settlers, adventurers and job-holders..... Secondly, the typologists are internal to the sample studied."[3]

When we look at Hawthorn in terms of Lively's typology of cosmopolitan and municipal universities, we see that its effectiveness can be measured by placing it along this continuum. When we describe it as an experimental college in an ex-municipal university, that typology indicates some of the structural phenomena which give rise to intrusive forces acting upon it. Since in the case of Hawthorn, the faculty who could be classified as locals have had experience in municipal universities, there is a coincidence between our typology of universities and faculties.[4]

In his definition of his typology, Riesman uses as an example the [illegible] introduction of a new department into an existing university and goes on to explain:

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[1] Faculty Culture and Academic Careers:"Some Sources of Innovation in Higher Education," Journal of Education Psychology.

[2] They also report one refusal by a Hawthorn faculty member to be interviewed.

[3] Gusfield and Riesman, op. cit., pagination not available.

[4] In a study of any university, both locals and cosmopolitans will be found since the categories are meaningful only in terms of each other as applied to a specific case.

> "But understandably, these new outsiders, or "cosmopolitans" do not always have an easy time of it. The drive which brought them there may have spent itself in that very act, and the home-guard, the "locals" of the university may resent and frustrate any efforts at further departure from its locally approved ways. It is a rare institution where some departments do not carefully staff themselves with home-brew talent and thus avoid disagreeable comparisons; the locals or "nativists" will insist complacently that what is done at Harvard, or Oxford, Ann Arbor or Princeton is quite meaningless in Fayetteville, Lincoln, Parkville, Missouri, or at Doane College or Peru State Teachers."[1]

The locals are not for the status quo alone, nor the cosmopolitans for change per se. Rather, they represent two different views of the goals of academic effort, and any given faculty member can only be classified in terms of the category upon which they appear to predominantly act. After discussing this point in terms of academic freedom, which may suffer from the local's loyalty to his institution, Riesman remarks:

> "Moreover the home-guarders are typically concerned with the university's service function to students and to the locals, rather than with research and with participation in the national intellectual life; they have no objection to growth, much as this may lead to departure from tradition, if it involves larger numbers of students, more popular courses, and athletic prowess, whereas the itinerant cosmopolitans bring with them, as already implied, a more elitist conception of academia which emphasizes a small but select student body and a research-oriented curriculum, and deprecates athletics. (Naturally, as with all such typologies, there are individuals who fit neither category or combine elements from both)."[2]

When we turn to the specific case of Hawthorn College, this typology of locals and cosmopolitans can be described in more detail. As a college faculty both types are formally commited to the Hawthorn idea; that is, the value of general education, a small college limited to an enrollment of approximately 1,000 students, the importance of informal faculty-student relations, and the students'use of independent study. While these similarities are important, the differences are great enough to have different results in determining their structural position.

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[1] Riesman, op. cit., Anchor Books A135, pp. 36-37

[2] Riesman, op. cit., Anchor Books A135, p. 38

The Locals.

When we look at the Hawthorn faculty in terms of this typology, we can see that as individuals the locals have several things in common:

1. They are relatively more involved in community activities. That is, they have resided in the Detroit area for some time before the establishment of Hawthorn. For some, Hawthorn provides an opportunity to remain in Detroit in a prestigeful occupation.

2. Nearly all of the locals have had prior experience of having been connected to City University as student or faculty, or both. To some extent, they can be considered as having a "higher" loyalty to City than to Hawthorn. This does not imply that they experience any conflict of loyalties but rather that the success of the Hawthorn experience is important for its contribution to the overall success of City University.

3. As social or professional peers, the locals are united by informal concensus which inhibits communications in the total faculty group, and may in effect cause some of the cleavage to be discussed.

4. The locals tend to have a "possessive" attitude to Hawthorn. Some of them were instrumental in proposing the idea, and in steering the proposal through the various steps necessary to secure approval. In a sense, they "created" Hawthorn and their loyalties to one another are in part a product of that common effort.

5. The locals in Hawthorn would be in an overall classification of City University faculty, cosmopolitans. They see themselves as being part of a City University faculty, and also as supporters and advocates in that faculty of the point of view that City University can best serve its constituency by transforming itself into a university more closely approximating the cosmopolitan type.

6. As City University cosmopolitans, their interaction with the City University locals has tended to make them more sensitive to "political" pressures in the larger university environment. Thus to the Hawthorn cosmopolitans they appear to be motivated as much by "private" goals as by commitment to the Hawthorn idea.

7. The locals appear to the cosmopolitans to support a more utilitarian definition of the value of general education- what David Riesman has referred to as "the higher vocationalism."

## The Cosmopolitans

The Hawthorn cosmopolitans more nearly resemble the ideal type described by Riesman than do the Hawthorn locals. Several general remarks can be made about them:

1. Though their stay at Hawthorn varies from one to five years[1], none of them has had any previous involvement with City University and with a few exceptions no prior residence in the Detroit area.

2. As described below, they differ among themselves more than do the locals, but their position vis à vis the locals tends to make them appear more cohesive than they are.

3. Since the cosmopolitans were recruited specifically for Hawthorn, they have a relatively greater emotional involvement in the Hawthorn "experiment" than do the locals, and feel themselves to have a more singleminded loyalty to the college.

4. Their lack of local community commitments makes them more willing to experiment with curriculum and more tolerant of the heterogeneity of the student body. Since they feel themselves to be more geographically mobile, they can be more resistant to the effects of intrusive forces from the community and institutional environment.

5. The informal relations of the cosmopolitans to the students form a more complex pattern than those of the locals due both to greater differences among themselves, and to their greater flexibility in responding to changing institutional experience.

While the cosmopolitans differ from the locals in that they see themselves as being more concerned with abstract ideals of the educational goal of the Hawthorn experiment (in distinction to its possible value in pre-professional training) they differ in the definition of those ideals. In a general sense, they tend to be of three types:

1. The Classicists, or Humanists:
This group tends to use the more traditional classicist conception of education as a referent. To them general education provides the best contemporary approach for

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[1] At the time of writing, Hawthorn was in its fifth year. (editor's note)

educating the student as an individual, for producing a well-rounded individual. In a sense, for them general education is a goal in itself.

2. The Civics, or social actionists:
This group tends to use a social science definition of educational goals, though they are likely to reject an "adjustment" definition in favor of a "progress" definition. To them general education provides the best contemporary approach both for overcoming the differentiation resulting from over-specialization of liberal arts disciplines and professional training, and for preparing well-rounded students with a sense of social responsibility.

3. The Rationalists, or scientists:
This group tends to define educational goals as "intellectual", though they are likely to feel that education provides the opportunity to exercise the rational processes, and that such exercise prepares the student for its utilization in adult roles, whatever those may be.

Since Hawthorn College utilizes staff taught courses in its curriculum, the faculty discourse has led to an increasingly more self-conscious awareness of these various viewpoints, and a greater liklihood that a given faculty member, whether a local or a cosmopolitan, is more empathetic in relating to the others or to students. While this empathy functions to increase the range of social transactions which are "educational" between students and faculty, the distinctions are real enough to have produced a general social structure within the student-faculty community which gives indications of becoming fairly stable, with enough persistence to insure a continuation of social processes, barring any major external pressure strong enough to disrupt the structure.

## The Hawthorn Community

When we turn from a consideration of ideal types, or models, of universities and faculties to a description of an acutal social structure of the Hawthorn Community, we can see how these models affect social structure. Models have a more abstract referent than a social structure. A social structure has a specific objective referent, and its characteristics are "real" in the sense that any observer who follows the same procedures will uncover the same persistent structure.[1]

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[1] See A.R. Radliffe-Brown, "On the Concept of Function in Social Science" and "On Social Structure" reprinted in Structure and Function in Primitive Society, The Free Press, 1952.

# CHART III

## The Hawthorn Social Structure

Chart III provides a schematic presentation of the more persistent types of social transactions which occur within the Hawthorn Community of faculty and students. For clarity it eliminates many of the social transactions that occur, and obscures many of the cooperative relations which occur in a small community.

While it is arranged to reveal persistent social transactions, an analysis of the structural pattern reveals the ongoing relations between the faculty types discussed, and the structural (homeostatic) forces that tend to restrict a specific individual to a more limited role than his personal attributes might suggest.

It also indicates the reciprocal relations of student and faculty types, and the structural imperatives that force faculty and students into a limited choice of possibilities.

The persistence of the Hawthorn Community structure could only be asserted after a follow-up study. The one described here is that that existed in the Spring quarter of 1963. This date was chosen as the point at which the structure would be complete.[1] One year later, the same structure exists but indications of change were present and these are described in the detailed discussion below.

All of the preceding considerations do not necessarily communicate the essence of social relations, as to their ability to gratify or annoy those unique individuals who are constrained by structure to interact in various ways. Before we discuss the structure of the Hawthorn Community in detail, it might be as well to indicate the type of data used to define it.

The faculty and student positions of which it is composed are types. These positions act as structural imperatives which regulate interactions. A participant observer looks at actual interactions between two or more individuals, and attempts to isolate out the "strain towards consistency" revealed. While a position (role) is more or less coterminous with the individuals who perform it, from his point of view it may not be the most compelling aspect of his behavior. This point is discussed in more detail below, as an emerging structure is more dependent upon the psychology of the individuals who occupy the roles than may be true of a structure that has persisted for a long time.

As those who are familiar with the Hawthorn Community will recognize, individuals, while resonating around a position, may temporarily occupy another position adjacent to it. Where this type of resonance seems persistent, an intermediate role has been described. To the extent that individuals can be identified with a position, it is necessary to stress that specific actions of the individual may be the results of the structural imperatives of the position, and not of any ethical or ideological bias of the person.

Chart III presents a schematic representation of the social structure of faculty and student relations. A total of twenty-three faculty and staff positions are indicated. These positions are occupied by forty individuals. Ten student positions are indicated, which are occupied by approximately one hundred and seventy students. The other five hundred and fifty students, including most freshmen, do not occupy a persistent position. Nor does this structure indicate all of the persistent relations between individual faculty and students which are essentially expressions of "personal liking" not related to educational goals.[1] This general social structure is composed of eight substructures, one of which is not represented. In some cases a given position may be located at the intersection of two or more substructures, thus serving to integrate them into an overall structure. These substructures, and the necessary positions that compose them, are described below. At times of crisis, in the case of external relations, or for planning innovations, other positions may be temporarily included in a substructure.

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[1] This was the end of the fourth year when a complete faculty and four classes of students had completed their first year together. The college was established by adding a new class each year; i.e., registering new freshmen each year.

Substructure One. The Administrative Core:
Positions 1, 2, and 3 are the division chairmen and the official governing body of the college. Positions 4, and to a lesser extent 5 and 6, function in direct relationship to the central positions and 5 and 6 usually mediate between the core and students. The pair 17-E was also important at the time the structure was studied. The staff positions 20, 21, 22, and 23 are related to this substructure, though in general they are in other substructures as well.

Substructure Two. The "Kitchen Cabinet:"[2]
This focuses on positions 1 and 2, and to some extent, includes all of Substructure Five. In a general sense it is a means by which the locals reach concensus, and is essentially an administrative in-group.

Substructure Three. The "Loyal Opposition:"
This focuses on positions 3 and 4 and to some extent includes all of Substructures Six A and Six C. In a general sense it is a means by which the cosmopolitans reach concensus, though substructures Four and Six B are not always "put in the picture."

Substructure Four. The Rationalists:
Essentially composed of the Natural Science faculty, it includes positions 2, 10, 11 and 21.

Substructure Five. The "Beleaguered:"
This group is composed of positions 5, 6, 7, and 8. It is composed of locals, except position 8, and they along with positions 1 and 20 are isolated in a separate office building which may contribute to their sense of isolation from other faculty.

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[1] As a student chooses an educational goal, these personal-liking relations may change into structural relations by a transformation of the relationship, or a modification of the structure.

[2] Substructures 2 to 5 are ordinarily of minor importance since they exist as a result of the contrast between locals and cosmopolitans, but in times of major decision making they are potentially very significant.

Position 8 is apparently intrinsicly alienated, since three of its four occupants during the two years of the study have (been?) severed their connections with Hawthorn.

### Substructure Six A. The Classicists:[1]

This group is in the process of dissolution, in part due to the failure to replace Classicists who leave. It is composed of positions 9, 12 and 13. The occupants during the period of research were, or had been, on the humanities staff but would not join the beleaguered group. The chart indicates that there may be a tendency for the occupant of position 8, Substructure Five to migrate into position 9 in Substructure Six A.

### Substructure Six B. The Democrats:

This is a very significant group since it is composed of nearly all of the positions which are related to student positions as social equals; positions 14, 15 and 16.[2] During the research several occupants of position 10 and 11 attempted to migrate into this structure, but appeared unable, due to their inability to relate as equals. One occupant of position 10 does appear to be taking on some of the attributes of position 15. Position 14 has apparently been occupied primarily by experienced anthropological field workers in the past.[3] At present, position 15 is occupied by two participant observers. These three positions for some reason are difficult to occupy. Position 15 is for all practical purposes empty; and the present occupant of 16 is transforming towards a position 10 definition or in the direction of Substructure Six A.

### Substructure Six C. The Workers:

This includes three positions: 3, 17 and 18 and to a lesser extent positions 4 and 19. Positions 17 and 18 are occupied by individuals who usually serve on various committees concerned with academia or curriculum subjects. Position 19 is of interest in that it is composed of faculty who commute from residences outside

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[1] The following four Substructures Six A, Six B, Six C and Seven are connected by position 3; most of the occupants of the positions are members of the Science of Society staff.

[2] The occupants of positions 6 and 12 relate democratically sometimes, but are limited by the structural imperatives of those positions.

[3] This was my initial entry role as faculty participant observer, since the intended role was unavailable for various tactical reasons.

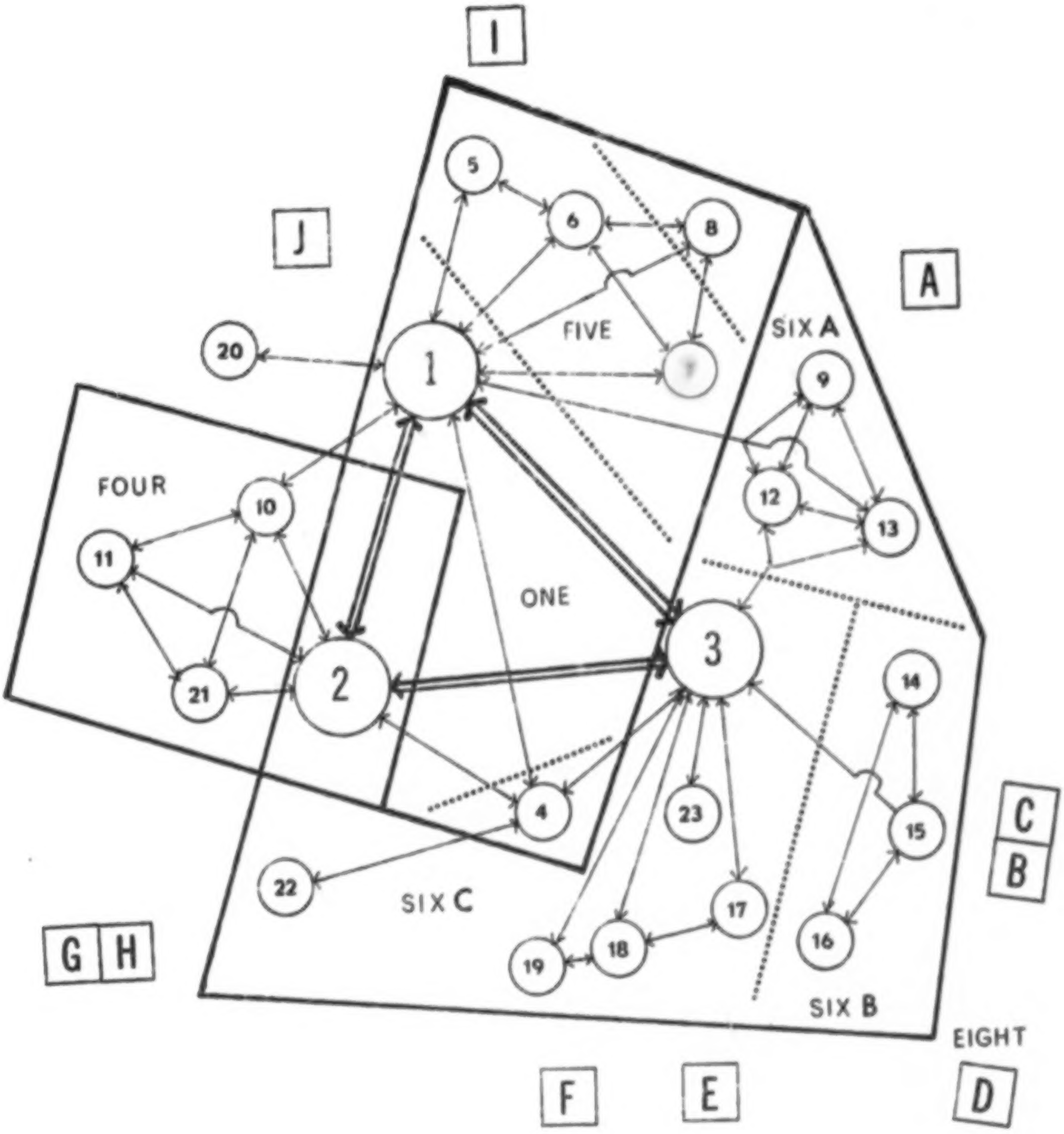
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CHART III A

SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE HAWTHORN COMMUNITY, SPRING QUARTER, 1963

○ Faculty Positions

☐ Student Positions

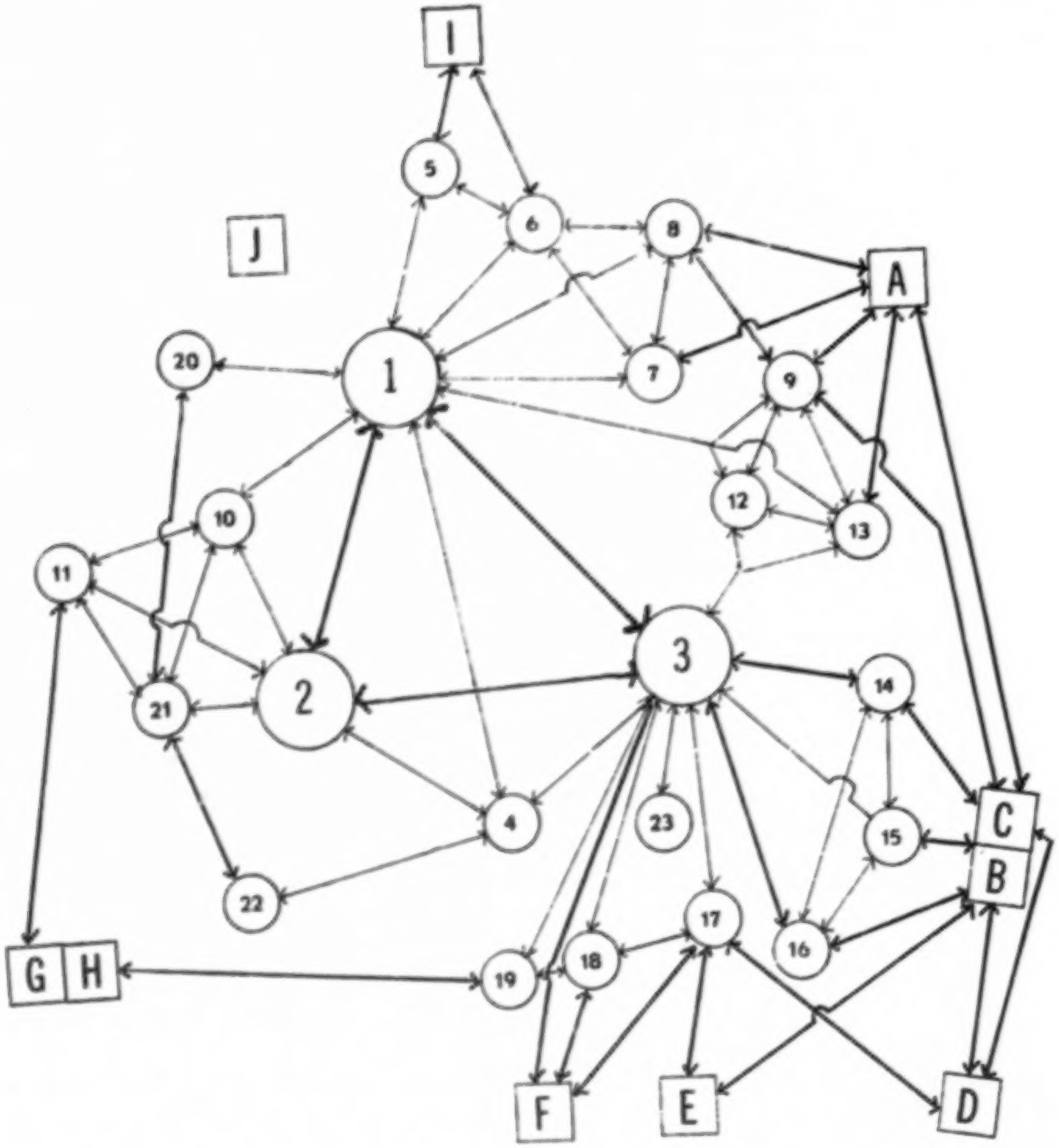
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CHART III B

SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE HAWTHORN COMMUNITY, SPRING QUARTER, 1963

○ Faculty Positions
☐ Student Positions

the Detroit metropolitan area and are thus not usually available for informal interaction with students. At the beginning of the research three who commuted from Ann Arbor, and one from Lansing occupied this position. At the end of the research there was only one occupant. Of the others, one has moved into an intermediate position between positions 3 and 4, another has moved into a position close to 16, and the third is moving into the direction of position 18. In the last two cases, the positions assumed do not significantly affect faculty-student interaction of the informal type.

Substructure Seven: Program Study:
This is not shown on the chart, since it might be said to be in a third dimension to the two shown. Of those who have participated in the program study, all except two individuals have also occupied[1] other positions shows; e.g., 3, 4, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19 and 23.

Substructure Eight: The Real People:
This substructure is composed of student positions A, B, C, D, and E. The student positions included in this group have an impact on non-classroom activities through their reciprocal interaction with positions in the faculty substructures, but compose a substructure in the overall Hawthorn Community through their interaction with each other.

The effect of this social structure upon student culture is complex; and not necessarily as persistent as the structure itself; since the nature of the student recruitment process can change rapidly due to the principle of self-selection. The major effect of the structure upon students as individuals is in whether there are sufficient faculty positions to insure that each student who registers is likely to find an advisor who is in a position to which he can relate. If no, then such students are more likely than others to fail to become full-fledged members of the Hawthorn Community. Conversely, the faculty occupant of a position may find himself assigned responsibility for a diverse group of students, some of whom he cannot communicate with in the time available. Such students are likely to feel that the Hawthorn "idea" is a phony and cease to "work at" becoming involved. This may be true of some faculty as well.[2]

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[1] The individuals occupying positions 5, 7 and 9 did too. (editor's note)

[2] In the Winter quarter of 1963, the results of the first full senior colloquium had led some seniors to protest, and a meeting of the faculty and seniors was announced to discuss the goals of the colloquium and possibilities for that ensuing quarter. Only (approximately) one-third of the faculty and of the seniors were present. While not all of these absences can be attributed to faculty and student fatigue, they do indicate that the structure tends to alienate some of the occupants of its positions.

## Informal Relations Between Student Types and Models

The student types considered are: Professionals, Politicians, Intellectuals, the Prentice Street crowd, Hangers-On and the Quiet Ones. The same faculty member may occupy positions as models for two or more student types.

The Professionals:[1]

These students are oriented towards specific adult occupations- especially public school teaching- and are strongly committed to these goals. Their models are predominantly a group of four female faculty members who occupy high status roles in both the formal and informal faculty structure. This faculty group is also perceived as realistic and practical advisors. The Professionals will enter into as intimate a relation with this faculty group as permitted, but do not actively seek an intimate role; perhaps because the faculty group's social skills lead them into social relations with these students that are friendly and permissive without being overly supportive.

The Politicians:[2]

These students are oriented towards social success and leadership in the student community. A significant number of them have entered into the larger student community which includes other City University students with similar goals. These students have two different faculty models; first, they select the same faculty group as the professionals primarily to be "in" rather than for specific role models. Unlike the Professionals, they also select a group of three faculty couples who serve as models for the intellectuals. They seem to be genuinely fascinated by this faculty group, but without any real intellectual pretensions. As a student group, they seem to be motivated by a recently acquired awareness of the social status value of intellectual pretensions. As Politicians they function well with the Prentice Street Crowd, but seem to respond negatively to some of those students' models.

The Intellectuals:[3]

These students are oriented towards social success, but primarily towards one that includes ethically centered skills more than creativity. Their models are three faculty couples who entertain students in their homes- informally but to the students in what seems to be a "highbrow" fashion. They also select another group of two faculty couples who represent to these students the possibility of pursuing secular and ethical goals as a concomitant of high status careers. The Intellectuals experiment with Prentice Street behavior, as a possible alternative to their present behavior, but with "high heels" or in "coat and tie."

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[1] Position F on Chart III. (editor's note)

[2] Position E on the chart. (editor's note)

[3] Position A on the chart. (editor's note)

The Prentice Street Crowd:[1]

These students seem to experience difficulty in their search for identity. They are more motivated by a need to reject their neighborhood cultures, than by a need to acquire technical, social or personal skills for some specific adult role. Their interest in "creative" occupations masks their search for a conversion experience. Their "far out" behavior makes them so visible that their very real abilities are lost sight of by faculty members who find them personally objectionable. These students seem willing to relate to any faculty model who will accept them, but their continual "testing" of faculty acceptance can become wearisome to the less flexible members of the faculty. They are acceptable to both the faculty models of the Intellectuals and to the Politically conscious faculty. Prior to the inception of the research there were faculty members who served as models of deviant behavior, in these students' opinions. It seems more likely that a sharing of a feeling of rejection is the actual identity between these students and that particular faculty group. The students' social immaturity could have led them to confuse tolerance with approval, since they so actively seek approval. At the time of the research, their adult models seem to be primarily individuals not directly connected with City University.

The Hangers-On:[2]

This group does not consist of students, though their use of the Hawthorn Center and participation in student activities make them a significant type. Most of this group have been students at Hawthorn or other City University colleges, but were unable to continue due to personal pathologies. They attempt to establish relations with individual faculty members, but their dependency needs are so great as to inhibit the establishment of any relationship strong enough to help salvate them. For other student types, especially the Prantice Street Crowd, they serve the function of an indication of the limits to which experimentation may be safely carried.

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[1] Positions B and C on the chart. (editor's note)

[2] Position D on the chart. (editor's note)

The Quiet Ones:[1]

These students do not compose a group nor are they a uniform type (except to the extent the research made them a self-conscious type.) They practice social camouflage well enough to pass as Professionals or as Prentice Streeters. They seem primarily to be oriented to success models, not included in the college world. Though a sense of personal unworthiness complicates their relationship to the faculty, they do not seem to be able to identify any of the faculty as approximations of their "adult success" models. Also they do not seem to have much comprehension of the way to proceed to secure the skills necessary to attain their adult goals. This group responds readily to the faculty, after an initial period of distrust. Unfortunately, most faculty members do not have time enough to overcome the initial distrust.

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[1] Positions G. H. I and J on the chart. (editor's note)

# REFLECTIVE COMMENTS ON A FEW CARTOONS

Ted Dienstfrey
Student Participant Observer

## Student Publications of Academic Year 1962-63

Hawthorn has a policy that any student or group of students may have free access to a mimeograph machine. The college will supply what seems to be unlimited amounts of paper, stencils, and ink as well as encouragement. There is absolutely no official pressure to censor; and even though at times faculty and students will swallow hard over some of the views printed, there is very little, if any, unofficial pressure to censor. Friendship, grades, or recommendations have never to my knowledge been used against the students. The college would run a great internal risk if, even in the most indirect manner, it hinted at censorship. However, it probably runs an external risk with this complete support of student publications.

A number of students in public meetings with prospective students and at orientation week of new students proudly reported on this student right to print. The feeling is that any time you want to print something you can. However enthusiastic the students might sound, not very many of them take advantage of this opportunity. In the past year, five student publications have been distributed-three copies of a continuing publication and a single copy of a two-shot affair. There were announcements of at least two other publications, but these students, for reasons that I don't know, did not get an issue together.

The first publication of the year was volume five, number one of The Hawthorn Journal. This was issued on September 27, 1962, the first day of school. Over the winter vacation both SIC and Solioquy were put together. SIC was distributed the first week of the Winter quarter; Soliloquy has never been distributed. The second issue of The Hawthorn Journal was distributed early in the Spring quarter, on April 23rd. The last issue of this series, now renamed The Journal, began distribution in a haphazard way during test week of the Spring quarter on June 11th. By the end of the week copies had gone to the faculty, to a student political meeting in New York, and to a few interested students who made an effort to get a copy.

The first Journal issue of the year was eight pages long. The words, "The" and "Journal" are one inch high, while the word "Hawthorn" is but a quarter of an inch high. There was some thought of dropping the word "Hawthorn" altogether. Throughout the thirty-odd issue history of The Journal, the word "Hawthorn" has received less and less prominence until by mutual consent of students and faculty[1] it was finally dropped in the third issue of this year.

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[1] "General consensus" might be a more exact phrase. (editor's note)

The cover has a dateline reading, "Vol. V, No. 1," on the left and "Sept. 27, 1962", on the right. I suppose the issue number is to establish some type of continuity. This was the only publication of the year to have a date with a day on it. Just under the date, on the right, is hand-printed(editor's handwriting) the lines, "dedicated to those fallen in battle- G. F., M. O., B. W., K. F., N. C., D. P., . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . and numerous other students". The names are not in alphabetical or any other noticeable order. They refer to Social Science faculty members no longer at the school. These particular former faculty members were those that the "Journal group" of students felt were closest to the students. Other former faculty members were not mentioned. This list is the first of the "in-group" statements that appear in The Journal.

The rest of the cover, (nine inches) is the first of three cartoons by "Chuck" Logan,[1] the editor of this issue of The Journal. All three cartoons are signed in not quite half-inch script, quite clearly "Logan." The content of the cartoons will be mentioned later.

Pages two to five of this issue are the verbatim account of an imaginary group interview of "D. L., R. E., C. L, and G. T." The bottom of page five states that The Hawthorn Journal is a bi-weekly publication supported by the Hawthorn community. It then lists as its editorial board: C. L., D. L., G. T., and R. E. As Cohorts it lists nine students, only three of them in Hawthorn (one of whom was to drop out later in the year.)

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I still believe that the driving force behind the first issue of The Journal was C. L. He had gained a reputation for putting out "exciting" Journals and wanted to keep this reputation. It seems to me that the most talented part of The Journal was Logan's cartoons, which have not yet been described.

The cartoon on the cover is titled, "The Changing Face of Hawthorn". On the top half of the cartoon is a beatnik couple- both have no shoes on, both are smoking, the boy has long hair and a beard, the girl has long hair which disappears behind her back. The boy is crouched with a four-string guitar on his knee, the girl is leaning in a nonchalant, "cool" manner against a picket sign that says, "PROTEST"; the boy has nondescript clothes on, the girl has a tight sweater and a leotard. Both breasts and groin of the girl are accented. Books and a bottle are next to the girl.

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[1] A junior. (editor's note.)

The bottom picture has a standing couple on opposite sides of a sign saying, " GO GO GO Hawthorn, Get Your ... Decals, Sweatshirt, Yearbook, Prom, Safe Conduct Medal". Both have shoes on. By the girl is a cheerleader's megaphone with the "H" on it; the boy is holding a plaque saying, "NSA Plaque". The boy has extra-large feet. The girl has bobby socks, a short above-the-undefined-knees skirt, some type of loose sweat shirt with an "H" over her breast, under the sweat shirt is a blouse the collar of which sticks out. The boy has oddly shaped legs ending in an upside down curve at the groin. He has on a vertical striped, three-button jacket over his tie. The girl has short hair; the boy has patted down hair and large horn rimmed glasses.

The implication of the cartoon is that the bad guys at the bottom have somehow taken over Hawthorn. The faculty members to which The Journal is dedicated are next to the beatnik girl. The implication seems to be that the beatniks are free and the new conforming Hawthorners are finks. There is ambiguity in the cartoon, since nothing in it says that the beatniks are better than the fresh, clean-cut college kids. The bottom figure, especially the boy, is unattractive. Of all four faces, only one of them- the beatnik girl, has an eye showing. The faces are the most realistic; while hands and feet are disproportionately large. None of the hands have all five fingers showing.

The cartoon in an earlier form was printed in the July 25th issue of the Summer City University Daily. The fazes of all four figures in the earlier version were less realistic. In this version, the girl was writing "PROTEST" on the picket sign, while the college boy had a book in one arm and a briefcase next to him. In the earlier cartoon the two couples were looking away from each other; in the later one the beatnik girl and the college boy, both on the left, are looking straight ahead while the second member of each pair is looking at the ground about ten feet in front of his or her partner.

In some way this picture describes the boy-girl relationships at Hawthorn. Both beatnik boy and college-kid boy have difficulty in knowing what to do with sex. The college kid doens't talk about it publicly and really hasn't said much to me. The beatnik tries to be nonchalant and "cool". The beatnik boys have had sexual affairs with the girls. I don't really know for sure, but I don't think the college boys (I am most certain about the Jewish boys) have had sexual affairs.

The college girls have a contented look on their faces, much like the second cartoon, which is by and large a waiting for the expected marriage. Sex in the meantime is sort of covered up (c.f. in this cartoon the attractiveness of her face, but a covering up of her breast and a non-defined genital area.) The beatnik girl has had sexual affairs, but in reality doesn't know what to make of them. In the cartoon the beatnik girl has a blank look on her face though she is standing in a provocative manner calling attention to her hips.

Sexuality is a topic that the college seems to ignore formally. Informally, the beatnik boys claim that a large amount of sleeping together is taking place. Some is, but very often the beatnik boys, when together, wonder who they might pick up. There is much less talk of contraceptives here than at Chicago; though this might well be a class phenomenon.

I think the cartoon also shows the beatnik reaction to authority. The beatniks have a protest sign; it is not at all clear what they are protesting, but they must protest. The college kids have a sign offering a "safe conduct medal." As has been mentioned, the college girl seems content- almost smiling; the college boy is grim to smiling (at first I thought the smile was a phony smile, but I am not so sure.) The college kids are standing straight with their shoed feet firmly on the ground. The beatnik couple are slouched with their toes, especially the boy's, digging into the ground.

The beatnik group, in reality, feel with no justification that I can see that they are prevented from learning by a system imposed by the college. It is not clear what they want to learn. The chairman of Natural Science is seldom mentioned; the chairman of Humanities, who is also the Dean, is made fun of; while the chairman of Social Science has fired the faculty members they could trust.[1] Program Study is run by her, and they therefore feel that she knows everything that goes on in the college and student community. Yet, they think that she doesn't understand what she knows. On the other hand, for these people, she runs the Social Science section of the college, and it is Social Science which comes closest to dealing with the immediate problems the students are facing as individuals. Since they haven't come close to resolving the problem of their life style, it is not strange to me that the head of the Social Science staff should be blamed. It might well be that the beatniks are demanding more authority from her.

The beatniks seem only to be able to imagine what, to me, seems to be a pretty protective life of their college community continuing on and on. They place a high value on spontaneity. Spontaneity for them is automatically creative and life-giving. While they all talk of being artists, writers and the like they tend to ignore the work involved.[1] The college kids are on the make; they want a place in the establishment- the boys for themselves, the girls for their husbands whom they can see just beyond the corner. The college kids accept the limits to their freedom imposed by having to pass courses. Some of the best of them, who do tend to be Jewish boys, do some mild experimenting. The college kids do not tend to see any permanent obstacles in the way of the goal or vision which they have set for themselves. Both sets tend to think, I believe unfairly, that they have already proved their ability.

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[1] Actually, one of the departed faculty members saluted in the cartoon had been nominated by the chairman for a prestigeful fellowship and was gone for a year, having been awarded it. Other faculty members had left Hawthorn because they wanted to. It is interesting that students deeply concerned with the good of the college had so little knowledge of the exact facts that they would interpret events primarily on the basis of the anguish they felt. (editor's note)

C. L.'s second cartoon is as provocative as the first. It is framed on the top half of page six. A slight rising contains three figures; a smiling, bearded boy, a very angry centaur, and a puzzled armored Greek soldier. Again feet and hands are over-drawn. The large figure is the centaur with bony legs, well developed hooves and a flowing tail. The human part of the centaur has a muscular torso ending just before the groin. The well-kept beard and hair of the centaur do not hide the shown gritted teeth. In the right hand of the centaur is a raised wooden club (which breaks out of the cartoon's framing) which will be moved to hit the soldier. In his left hand is a round shield that is held behind the soldier's head out of the way of the impending blow; i.e., the shield is not needed for protection at this time. The centaur is raised on his back two feet- probably to get more strength to the coming blow. He is looking down at the soldier. The bearded soldier has a helmet that covers his entire head except mouth, chin, nostrils and eyes. On top of the helmet is a large plume about a third as big as the soldier. He has an armored vest over a short toga ending well above the bony knees. The feet seem to be a tri-cloven hoof. In the left hand is a circular shield which is off to the left, out of action. In the right hand is a short double-edged sword which is pointed down, also out of action. The soldier is looking at the centaur either confused or hypnotized. It does not look like he will ward off the impending blow. The boy sitting on the centaur is maintaining his position by digging his heels and holding the centaur's flanks very lightly. He is dressed in a toga that comes above the knees and exposes the underside of one thigh. His hair and beard circle his forward looking, smiling face. Inside the frame of the cartoon are the words in quotes, "WAR IS HELL..." Under the frame, in hand printed letters taking up two inches or half the height of the cartoon, are the lines, "INTRODUCING THE SOPHIST..... A WANDERING CARTOON CHARACTER OBSERVING LIFE IN AN

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[1] Still, one of them draws cartoons which the participant observer considers worthy of extended comments. He seems annoyed that they don't do more- all of them. (editor's note)

EXPERIMENTAL GREEK COMMUNITY IN ASIA MINOR...... WATCH FOR MORE OF T.S. IN FUTURE ISSUES OF THE HAWTHORN JOURNAL..."

First of all I don't really know why the cartoon statement is in quotes or who, if anybody, in the cartoon is saying it. I think that the bearded boy is the sophist and he is quoting Sherman's Civil War statement after destroying much property in his march through Georgia. Is it an anti-war cartoon? Maybe- but it is not clear. Will the wooden club hurt the helmetted, almost at this time pacifist, soldier?

"Experimental Greek Community" no doubt refers in some way to Hawthorn. "Community" among all active participants at Hawthorn is a goal. Lack of community probably would mean individual isolation. Somehow once the community is established, good things will automatically follow. Throughout the year I never heard the term, "Renaissance man" used; while at Chicago this was the desired end.

The politics, as I understand it, of Hawthorn is non-existent. With few exceptions the college kids have no time for machine politics (and even most of the exceptions might be involved for the sake of experience and not for the goals of the machines.) The college kids think of politics as a deal-less world where right will out as soon as the people know all the facts. Often enough they believe right is their particular understanding of integration, low tariffs, U.N., anti-rule 22, more schools, some type of farm support; i.e., the standard Northern Liberal Democratic line. The beatniks think that politics is all manipulations by a comparatively small group which can, at will, swing the complacent middle-class suburbanites into line on election day. Neither group sees politics as an area of compromising conflicting interests.

I think the cartoon under discussion was meant to be a political cartoon. However, I don't think it makes any political sense. The symbols of the cartoon are arranged in the looseness of a dream.

The third cartoon of the first issue of The Journal is some type of a conglomeration of the previous two; it is political- yet it includes the local images of Hawthorn. The cartoon contains three male figures. In the foreground is a standing, but hunched, neatly-bearded, sunken-cheeked man. His hoof-like feet are in sandals. In his hand is a rifle with a well developed bayonnet. His bow-legs join in an unnatural upside down "U"; while the rifle crosses in front of the groin. He seems to be dressed in some type of fatigues. On his helmet are the letters, HSM; the helmet straps hang down. Behind the standing "soldier" is a tank with the word, "HAWTHORN STUDENT MILITIA". From the open top of the tank is the bust figure of a cigar-smoking, Castro-looking fellow looking into the sky. Two long guns, an antenna-type projection and the cigar are so placed that there is an object emanating from the tank and pointing in each of the compass directions. On the left in the mid ground is a three buttoned, big feet and handed, curved legged figure, facing forward, speaking at an outside telephone booth. This figure with his left hand up, all fingers extended, and the oversized telephone receiver in his right hand is saying, according to the caption at the bottom, "DAMMIT DEAN! WHO CARES WHAT BUDGET THEY GOT THE MONEY OUT OF, CALL THE POLICE......"

Of course, the beatniks were and have been pro-Castro, though C.L. once told me, when asked, that if he were in Cuba he might not be pro-Castro. The pro-Castro feeling is more likely an anti-authority feeling toward the United States authority and general adult authority. When Dorothy Day was on campus, this group first indicated that they had never heard of her, and second, didn't seem particularly interested in seeing what a recent visitor in Cuba who is mildly pro-Castro might have to say.

All of the students find themselves in an ambiguous role in the university. People their own age, who are working, are full members of the adult community. In the university the college student is told that he is an adult, but is not really treated as such regardless of the teachers who honestly believe that he should be. The structure of grades, classrooms, captive audiences at lectures, restrictive use of buildings all seem to lead to a position of more dependence than in the army or in the work world or in the private home. Furthermore, the students come to the university to be taught, which is some type of admission that there are people who know more than they do- which is not quite the same as the admission that some people have more power than others. The issue of both unequal power and unequal knowledge is one that the beatnik community cannot seem to resolve adequately for themselves.

# FIRST PAGES OF THE LOG OF THE STUDENT PARTICIPANT OBSERVER

Ted Dienstfrey

## Hawthorn Program Study, Preliminary Observations, September 22, 1962

I view my role as a participant observer at Hawthorn College as an anthropologist who comes to look at a set of people to see: first, there is a community; second, who belongs to the community; third, how stable is the community, what keeps it together; and four, what are the sub-groups within the community. I am interested in the student as a person. This means that while I will be interested in the student's formal and informal academic achievement, I will also be interested in the social, political and aesthetic sides of the student's life. I shall try to find out what goals, both short-run and long-run, the students has, whom the student hopes to please by achieving these goals (himself, his parents, his peer group, etc.), the amount of self confidence the student has in himself, the amount of spontaneity the student shows.

Whether there is a community or not, I am interested in attempting to measure a subjective value variable called "satisfaction". The student body, the faculty and the community at large most likely have different ways of "satisfying" themselves. One object of my being here is to try to see what the mix of these satisfactions apparently is.

I have been asked and I agree to concentrate primarily on the seniors. I shall make the attempt formally to meet and speak to each senior at the college. It is almost certain, however, that the more important data of the study will come from informal contacts and participating in the various activities both on and off campus with the students.

I shall continue to present myself to the students as someone who has been hired to collect data on the college community. It is hoped that the privacy of the student will not be violated by this study.

### First Contact with the Students

Since these first contacts will tell more about myself than about the students, there will be no attempt to identify individual students. The first student I met, an attractive female senior, upon learning that I was doing a study, volunteered the statement that so much money was spent on research that if it was given to the students, half of the students' education could be paid for, although in general this student was willing to accept a study as possibly valid. The student was met in the presence of two faculty members, and as seems to be the case with all student and faculty members that I have met at Hawthorn so far, the conversation was about Hawthorn. The student spoke about her two experiences of interviewing, one on the political study and a second on her own study having to do with birth control.[1] She claimed that at both times she enjoyed the experience of knocking on strange doors and discovering that people are quite willing to talk to her about things which are fairly intimate. There was no statement as to whether either of these studies had any more meaning than just another experience. The student expressed dissatisfaction with the Senior Colbquium on avant-garde music. The main problem with the Colloquium was what seemed to be an intolerant observation that most of the students in the Colloquium did not really know much about various contemporary avant-garde musicians. One of the student's main interests is dancing. The student expressed some anxiety about what she would do next year. She discussed briefly the possibility of getting a Master's in education.

Some type of housing director at Mackenzie Union said that he had a great deal of trouble with Hawthorn students. The only specific example he volunteered had to do with a group of girls who had some murals drawn on their apartment walls. When asked, he stated that he would not allow any of his children to go to Hawthorn College, for the reason that he was a conservative and the college was too liberal. He should be tapped for further information to see if students get into much trouble with landlords.

The next student I met was a male student who was working on one of the many Hawthorn self-studies.[2] His beard, his dress, his speech, which included a sprinkling of four-letter words, would place him in the beat community of the college. In fact, he felt that the first time that college had created a community was when a large number of students lived on Prentis Street last year. He felt that the spirit of the college had changed the two years he had been there, and that the change was not desirable. He declared rather proudly that he was a Socialist which he adamantly claimed was not the same thing as State Capitalism. When hearing of what my job was, he asked if I was going to do the "student bit", by which he meant was I going to go to any classes. He volunteered a number of bars and restaurants where students from Hawthorn collected. I did not take them down at the time, but will go back to him to ask him for these details later. A word which he repeated over and over was ugly- the building was ugly, the city was ugly, the situation was ugly- everything was ugly. He felt that City University desired to become a university community like Ann Arbor, which he opposed. He felt that the ideal community would be created by having students live in apartments and not in dormitories.

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[1] These two experiences date back to the Fall and the Spring of 1960, respectively. (editor's note)

[2] This student was a junior from the 1960 entrant class. (editor's note)

I attended one of the orientation sections for freshmen at which time the freshmen were addressed by senior class members. The freshmen in the section which I attended were addressed by two male students. One rather intense student felt that he could not get a better education anywhere else in the State. He was against the quarter system which he spent a great deal of time explaining. He felt that the quarter system was a concession or a necessary bad thing caused by hick legislators. When it was suggested to him by the other senior student that the quarter system meant that one would not have to study over vacations nor write papers over vacations, he stated that he had considered this and felt that this was one more bad aspect of the quarter system. When he explained the fact that the social science courses would have one grade that would apply for all five quarters, he was questioned as to whether or not this was self-defeating. The question was, wouldn't students figure out what their best payoff was for grades and study accordingly. He felt that this was one of the choices that students had to make.

The second student at the discussion was a bit calmer. He pointed out that one could study for grades or to be an educated individual. He felt that the Hawthorn goals were such that one would study to be an educated individual. He felt that if the freshmen were coming to Hawthorn to get Truth, they would be disappointed. Truth was, he pointed out, ephemeral and hard to grasp, if one could grasp it at all. He claimed that formal attendance at classes was not the sum total of the education, but ideally persons would pursue their investigations and be stimulated, be curious, both in and out of class. He felt that the Center added to the possibility that this goal could be achieved.

Both students warned freshmen not to be disappointed in the first few weeks of classes. As far as I can remember, the language was-- even though nothing seems to be happening, you'll suddenly realize that great things are, in reality, happening.

Both students suggested to the freshmen that they read the assigned lessons before going to class discussions. They assured the students that there was some relationship between lectures, the assigned readings and the discussions; though they admitted at times this relationship was very hard to see. There seemed to be some type of in-group joke between the two students who were addressing the freshmen and other senior class members having to do with the great range of topics that the social science class discussions took.

Several questions had to do with whether the students at Hawthorn had the opportunity to meet scholars and distinguished men. The intent discussion leader felt that a student could meet such individuals where ever he was, but that at Hawthorn, due to the Student Center, this became easier. He explained that when outside visitors came to lecture, at the conclusion of the lecture, they (the lecturer) and the students would return to the Center for an informal discussion.

It was also pointed out that at times students might even give lectures to other students. And that this practice had been used to fulfill course requirements. Both discussion leaders seemed quite pleased at the fact that there were many given ways that one could fulfill course requirements; by writing papers, by making a movie, which one of their friends was currently thinking of doing, by giving a lecture, or any other means by which the student and teachers could agree to.

Throughout the discussion the two student leaders and other senior class members in the audience who interrupted at times, seemed at ease and under complete control of what they were doing. They seemed to feel that their job at this meeting was to reassure the entering students that they would get a very good intellectual education. The seniors who took part in the orientation seemed to be enjoying themselves very much.

After a long rather aimless discussion with a member of the Journal staff and a member of the Student Government Board,[1] both students were capable of dividing the college community into various sub-groups. The Student Government member felt that there had been: first, a card-playing group; second, a rock n' roll listening group which then became a dance group; and third, a serious music group which was also interested in serious discussions. He felt that he was a member of the third group. The Journal student felt that there was: first, a Student Board group; second, a rah-rah group; and third, a Journal-Prentis Street group. He felt that he was a member of the third group.

Those students were interested in discussing the concepts of Hawthorn community. The Student Board[1] student felt that there ought to be a very inclusive community, including all Hawthorn students and all City University students. He felt that this was possible because all of the students, being Americans, had some type of common traditions, some type of common problems which they all ought to realize could be solved better if they banded together. The Journal student felt that this was the ideology of the faculty but not his personal belief. He was looking for, at least it seemed to me, a somewhat smaller and more intimate group. The

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[1] The participant observer corrected this statement later. The student in question had initiated activities at the Center from time to time, but had not tied himself down to the Student Government Board. (editor's note.)

*Journal* student was the first person I came across who referred to the faculty as "them". But he was concerned at having been called up by some City University officials over the contents of the *Journal*. He felt that the Hawthorn faculty had told him that the *Journal* could print what it wanted to and that therefore no one had a right to question what went into the *Journal*. He seemed to be interested in finding out what the limits were of the faculty's permissiveness.

The Student Board student did most of the talking during the discussion. He seemed quite optimistic over Hawthorn and in general pleased with his environment. He had with him perhaps fifteen books on disarmament which he had just checked out of the library. He was currently concerned, he said, with trying to see why disarmament had not yet taken place. He is a pre-med student.

An articulate junior student with whom I had a long conversation claimed that he was sorry that he had not gone to the University of Chicago. He felt that Hawthorn was all right as far as it went, but that it somehow just missed being great. Several times he stated that he thinks Hawthorn would be better if there were more great men that the student body could meet; although much later in the conversation he stated that the best times he had at Hawthorn now were spent in the library, studying. This student used to be interested in art and stated that at one time he was considered to have been fairly talented. But he explained that as sex become more important, art became less important. He stated that he would now rather pick up a book than a brush.[1] The student is planning to go to med school as preparation for psychiatry. However, he views himself not as a doctor but as some type of traveling international consultant. A repeated complaint of the Social Science course was that the Social Science faculty was more interested in methodolgy than in theory. The only theoretical person discussed was Weber and the student claimed to like him very much. The student asked me about the sociology convention in Washington and whether I felt it was worthwhile. He had heard that the quality of the papers had something to be desired. He had received several papers from the convention and was going to lend them to me in the coming week.

A senior girl student who was waiting for someone to come to pick her up at the Center was interested mainly in whom she was dating. She seemed very pleased or amused, or perhaps anxious, I really can't tell, about the fact that she is taking a course from the instructor whom she is dating. She explained that she had gone out with a Jewish boy the night before which pleased her mother extremely. She spoke very briefly and a bit incoherently about the fact that a short time ago there had been some good uncut pot floating about. She spoke as if she had used some. At one point, in a tone of despair, she said that she felt that she would not have her degree until she was 25. After a B. A., she thought she would to to graduate work either to get an English degree or a Sociology degree.

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[1] There seems to be a *non sequitur* here. The tape might have been badly transcribed. (editor's note)

The first Negro male I met at the Center[1] has been, to date, the student who has accepted the study most easily. He felt that I would have to attend several of their parties and that while everybody else was drinking I could sit in the corner and take down notes. He tried to explain to me the reason for moving the Center across the street. He felt that this was some type of plan by someone- it was not clear whether this was student or faculty- to break up a group who had been dominating the Center across the street. He had been a member of this group, he felt. He felt that the move across the street had successfully broken up the group. And he felt that this was a bad thing.

The next student I met had just come from filling out a form in order to apply for work at the food center in Mackenzie Union. He seemed very agitated by the fact that he had been asked for his nationality. He was bothered by the fact that in the space provided, he had put down the word Jew. He now feels that the proper thing to have put down was American. He seemed to feel that he would not get the job because of some type of latent or overt anti-Semitism. He went into a long explanation explaining how people are what they are because they are Americans, because they are students, because of their sex life, because of their religion, because of all types of things. He felt that religion should not be considered of prime importance. This was the first student I met who, on coming to some swear words in his conversation, would decidedly lower his voice to a whisper.

The last student in this group was another student research assistant working on the political survey.[2] He was quite pleased with Hawthorn but was annoyed at the fact that it had a "beat" image to the outside world. He felt that this would dissuade other reasonable students from coming to Hawthorn. He claimed that the cartoons that Logan made in the Journal and in the City University newspaper always contained the image of another student whom he identified. He desires to go to medical school, although he feels that theology might deter him from this goal. He came to

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[1] A junior. (editor's note)

[2] A junior. (editor's note)

Hawthorn because he felt that he had always been good in discussions in high school and not terribly good in formal examinations. He had heard about Hawthorn; he had checked it out with his friends at the Newman Club; and decided it was a reasonable place for him to come.

## Some First Generalizations; September 23, 1962

I don't know if the defect lies in my ability of observation or in the general manner in which the students carry themselves; nevertheless I am unable to estimate the age of the students I meet. I always seem to be adding two or three years on to their age. I am impressed by their ability to verbalize and to use vocabulary and the language of the social sciences. There has, of course, been no situation when much emotion has been involved in any discussion. This is including the supposed anti-Semitic situation discussed briefly before. Many of the students seem to feel that Hawthorn is not really a first-rate institution. They seem to feel that they should have gone to- it would have been better if they had gone to- the name and status schools. I am certainly not an expert in this, but I don't see with the group I have met so far, how they don't match up with a similar group, or at least the groups I knew, at the University of Chicago. This does not mean that they would not have gotten some type of added psychic compensation by going to one of the status schools.

Thinking about students, talking to students and beginning to read about them, and from some of the literature I am, of course, coming to some "conclusions" as to what the goals of the university or college should be. I don't know as yet how these private views will influence my observations, but I had better try to get them on record. At present, it seems to me that the successful college would attempt to turn out students who believe: first, that their education was just beginning (associated with this are the adjectives of humility and tolerance); second, that the most important studies have to be done by the individual, i.e., you make it by yourself; and third, that there is some type of obligation on the part of the individual to share or at least communicate or participate in some type of social grouping.

As to a model of the influences that a student might feel while he is in a college community, imagine a field with a large number of independent forces. Each force acts upon the other force in some type of direct relationship as to sizes and indirect relationship as to distance from each other. My job, therefore, would be first to identify what these major forces are and then to see what their interrelationships are.

# Mortorium and Student Role

Kristine M. Rosenthal

This paper is based on certain findings in a study of Hawthorn College.[1] I have attempted to interpret these findings with a particular interest in the role of an individual, in this case a student, as a member of one or more collectivities--college, family, and community.

Hawthorn is a small experimental college on the campus of City University, which took its first freshman class of 300 four years ago. It is an experiment in creating a liberal arts college where all entering students have the opportunity for the kind of faculty attention and small group discussion usually reserved for graduate students, or undergraduates in honors programs or in a few elite colleges. The courses are designed along inter-departmental lines developed by the University of Chicago, where many of the original Hawthorn faculty members had taught before.

The value of such a program lies in the fact that it is meant to allow the student to follow his own interests and inclinations, to see the content of his education as a meaningful and interrelated body of knowledge and speculation about the world, rather than facts culled from various disciplines, and finally to explore all facets of himself so that he can eventually make a committment to a profession or a way of life or whatever, based on the knowledge of himself and the world and how the two best fit together. For such a program to be effective the student must accept what it offers. We are primarily interested in studying whether in fact the students do "buy" this program, what determines their attitude towards it and how, and if, they change during the four years of college.

The Hawthorn students were given a battery of tests when they first entered the college in the fall of 1959, they were also interviewed then, and again at the end of their freshman year. They are presently being interviewed again as seniors. Except for a few cases, two of which I will present later, coding of the senior interviews is still in progress. Since, however, we do know who is still there and who dropped out, and since we have data as to what the students were like when they entered and how they changed during their first year, we can speculate on what in their initial attitude or behavior determined their staying power.

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[1] The data discussed here was collected by the Hawthorn Program Study under a contract with the U.S. Office of Education. The interview instruments were developed by Dr. Carol Kaye and were administered and coded under her direction.

Dr. Kaye originally expressed interest in the concept of moratorium as related to this group and has helped me in setting up the data analysis for this purpose. I bear all responsibility, however, for the interpretations and conclusion as reported in this paper.

To determine this, we have been interested in student role conceptualizations. We have assumed that the student whose own role concept matches most closely the one held by the college will fit comfortably, so to speak, into the college, and should be the most open to what the school has to offer and most likely to stay through the four years.

We focused on what we have called a moratorium attitude. We have defined moratorium as the acceptance by the student of the four years of college as a time devoted to development of values, objectives, pursuits of interests, cultivation of self, and experimentation. Ideally, this is a time when he is not obligated to be a productive member of society at large (although he should be productive as defined by his academic society) or feel guilty about not being so productive or not making money.

To understand what is involved for the student in holding a moratorium attitude we must examine the various elements of the student's environment and see how they hinder or foster this attitude.

The Hawthorn student's environment is dichotomized into the community outside--with family and non-college peers, and the academic community with the faculty and other students. The environmental elements serve two functions. They partially determine the way in which the student conceptualizes his role (the student's personality system is the other determinant) and they serve the constant function of evaluating the performance of his role tasks.

At the moment, we can form a fairly accurate picture of the socio-cultural determinants from our quantitative data. The personality system of the student, his intelligence, personality characteristics and integration, his ability to form relationships, etc. will come from more clinical-type data, which is not yet available to us in usable form.

At Hawthorn we have the special case of students who, by not residing at the college, are more closely tied to the family and the outside community, and who thus have to continually justify their role choices as opposed to the more privileged students who need to do this only at Christmas and Easter if they don't escape to Bermuda. The Hawthorn student coming, by and large, from a lower middle class background in a very materialistic and culturally-deprived city has to justify his academic choices daily on economic grounds, and the student's present worth or the respect that his student status affords him in the community is based on the kind of job for which his degree will qualify him, on what he has promised to become professionally. Many of the working students said that the job experience intensified their desire to get a college education to avoid being stuck in a rut as their adult co-workers were. Their primary motive was not so that they would be able to read and appreciate Dostoevsky as they worked on the assembly line, but so that, of course, they wouldn't need to work on an assembly line. This does not mean that they would not also like a greater appreciation of things around them, but they see the possibility of a more intellectual life as directly dependent on the economic betterment. These students on the whole have less knowledge of, and access to, white collar and other non-factory occupations which one may hold without a college degree, so that their choices are much more limited. Even the students who are satisfied with the level their parents have attained and do not wish to be different from their parents in any other respect feel that they owe it to their parents to do better economically. They seem to feel that the parents would consider the sacrifice they made to send their children to school was wasted if the child, in turn, did not eventually enjoy a higher standard of living.

We have some idea of how the parents view the purposes of a college education from a check list we have given to the students on which they were asked to rate items as an "important or unimportant part of college experience" as viewed by their parents.

Almost all the students felt that their parents judged preparation for future work as important; half reported that their parents thought "development of taste in literature, art and music" important; less than half checked "learning about world affairs" or "making friends" as important to their parents; and less than one-fourth thought their parents considered "attending extra-curricular lectures, taking part in student affairs, or having fun" as important parts of their college experience. Thus we see a scale of values emerging, with functional training valued most, development of general skills, tastes and social abilities (the trappings of social mobility) in the middle, and more personal development and activities which are not clearly functional valued least.

It is here that the polarity between the college and the home is strongest. Taking part in student affairs and having fun are most likely to involve the student in the sub-culture of the college. This involvement in the sub-culture of the college with attendant peer support has been shown to be the most salient variable in other sutdies of change in college students. In other words, the students who change the most are the ones who so involve themselves. Thus, the very prerequiste for change, quite aside from the content of the change, need often involve going agaist the values of the parents.

From the family's viewpoint, a clear professional goal is the most desirable condition of college attendance, and indeed often a prerequisite. Many students, when asked, "Why do you want to go to college?" say, "Because I want to be a doctor (or a teacher) and one has to go to college to become these things." On the whole, the families and the entering students have a limited view of the available professions: one can be a doctor, a lawyer, a teacher or an engineer--and these are the only choices likely to get whole-hearted family support. One of the students who entered as an engineer and changes to psychology said his parents were very disappointed when he told them he now wanted to be a psychologist, because they wanted him to be in a profession. He too, in fact, accepted the fact that he had given up a profession.

(Given the functional approach of the students to education, and their lack of knowledge of the diversity of fields and professions, this kind of knowledge should perhaps be a preliminary to any attempt to teach the content of the course. Or, to put it in terms of role conceptualizations, the student has a dual task of not only formulating a role of himself as a student, but also adjusting such a role as he goes along so that it eventually fits into his conception of the role of a working member of society. In other words, the student is being socialized to eventually assume a role outside the university. The more limited his idea of the roles which are desirable, the more he is faced with the problem of either limiting his student role in similar ways, or, assuming that his student role of learning and experimenting has little to do with his eventual place in society, keeping a very dichotomized view of himself--now vs. later--so that he makes little connection between "the real world" and his college experience. A college devoted to inducing a moratorium attitude in the students often serves to re-enforce this feeling of dichotomy between the college experience and the world, with the result that the two may never become really integrated.)

Since the non-resident student is under constant surveillance of the family and the community, if he spends time on activities which they feel are not important, he will be accused of "wasting time", (an often-mentioned source of conflict between the students and their parents.) In order to gain their approval, he is better off taking a paid job. The working student actually gets many gratifications; respect and envy from adult co-workers, traditional respect from both the college and the community, money, often special privileges on the job, if he needs it, an excuse not to do his best academically, and also an excuse to avoid getting involved in the college culture when such an involvement might pose a threat, as we will discuss later.

To summarize, having leisure time, pursuing interests which are not clearly functional, and having fun are all aspects of college life which the college community tries to promote and provide for. In an urban community, a lack of such provisions tends to raise a fear of delinquency (a large component of which is likely to be the resentment and ambivalence of the community and the parents toward those who seemingly have nothing to do and who waste their time hanging about coffee shops. Some of the students themselves say that when they have extra time they take a job to "stay out of trouble.") We expect, then, that for an average Hawthorn student, the pressures from outside the college will be strongly anti-moratorium.

The peer goup may or may not support a moratorium orientation. But again, Hawthorn students, by living at home, maintain ties with their neighborhood and high school friends who are not in college with them longer than do students who go away to school. And since these friends were chosen at an earlier stage of development, we would expect them to hinder rather than foster any change in values or objectives. We expect that the student may change his peer group and gravitate more toward his new college friends, but not without some attendant guilt toward the friends he is rejecting.

At the beginning of the freshman year three-fourths of the students report having at least some of their closest friends from the neighborhood or high school. At the end of that first year most of them still saw these friends frequently.

(In the high and low moratorium groups which I will discuss later, the low group was shown to have maintained their outside friendships to a much greater degree than the high moratorium group who, in turn, spend more time with their friends at college.)

As for the Hawthorn faculty, it is greatly devoted to the moratorium orientation. The students are encouraged to follow their own interests and ideas no matter how tangential to the course material. A high premium is placed on experimentation in all areas. A student who conforms to the expectations of the faculty not only gains their approval and great deal of their time and attention, but also will probably find them more lenient in evaluating the performance of his more routine student tasks. More than half of the students said they feel they can discuss in sections regardless of whether they had done the readings. As one student put it, "They won't even tell you if you are completely on the wrong track, because they figure that the experience of finding it out yourself is valuable."

It is interesting to note in passing that although being open to change and experimentation is prized at Hawthorn, many of the students who expressed dissatisfaction with their college experience at the end of the first year had also previously expressed a great desire to be changed and molded, but were disappointed that Hawthorn had not given them the direction they had expected and had not made explicit demands on them. They became confused and blamed the faculty for not telling them what to do, and finally concluded that the faculty didn't know what they wanted from the student. I will discuss this in more detail in the context of the transfer of dependency from the family to the college.

Therefore, the average Hawthorn student finds himself between conflicting demands. His family and community demand that he have clear and approved professional goals, that his occupational choice give justification for his college training, and that he be efficient in reaching these goals and not waste time. In fact, indulgence is granted the student only in the area of social life, and again, only if it does not affect his efficiency.

The college, on the other hand, demands that he relax his goals, develop new interests, and spend time in activities not clearly relevant to his professional training.

Before we can speculate what it means for a student to have a moratorium orientation we need to theorize about how those conflicting pressures can be dealt with by the students. The simplest way, of course, is to remove oneself from the source. Hence the student attrition rate at Hawthorn is 57% over the four years. Of these, 33% went to City State University (one-third of these have since dropped out), 10% went to other schools, and 14% left college altogether.

Of the remainder, one group went "beat"--a declaration that they were removing themselves from the demands of the community. They left home, moved closer to campus and, in effect, formed their own family and community more in accord with the values of the college. There is, in fact, a tendency among members of that group to take these values to their extreme and embarass the faculty with their plus royaliste que le roi attitude.

The rest face the following task: they must, in some way, deal with the outside demands, deal with the demands of the college, and structure for themselves a role as students which will serve as a meaningful transition from their student status to that of a working member of the community.

A student, particularly a non-resident student, is a member of two collectivities--the outside community and the college. Though the goals of the two collectivities for him are nominally the same, to turn him into a useful and self-sufficient member of society, the conception of those goals by each collectivity may be quite different. The tendency of the one is to see college as a place where the individual will be prepared to fill a social position and occupation already structured and waiting in the world; The other would ideally (speaking about liberal arts colleges) like to see the student learn enough about himself, his capabilities, motives and values, and enough about the world and its needs so that he can make an adjustment between the two which will be both meaningful and satisfying to himself, and which will allow him to contribute to the world by continually redefining the adult roles to be filled, instead of attempting to mold himself to fit rigidly conceived roles.

We have sketched out the demands of the two collectivities. I would now like to focus on the relationship of the student to these collectivities and conceptualization of the student role in the context of these relationships.

I have found it useful to follow the terminology introduced by Bidwell and Vreeland in a paper called "College lege Education and Moral Orientation/ An Organizational Approach." The authors speak of a dual role in a collectivity, that of a client and a member, and of the respectively dual nature of the relationship, the utilitarian contract and the normative contract. They speak of col- as inducting organizations where "both the utilitarian and the normative contracts are consummated between the client and the client-serving organization...Incentives which will motivate the client-member are differential allocations by any of the administrative or professional staffs of prestige, esteem and symbolic acts and objects instead of force or payment." And further, "with the normative contract, the client-member commits himself to the service goals of the organization thus recognizing the rightness of the superordination of the professional and administrative staffs. The rightness of legitimacy establishes the normative authority of the staff over the client-member." (pp. 6-8) It is not at all clear that a college must be an inductive organization, if it is a non-resident college that does not a choice as to its student body (as most state colleges do not); and that the college in its turn is not chosen by the student for any of its normative considerations, although such a choice already indicates a desire and willingness on the part of the student to be guided by the values of the college. All this is true of Hawthorn in its first year.

Let us first examine the client aspect of the student -- college relationship. The student comes to college to acquire certain knowledge and skills (98% of the students mentioned preparing for future work as one of their reasons for coming to college.) If he has a clear professional goal in mind, he judges the material that the college offers him on the basis of its relevance to his future goal, or to other personal goals he might have, and may reject the college's attempts to involve him in what he does not conceive as relevant. If we assume that a student who comes to college with definite professional goals has a real or a conceived role model before him, then there may be an additional problem of challenging his loyalty to that role model before he can accept the college's normative authority. E. H. Erikson, in a paper entitled "Youth: Fidelity and Diversity" talks about the need of adolescents to find "something and somebody to be true to.. The selection of meaningful individuals can take place in the framework of pointed practicalities such as schooling or job selection, as well as in religious or ideological fellowship;..The occasions have in common a mutual sizing up and a mutual plea for being recognized as individuals who can be more than they seem to be and whose potentials are needed by the order that is or will be."

I believe that last phrase is central, as far as the Hawthorn students are concerned. To be needed by the order means to be accepted, respected and rewarded, and the role model is chosen by these criteria. The choice is further determined by the youth's eagerness "to realize actual roles (previously play-acted) which promise him an eventual identity in the specializations of his culture's technology." To students from lower class or minority group backgrounds, acceptance and respect are real concerns--goals worth working for--and filling a definite need of the society is the surest way of achieving them.

Thus we may expect the students to resist anything which might make them question either the value of the role model *per se* or their satisfaction with it as a final identity choice. In as much as college attendance is the accepted path of reaching one's goal, the student will accept the college's authority to set out his intellectual meal for him, but not to make him eat all of it. And although the college may make rules requiring students to fulfill a range of requirements, these tend to be met with resentment from these students who, even if they adequately perform their course tasks, will make no attempt to relate them to their other experiences and will refer to them as a "waste of time." This is a familiar experience of anyone who has ever taught a class of engineers taking their social science requirement. The students approach the subject matter with great hostility, refuse to become involved in the subject matter, and do badly in the course, wearing the badge of "I don't understand what they want" with great martyrdom. On the other hand, the students who do well in the course still often maintain this alienated attitude, and use their good grade as a proof of the triviality of the subject matter, or their own ability to put something over on the teacher. In either case, the impression is of an almost desparate holding back, as if an identification with work done in another discipline was a betrayal of an identification with one's own, which must be preserved at all costs. As Erikson puts it, "In no other stage of the life cycle are the promise of finding oneself and the threat of losing oneself so closely allied." Much of the *first year* grumbling at Hawthorn was "They're trying to make social scientists out of us and *that's not my field*."

This, then, is the picture of the student who perceives the nature of his contract with the college as purely utilitarian.

The case is less clear with the student who comes to college with no set idea of what he wants to be and who looks to the college to give him direction and help him make choices. This student, though open to a normative contract, still has to seal it by certain kind of committment, i.e., chosing or conceptualizing a role model form within the college community, experimenting with integrating the demands of this new role with his personality system, making adjustments and committments, and finally emerging with an integrated personality of his own, all of which would serve to involve him in a reciprocal relationship with the values of the college. On the other hand, a student committed on entering may be so willing to be molded and directed, so accepting of the authority of the college, that he remains passive and compliant. He responds to all role demands, does not pick or choose from the experience, and does not test the adequacy of the role for his own needs. Such a student will leave college feeling that it had failed him. He was open to the experience--so open, in fact, that it flowed right through him. Such a student has also remained in a purely client relationship to the college. As distinct from the student with clear future goals, he didn't know what he was shopping for.

The student who remains a client is not changed by his college experience and, in turn, has little impact on the college. He may finish his four years and do well academically. The college is equipped to exercise sanctions (grades, prizes) for the fulfillment of utilitarian contract. But its sanctions reinforcing the normative contract (faculty approval, attention, etc.) are useless prior to the student's involvement in the college culture.

If we accept Erikson's definition of the most important task of youth as being formation of ego identity which must be recognized as having a consistency in time and thus be able to withstand the confusion which occurs when the individual is presented with a wide range of possible identities; and if, at the same time, we empathize with the attraction to things "that work" and the pleasure of being accepted if things work, we can then fully appreciate the difficulty inherent for the college student with a moratorium orientation. He is asked to give up role models which work in the society as he knows it and take on, instead, role models which are efficient in the college community but which have not been so proved to his satisfaction outside in his future community, and an identification with such role models which may not have the necessary consistency in time. Thus a student is constantly aware that a committment to a membership in the college community has certain implications for membership in the society at large, his future. His safe choices are to remain in the college community or to dichotomize his college and future identities, which really means to further delay the crystalization of his ego identity. The real challenge is to re-enter society with no assurance that the identity formed will work, and we can speculate on where the student finds the strength to make such a choice.

In the discussion above I have talked as if the college community and the society at large were in opposition to one another. I did not mean to imply that this is generally the case. I only believe it to be the case for certain students under certain conditions as outlined in the beginning of this paper. is true that in other colleges with a different population, the involvement in student culture and activities may be an accurate rehearsal for the students' future tasks and roles.

At Hawthorn the socialization goals are very explicit, there is much discussion by faculty about students being changed or opened up (although the students themselves often balked at being asked how they have changed, as if the question implied some criticism of their original state.) The rewards of membership are also very explicit; to the students who become involved in the college community, the faculty gives much time and personal attention on a very informal basis. This is often a basis for resentment among the client-students, who do their work adequately, but can't, won't, or don't know how* to be members even if they covet the rewards of membership. We can also see that the concept of membership is quite clearly understood.

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* We have come across a group of students, mostly males from class 5 (the lowest class on the Hollingshead and Redlich socio-economic index) who appear to be passive endurers. They do their work, come and go silently, and seem to hope that no one will notice them. These students lack the self-assurance and social skills to seek contacts with the faculty. They appear anxious when such a contact is initiated by the faculty, and envious of the more involved students. "If you're not a social science major, nobody pays any attention to you," or "You must like to talk to people all the time, or else you get left out." are some of the examples of answers these students give to the question, "What would you tell an incoming freshman about Hawthorn?" I have been tempted to hypothesize that these students fantasy themselves in a role more like that of the moratorium student, but, for some reason, are unable to perform such a role. Hence they try to place the blame for this discrepancy on the elements in the college environment and avoid situations which would point up their inability to act on the fantasied role. We can speculate that if the preconceived student role, as influenced by parents and background, stressed, for example, respectful distance from the faculty and role learning, the adjustment to the role demands for the student, as defined by the college, may involve a betrayal of parental values. The conflict thus engenered permits a resolution, for some students, only in fantasy.

It is also possible that the personal role definition, when tested in performance, may have a varying degree of fit with the personal system. If one is committed to such an ill-fitting role definition, he has built failure into the role performance.

Full time Hawthorn students, when asked about Hawthorn atmosphere or activities, will say, "I'm not really at Hawthorn," or "I haven't been a part of Hawthorn for two years now." Work committment is often the reason given for nonmembership, and one wonders how much the outside work protects the student from the threats inherent in the involvement.*

Finally, Hawthorn has provided one additional opportunity for membership. The various research activities on campus have employed many students, thus giving them the opportunity both for observing at first hand some of the practical applications of the content of their social science course, and for thinking of themselves as effective members of the Hawthorn community. Many of the students interviewed referred to their Hawthorn jobs as having greatly influenced their interests. Further data analysis will tell us more accurately about the exact impact of this experience. It may well turn out to be the most effective way of involving non-moratorium students in the college community.

Often, the apparently mature, apparently comfortable undergraduate student is planning to go on to graduate school. It is a question which came first; is this student happy and comfortable in his role and therefore plans to go to graduate school or is he happy and comfortable because he plans to go on to graduate school? The first seems like the obvious answer, and yet it is clear that although these students are not necessarily the brightest, they are the ones most likely to have formed a relationship with at least one faculty member, to have, in fact, found an exact role model. Once having found an exact role model, is not the student apt to do much better in school than he had ever done before? Prof. Riesman has mentioned a case in which a faculty member had picked a group of male students of varying ability and had met with them frequently for bull-session type meetings. He gave them a chance to express themselves and showed his continued interest in their welfare, although he gave them no specific instruction. He found that these students did better in their various endeavors than any similar groups.[1]

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* See footnote on previous page.

[1] This refers to a study done at Princeton by Roy Heath, to be published under the title - The Reasonable Adventurer, mentioned in a paper by David Riesman entitled Changing Colleges and Changing Students presented before the National Catholic Education Association, Atlantic City, April 4, 1961

This has been used as an example of the value of unstructured, fatherly type attention for bringing out the best in students. I don't believe it has been suggested that perhaps this faculty member had provided the boys with a role model of a thoughtful, creative sort of person, which could have been utilized by them all.

The question that arises is how exact need a role model be. We cannot populate our campuses with persons of all professions or personalities for the students to look at. Yet, something is lacking. The example of engineers comes to mind. It should be perfectly possible for a boy to be genuinely interested in engineering and to leave college as a liberally educated person, with broad interests, and to continue these interests along with his engineering career. This is certainly true of those engineers educated in Europe. Yet in our colleges, there is a tendency to present it as an either/or proposition; if a student becomes interested in the humanities, he is most likely to leave his engineering studies, (often to the cheers of the humanities faculty; a soul saved.) This seems to me to be clearly a failure in modeling. There is no model of the engineeri with borad interests, and if the student should conceive of one, the pressure is against his maintaining it. The same is true of the liberal physician, though it is less universal. It seems to me to be an important task of educational institutions, particularly institutions which draw their students from backgrounds much different from the ones they hope to place them in upon graduation, to provide role models for the students which would be better than the available stereotypes. It is a problem that merits consideration, and one on which further analysis of Hawthorn data might shed some light. Solutions, short of hiring a PR man, must be available.

Before I go on to discuss some differences between a small group of moratorium and non-moratorium students selected from our sample, I would like to make sure I have not created a misconception that Hawthorn has not succeeded with any of its students. There have, in fact, been many students to whom Hawthorn afforded an educational experience which would not have been available to them otherwise, and by which they have benefited enormously. The students who stand out are the ones who are now recipients of outside recognition in the form of scholarships and fellowships for graduate study. There are many others who have profited in more private ways; we might know about them at some future time, or not at all. There is no question that the college has made an impact on most of the students who have stayed for four years. It is, however, one of the facts of social science that deviance is easier to define than normality, and it is the problems rather than the successes that stand out and that invite speculation and discussion.

## Moratorium Analysis

The sample moratorium group was chosen partly on the basis of the students' attitude toward work as opposed to their attitude toward school. We felt that whenever intrinsic value was placed on working while in school, regardless of financial need, this was a clear indication that the student did not hold a moratorium attitude, as defined, earlier. Conversely, a student who worked but said he wished he didn't need to so that he could instead devote himself to school was placed in a moratorium group. The other criterion was the student's attitude toward school as a place in which to grow and mature, rather than a place in which to merely acquire skills. The group was defined in the following way:

High moratorium:

(N = 36) all those students who worked, but said they wished they didn't have to.

and/or

(N = 51) all students who said they were not working because of a desire to devote themselves to school.

and/or

(N = 36) all those who expected to gain maturity and personal development from their college years.

and/or

(N = 11) all those who expressed a desire to get away from home.

**Low Moratorium:** (A student in this group had to give at least one of the responses below and none of the responses above.)

(N = 5) all those who were not working but said they will work next year becouse of reduced pressure from school.

and/or

(N = 2) all those who said they took a job for experience and to stay out of trouble.

and/or

(N = 7) all those who said it was good for college students to work.

and/or

(N = 5, 14 and 9) all those who strongly agreed with the following statements about the non-working student: "What does he do with all of his time?" or "He is losing an opportunity to learn on the job." or "He is wasting a lot of time."

and/or

all those who mentioned only preparation for a career when asked about their attitude toward the value of a college education.

These items were taken from the spring interview which was administered at the end of the freshman year. Our results showed a group composed of 110 high moratorium students and 36 low moratorium students. Each of them had to have at least one of the qualifying responses from his group and none of the responses from the other group.

The percentage of female students was somewhat higher in the high moratorium group than in the low (to be referred to from now on as Hm and Lm.)

| Hm |  | Lm |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| Girls | Boys | Girls | Boys |
| 43% | 57% | 35% | 64% |

Exactly 53% of each group, Hm and Lm, is still at Hawthorn. This is more than the 42% of the total sample which has remained. These figures support our earlier hypothesis that it is possible for both the students who are involved in the values of the college and the ones who are detached from these values to maintain themselves at the institution but that it is the student who has a high degree of conflict engenered by the diverse demands on him with which he is unable to come to terms that consequently suffers most, and is most likely to leave. However, 20% of the Hm group left school at the end of the first year vs 30% of the Lm's.

| Class | Hm | Lm |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 8% | 8% |
| 2 | 21% | 19% |
| 3 | 27% | 28% |
| 4 | 31% | 25% |
| 5 | 9% | 17% |

No difference was found in the education of mothers for the two groups.

An examination of the grades earned by the two groups shows the following differences:

Change in Grade Point Average from Freshman to Sophomore Year

| | Hm | Lm |
|---|---|---|
| Grades went up | 23% | 39% |
| Grades remained with 0.1 range | 25% | 14% |
| Grades went down | 32% | 17% |
| Student dropped out | 20% | 30% |

We can either suppose that the Lm students, being more task-oriented and less subject to conflict, were able to do better academically. Or, even more likely, that the Lm students who remained at Hawthorn were those who were better able to fulfill their client contract and had their membership in the college reenforced through good grades.

52% of the Hm students don't have jobs as compared to 14% of the Lm group. On the whole, the Lm group holds a wider variety of jobs and more of them are employed at Hawthorn.

When asked about future plans (after college) 13% of the Hm's and 28% of the Lm's have clear goals which they held since they entered college, while 22% of the Hm's and 6% of the Lm's had not yet decided. This again shows the utilitarian orientation of Lm students to college and their need for clear and consistent goals to justify college attendance.

When we look at relationships with parents, we find that only Hm students by-pass the parental demands, while the Lm students are more accepting of parental controls and report less attempts at control.

Coder Judgment of Conflict

| | Hm | Lm |
|---|---|---|
| Parent tries to control R. R pacifies the parents but does as he pleases. | 5 | -- |
| Parents attempt to control R. R expresses dissatisfaction. | 5 | 6 |

| | Hm | Lm |
|---|---|---|
| R. is in open rebellion against parents' attempts at control. | -- | -- |
| Parents are becoming less controlling | 4 | 6 |
| R. says it's a conflict. NA how R. feels about it. | 1 | -- |

This seems to support the contention that these students do not become involved enough with the demands of the college to experience an active conflict between the demands of the college and those of the parents.

Also in the same area, 21% of the Hm students were judged by coders to be members of families where family ties were loose or loosening, due to lack of time on the part of the student, as opposed to 8% of Lm's. When asked what change their college attendance had made in their relationship to their family, 36% of the Lm's said their parents treat them more like adults, emphasizing the job and responsibility part of college, while only 20% of the Hm group gave this response. On the other hand, 25% of the Hm's felt a separation from the parents, either intellectual or practical; only 11% of the Lm's gave that response. The complete table is below.

Change in Family Relationships

| | Hm | Lm |
|---|---|---|
| R. and P's closer together | 12 | 8 |
| P's treat R. more like an adult. | 20 | 36 |
| School made a gulf between R. and P's | 6 | 3 |
| Parents don't value college. | 1 | -- |
| Separation, lack of time, etc. | 18 | 8 |

Problems of independance and general difference in viewpoint loom somewhat larger for the Hm group--22%--vs 13% for the Lm's when asked about areas of conflict with parents.

Incidently, we found little consistent difference in attitudes of parents of the two groups of students (as reported by the students) when for a given list of items they were asked; "Which of these items do your parents consider important ?"

Finally we come to the relationship of the Hm and Lm students to their peers.

The same proportion of each moratorium group (53%) is still at Hawthorn. However, members of the Lm group were more likely to leave Hawthorn early, either by dropping out altogether or by transferring to City State and dropping out of there later. Students from the Hm group were more likely to transfer from Hawthorn to City State later (second or third year) and remain at City State. (see table 3)

In our discussion of relationships with peers, we had supposed that a non-moratorium student would maintain his relationship with his neighborhood friends, whereas the moratorium-oriented student would become involved with his college peers. 71% of Hm and 83% of Lm students report having at least some close friends in the neighborhood. However, when asked how often they see friends not in college with them, 29% of the Hm group said "only rarely" or "never," whereas almost all (35 out of 36) Lm students reported seeing their non-college friends "often" or "occasionally." What is even more striking of the Hm group who said they see their neighborhood friends often only a third have remained at Hawthorn.

This does not mean that Hm students do not spend time with friends, because when asked, "How often do you sit and talk to friends at college?" 62% of the Hm's say "very often" as opposed to 47% of the Lm's

Furthermore, this seems specifically tied to relationships with peers rather than to the time spent at school, since no significant difference between the two groups was found in their attendance of college plays and extracurricular lectures.

The function of a college is rapidly changing. Once, colleges drew a very limited group of students, chosen either by the college itself or self-selected on economic or social bases. We can see the truth of this statement if we think back on the connotations that the phrase "scholarship student" once had. The socialization function for such a student was simplified by the homogeneity of the remaining student body. This is no longer the case. College education is becoming more and more a prerequisite for effective membership in society for everyone, and is accessible to young people of diverse backgrounds. Various aspects of education other than the mere passing on of information, such as personal and intellectual development of the student, socialization, etc. which had previously been taken for granted now require conscious effort on the part of the educating institution. But before such an effort can be made, we must know both who it is that we are educating, why it is that we are educating them, and how extensive a responsibility we are willing to take for such education.

The traditional values of our society place a great premium on individuality and self-reliance, whereas, in fact, the present trends are toward great conformity and group action. We must be wary that a commitment to individuality does not, in fact, cover unwillingness to assume responsibility or to commit ourselves and others to an objective. We must remember that young people are asked to devote four of the most active and productive years of their lives in order to obtain "a college education."

It is our duty not only to know what it is that they get out of these four years but to then rethink what, in fact, they should get out of them.

Throughout this paper I have been making generalizations about the Hawthorn student population without making a distinction between the boys and the girls. However, the examples I have used have been from cases of boys and the emphasis has been placed on the kind of problems which the male students have to face.

More and more, as we examine our data, we find striking differences between males and females. Before I go on to specify some of these differences, I would like to give a brief account of the female students at Hawthorn.

Our original sample consisted of 174 boys and 119 girls. Now, at the beginning of their senior year, we are left with 82 boys (47%) and 43 girls (36%). For the girls, the heaviest drop-out has been at the lower socio-economic end of the scale. (see Appendix Table 1)

We are not yet sure what causes so many girls to leave school, but we expect that marriage is one of the main reasons; of the 13 freshman girls who said they would consider getting married before graduation, 10 were from classes 4 and 5. 34% of all freshman girls (including one-half of class 5 girls) mention "meeting your future mate" as an important part of their college experience, as opposed to 17% of the boys. Marriage and family is the main item in the girls' future plans.

The girl students, however, are not subject to the same pressures and conflicting role demands that face the boys. Their task is much simplified. The teaching certificate which many of them will obtain at the end of the four years of college is adequate economic justification for their education. (If a girl happens to become engaged besides, she is really free from outside family and community demands.) They expect to teach only temporarily, either prior to marriage, or at that time of crisis that every girl has apparently been warned about, "when my husband dies." Therefore, they do not seriously need to quetion whether a teaching career will really be suitable or satisfying--it fills the practical need. When asked, "What do you think you will be doing five years from now?" (that is, one year after graduation) 44% of the girls say "teaching," as opposed to 4% of the boys. However, when asked what they will be doing 20 years from now, only 25% indicate any intention to work in minor professions (including teaching) and most of these qualify their statements with "if the children are grown," or "only part-time." Preparing for a future career is one of the main reasons for college attendance indicated by both boys and girls, yet it obviously means quite different things to each sex. To the girls, it provides a form of security which they may or may not need to use; to the boys it is a complete determinant of their futures. The girl's future depends in part on whom she'll marry and the kind of life style she will create as a wife and mother. Therefore, the girls perceive the utility of their college education not so much in the skills they may acquire but in the kind of person into which they will develop. This, in turn, means that many of the aspects of college experience which are tangential to the boys' future as they see it are directly relevant to the aims of the girls.

When asked to choose the item most important to them from a list of sixteen possible types of college experience 41% of the boys chose "preparing for future work"; 29% chose "developing intellectually"; 9% chose "learning to be of service to the world"; and the rest of the choices were scattered over the remaining responses. For the girls, 34% chose "intellectual development" as most important; 23% chose "preparation for future work"; and 16% chose "development of values for the future." The largest proportion of girls from the lowest socio-economic class (31%) chose "intellectual development," with the rest of class 5 girls spread more-or-less equally over the other choices. The boys in class 5 chose only one of these three items; 53% chose "preparation for future work"; 35% chose "developing intellectually"; and 12% chose "academic achievement."

We can see from the following figures how much more eager the lower class girls are to throw themselves into the college experience; 94% of class 5 girls considered changing themselves as important, whereas only 47% of the boys in class 5 gave that response. 69% of these girls considered "having fun" important vs. 24% of the boys, and 10% more of the lower class girls call "participation in extra-curricular affairs" important than do the boys. All the items mentioned above we would consider as part of a moratorium orientation.

And finally, when we observe the range of what the girls considered important, the difference is again quite striking for class 5. All the girls of that group mentioned 10 or more items as important to them, wheras only 59% of the boys considered that many items. (see Table 2)

In general, the girls have more peer support for their college attendance. 14 boys in the entering class reported that very few or none of their close friends were coming to college and that the attitude of their friends to college attendance was indifferent or ambivalent. Only 4 girls were in that situation. 49% of the boys reported that most or all of their friends were coming to college and that the attitude of their friends was generally positive to college attendance. The same was true for 61% of the girls. (see Table 5)

Perhaps the girls leave school more than the boys because their self-esteem is not as dependent on receiving a degree and having a subsequent career. A girl may judge that she has gotten all she is going to get out of college in three years, and then leave. My other hypothesis for their dropping out, in this case, is that some of these lower class girls, with their great emphasis on changing themselves, fall into the category of the overly-dependent, "tell me what to do" type of student discussed earlier in this paper. It is possible that these girls who lacked models in their previous experiences and were anxious to develop, did not find appropriate models at Hawthorn. Such a problem, I believe, besets female college students everywhere, and particularly those in coed institutions where the education is more likely to be geared to the male and the faculty likely to be predominantly male. If the girl student comes from a lower class family and has little contact with college-educated women; if, once she is in college, she does not form an identification with her more sophisticated classmates; and if she does not have a career commitment which might provide her with models, it will be very difficult, indeed, for her to shape a stable identity for herself. She may play-act the role of a student or scholar, but at the first opportunity will escape into marriage, the only adult role she really knows.

# APPENDIX

## TABLE 1

Socio-economic class composition of the first group of Hawthorn students: Comparing freshman and senior years.

| Socio-economic class | MALES Fall 1959 | MALES Spring 1963 | FEMALES Fall 1959 | FEMALES Spring 1963 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 7% | 7% | 12% | 16% |
| 2 | 16% | 24% | 13% | 14% |
| 3 | 28% | 22% | 26% | 35% |
| 4 | 32% | 30% | 31% | 28% |
| 5 | 11% | 11% | 15% | 7% |
| Not ascertained | 6% | 6% | 3% | -- |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| | N - 174 | N - 82 | N - 119 | N - 43 |

## TABLE 2

Number of items the student considers important (list
by social class and sex of items below)

| Socio-economic class | Male 4-6 | Male 7-10 | Male over 10 | Female 4-6 | Female 7-10 | Female over 10 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | -- | 8% | 92% | -- | 23% | 77% |
| 2 | -- | 27% | 73% | -- | 21% | 79% |
| 3 | 2% | 39% | 59% | 7% | 21% | 72% |
| 4 | -- | 29% | 71% | 6% | 29% | 65% |
| 5 | 12% | 29% | 59% | -- | -- | 100% |

# APPENDIX 2

The students were given the following list of items in the spring of their freshman year and asked:

> Different people want different things from college. Read through this list of things people may want from college, and I will ask you to tell me for each, whether it is important or unimportant as far as you are concerned.

1. Changing yourself
2. Learning to be of service to the world
3. Preparing for future work
4. Developing values for your future
5. Learning to know many different kinds of people
6. Making friends for life
7. Developing intellectually
8. Learning new skills
9. Meeting your future mate
10. Taking part in sports
11. Academic achievement
12. Participation in extra-curricular activities
13. Learning to be independent
14. Having a good time
15. Meeting people

and then:
Which of these is most important to you?
Which of these do your parents think important?
(the results are reported in the context of the paper.)

Students who considered "having a good time" important

| Socio-economic class | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 67% | 77% |
| 2 | 58% | 64% |
| 3 | 39% | 52% |
| 4 | 49% | 50% |
| 5 | 24% | 69% |

Students who considered "changing yourself" important

| Socio-economic class | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 50% | 69% |
| 2 | 65% | 64% |
| 3 | 60% | 72% |
| 4 | 72% | 56% |
| 5 | 47% | 94% |

## APPENDIX 3

### TABLE 3

| Hawthorn students class of 1959<br>Status as of mid-senior year | Hm | Lm |
|---|---|---|
| 1st year drop-out | 3% | 6% |
| 2nd year drop-out | 3% | 6% |
| 3rd year drop-out | 1% | 6% |
| First year transfer to City (still there) | 6% | 8% |
| First year transfer to City (dropped out) | 5% | 10% |
| Second year transfer to City (still there) | 7% | 3% |
| Second year transfer to City (dropped out) | 2% | -- |
| Third year transfer to City | 12% | 6% |
| 1st or 2nd year transfer to other schools | 5% | 3% |
| STILL AT HAWTHORN | 53% | 53% |
| Went to professional school after three years | 3% | -- |
| Graduated early | 1% | -- |

### TABLE 4

### Summary of Fates of 1959 Entrants by Sex

| | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Graduating 6/63 | 23% | 25% | 25% |
| Late graduates | 24% | 12% | 19% |
| Now at City | 21% | 24% | 22% |
| Dropped out of City | 10% | 13% | 11% |
| Went to other schools | 5% | 10% | 8% |
| Dropped out | 14% | 15% | 14% |
| Went to professional schools | 3% | -- | 2% |
| Graduated early | -- | 1% | * (less than 1%) |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| | N - 174 | N - 119 | N - 293 |

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* Rosenthal

## APPENDIX 4

### TABLE 5

Students who said that majority of their close friends were coming to college, and that the attitude of their friends towards college was generally positive

| Socio-economic class | Males | Females |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 75% | 85% |
| 2 | 58% | 71% |
| 3 | 56% | 62% |
| 4 | 39% | 55% |
| 5 | 16% | 31% |

# AN INITIAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE USE OF QUANTITATIVE INSTRUMENTS IN EXPLORING ERIKSON'S CONCEPT OF EGO IDENTITY INTEGRATION

by

Leon M. Sirota

Since 1946 (1), Erik Erikson has been utilizing the concept of ego identity as an important theoretical means of approaching in a new way the understanding of the personality and its organization. Perhaps Erikson's own words can best give a summary definition of this rich and connotative term:

> At one time, then, it (the term ego identity) will appear to refer to a conscious sense of individual identity; at another to an unconscious striving for a continuity of personal character; at a third, as a criterion for the silent doings of ego synthesis; and, finally, as a maintenance of an inner solidarity with a group's ideals and identity.(2)

For Erikson, the elements of ego identity consist of the psycho-biological forces and experiences posited by orthodox psychoanalytic theory, but also, in a less orthodox manner, he holds as of crucial importance the socio-cultural experiences of the individual. These two sets of elements form a complex and often contradictory matrix out of which the mature personality is developed. It is the integration of these elements into a functioning ego identity which Erikson sees as the chief psychological task of adolescence, for it is such an ego identity which permits the person to function with the necessary internal consistency and external social harmony.

Erikson has based his ideas on data of a clinical and ethnographic nature. The present paper has a threefold purpose. It is an attempt to explore these ideas further, to utilize these ideas in understanding the personality functioning of a group of college students, and to assess to some degree the value of certain research instruments in accomplishing the first two purposes.

## Design

Subjects: A sample of thirty-nine students from the freshman, sophomore, and junior classes of Hawthorn College at City State University was utilized in this study. There were twenty-three males and sixteen females in the group.

Measures:

1. A Semantic Differential on Ego Identity (4).

This is a six-point self-rating scale of fifty-six items for each of which the positive and negative extremes are verbally defined by a word or phrase. Each of the items was constructed to reflect Erikson's bi-polar dimension of identity integration-identity diffusion. Citations from Erikson's writings provide the rationale for each item (5). The authors have factor analyzed data gathered with this test, separately for males and females, and in both instances present a six-factor structure. They interpret their first factor as representing the general dimension of identity integration-identity diffusion. It is scores derived from this factor which were utilized in the present study. For each subject the loading of each item related to the factor was multiplied by the self-rating on that item and the products summed for the factor score.

2. A Technique for Assessing Cognitive Structure (6).

This technique is applicable to any cognitive field of any content. It makes use of set theory to assess cognitive interrelationships and has the advantage of the subject's determining the descriptive elements for himself. While the concept of ego identity is hardly restricted to the cognitive level, it was felt that a cognitive approach might be an efficient means of gathering data of an internal organizational nature in which the final scores were free of specific content. This instrument was used both to explore its value for such a purpose and to explore analytically the general term integration as applied to ego identity.

In this technique the subject is simply asked to list as many characteristics as he feels necessary to describe the cognitive field (in this instance, himself). Subsequently he is asked to perform such tasks as categorizing these characteristics into as many categories on as many levels as he chooses, to state for each characteristic those other characteristics which are dependent on it, and to rate each characteristic as to its positive or negative valence for him on a five point scale. These data may then be subjected to a variety of analyzes to derive scores for cognitive structural variables. In the present study five structural variables measuring cohesiveness or discreetness of characteristics of the self were employed:

A. Differentiation. This is simply the number of characteristics given.

B. Homogeneity. This and the following variable are measures of categorization of characteristics. They imply likeness or unlikeness of characteristics to a greater or lesser degree of abstraction, but not necessarily a causal or consequential relationship among characteristics. High homogeneity reflects two structural factors: few categories and evenness of distribution of the characteristics across the categories.

C. Complexity. This variable reflects not only the number of categories, but the number of levels of categories, since the subject is permitted to group the characteristics on as many levels of categories as he chooses.

D. Unity. This and the following variable are measures of what may be called the consequential relationships among variables. That is, they are derived from the statements of the subject as to the dependence of each characteristic on the existence of the other characteristics. Unity may be thought of as the average interdependence of all the characteristics.

E. Organization. This variable may be thought of as indicating whether or not there is a consequential theme to the cognitive structure. It measures the contribution to the unity of the whole field of that characteristic determining the greatest number of other characteristics.

In addition to these structural variables the average valence of all the characteristics describing the self was used as a measure of self-acceptance or rejection.

3. Intellectual aptitude and achievement measures.

Since intellectual capabilities and activity in themselves are important personality factors and may indeed have considerable relevance to self-definition and since the cognitive approach to studying self-structure may be operationally contaminated with sheer intellectual power to abstract and generalize, four intellectual measures were included in the study. The grade point average for the first semester's college work of each subject's freshman year was used since this was the only average grade obtainable on all subjects because of their distribution through the first three years of college studies. In addition, the verbal, quantitative, and total scores on the College Placement Test were used.

4. Attitudes towards the College.

Since Hawthorn College emphasizes multiplicity and complexity of ideas and independence of intellectual work in the student, it was felt that a questionnaire on attitudes toward these characteristics of the College might be related to the organizational personality characteristics of those at an age which, according to Erikson, is marked by the anxieties as well as the satisfactions of increasing autonomy. Thus the question was asked, is there some underlying personality structural characteristic as defined in this study which causes freedom to be mistaken for abandonment and complexity for confusion?

5. Ideal person.

The subjects were asked to name an actual person whom they admired very much. Since the general proposition that people learn much of what they become in the family is unassailable, the answers to this question were coded into two categories: family member and person outside the family. If an ideal person, and, therefore, presumably a model, is not a member of the group of persons who are the model for so much, than one might expect this to show an effect in organizational structure of identity.

6. Sex.

Since sex definition is an important part of self-definition it was decided to see whether this variable affected non-content aspects of the self as well.

### Statistical Analysis

For all variables other than two-category ones (sex and admired persons) the subjects' scores were ranked and two categories formed by division at the median. Levels of probability were then ascertained by means of the Fisher Exact Test as tabulated by Federighi (3). Since the sample was small it was considered important to report trends toward significance. However, since the tables do not give probabilities greater than .05, the criterion for reporting trends adopted was that if one more subject's being displaced into another cell or an increase or decrease of one in the N would have resulted in a probability of .05 or less, a trend was reported.

## Results and Discussion

### Factor I of the Ego Identity Semantic Differential and the Cognitive Structure Variables:

Factor I is significantly related to three of the six cognitive variables. The probability level of the positive relationship between Factor I and valence is .01. The immediate interpretation of this result is that persons with high ego identity integration are also self-accepting, indicating that an integrated identity is necessary to lack of anxiety about the self. However, it should be noted that the positive and negative poles of many of the items of the Ego Identity Semantic Differential are clearly judgeable as to desirability according to commonly accepted criteria, and therefore Factor I itself is in some degree a measure of self-acceptance.

Factor I is also negatively related to complexity and unity of cognitive self-structure at the .05 level. In interpreting these results it should be remembered that the subjects are adolescents and Erikson's theory predicts a normal struggle in the integration of identity for this age group. One might expect, then, that persons of this age with a richer, more complex set of elements in the self-view would take longer to integrate these elements. Furthermore, one should remember that unity in this context does not mean unification, but rather a dynamic interdependence of a multiplicity of parts. Again such a self-view would be more difficult to integrate. Perhaps one of the mechanisms for a functional integration of identity is the isolation of elements of the self-view from each other when their confrontation would result in feelings of inconsistency. One might also remark, following Erikson's thoughts, that a premature integration of identity in our complex society, is undesirable, as it forecloses the richness of possibilities and the depth and flexibility of the mature identity.

One of the important general values of these findings is that two very different approaches to the measurement of identity integration, one based on the content of the self-view and one on the analytically contentless cognitive structure of the self-view, are empirically related and therefore support the notion that ego identity is a useful concept in understanding personality organization.

### Relationships between Factor I and the Cognitive Structure Variable and Other Variables:

The one significant relationship between Factor I and variables other than the cognitive ones is a negative relationship with the total College Placement score which is significant at the .01 level. This is interpreted to mean that richness of the elements of the personality, likely to be greater in the intelligent person, tends to prevent earlier integration of the identity. That this is not necessarily unfortunate may be seen from the discussion in the last section.

The twenty relationships between the five cognitive structure variables and the four intellectual variables demonstrate only one significant one. That is a negative relationship between the total College Placement score and homogeneity at the .05 level of significance. Since one such relationship out of twenty would be expected by chance, not much weight can be given to this result, but its interpretation would be along the lines of that given for the negative relationships between Factor I and complexity and Factor I and the total College Placement score. Of greater importance in this set of findings is that the criticism that scores on the cognitive variables as applied to the self would reflect intelligence to a greater degree than structural personality variables would be rejected at least for this intellectually rather homogeneous sample.

No significant relationships were obtained between the students' attitude toward Hawthorn College's emphasis on independence of work and multiplicity of ideas and either Factor I or the cognitive variables. As measured by this study, differences in ego identity integration do not generate differences in affective attitude toward the College's special spirit.

The final set of relationships to be reported on is that between the identity variables and that indicating whether the admired person was a member of the subject's family or not. There was no significant relationship between this variable and Factor I, but one relationship was significant at the .05 level (homogeneity) and there were three trends (complexity, unity, and organization) toward significance in the case of the cognitive variables. The choice of a family member as an admired person was related to high homogeneity and high unity. Both categorically and consequentially, then, the choice of an ideal model from the major socialization group makes for cohesiveness of self-structure. The choice of a non-family member as the ideal is related to high complexity and high organization. The first of these relationships indicates that a greater number of more complex boundaries within the self is associated with a greater diversity of models for the self. The second relationship indicates that the choice of an important model from outside the major socialization group is associated with a theme in the self-view which is important in determining other elements in the self-view. Perhaps because such a model choice is less "automatic," it is seen as having a greater influence upon the self.

The fact that the two major instruments used for assessing ego identity integration, although of different psychological nature, give a number of significant results consistent with general theoretical expectations although used on a very small sample suggests that they are of value in further exploring Erikson's new and important approach to personality organization.

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# STUDENT SELF CONCEPTIONS: A PRELIMINARY ALIENATION MODEL

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September, 1962

## Methods and Background

This paper reports some preliminary findings of interviews which were part of a larger library-program study conducted early in the summer of 1962 and administered to 32 Hawthorn students randomly selected from the entire student body of the college.[1]

The interviews were administered by Paule Verdet and me in small sound-proof rooms in the general library over a two day period. Each interview lasted approximately one hour, a little more or a little less, depending on the respondent's willingness to talk. Each interview was recorded on a long-playing tape recording. By way of introductory remarks I told each student that the interview was entirely optional, despite the fact that they were paid for their participation in the study, and that they could refuse to participate at the very outset or any time during the interview. I also told them the purpose of the interview was not entirely clear to me, that I had no preconceived plan for analysis, and that I simply envisioned us having a discussion for an hour or so, with the notion that talking together about any subject might reveal some things about themselves, student life in general or the college. I also offered to take notes or simply listen if the tape recorder bothered them in any way, and assured them that anything we discussed would be entirely confidential.

All of the students chose to participate in the interview, and all allowed me to use the tape recordings. Paule's introductory remarks were similar to my own, and, likewise, all of her respondents chose to participate in the interview and to use the tape recorder.

The next step was to show the student a cartoon by Jules Feiffer entitled, "The Oddball." I explained that the cartoon was meant as a stimulus for discussion, a means to begin the conversation, and that we would talk about anything he had to say about it. After a few minutes to allow the student time to read and think about the cartoon, we began the discussions which appear on the recordings. Some students stayed rather close to the cartoon material in their discussion, while some discussed other related topics quite soon. A few abandoned the cartoon very early and addressed topics not necessarily related to it, and one student chose not to discuss it at all. Despite this variation, all students managed to discuss themselves at some point in the conversation and many spoke of other students or Hawthorn generally.

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[1] Two students reported here were not part of the original random sample, but were chosen later by me since they seemed to represent a type of student which was not included in the original sample.

A few months prior to this study I had formulated a typology of student alienation drawn from my experience with students during my three years at Hawthorn. I felt that I was able intuitively to classify any student in terms of the typology after speaking with him for a few minutes, regardless of the specific topics we discussed. I was eager however to test my intuition, to devise some method for establishing conscious criteria for myself and for others to verify. This paper is intended as the first step in this direction. I felt that placing discussions with students on tape -- where I could listen and relisten to the student speaking - -would allow me to become self conscious about the intuitive criteria I had been using, and, at the same time, provide "data" for independent verification.

The purpose of this paper, then, is to present the criteria I think I have established thus far, although I am not satisfied with them nor do I feel they are exhaustive, and to present the alienation model, which now appears in a revised form as a result of the interviews. Let me turn first to a brief discussion of the alienation model.

## Self-Concept. Role and The Alienation Model

By self conception is meant the relatively stable set of definitions, images, attributes or qualities that go to make up a person's perception of himself as a person. In addition, as Shibutani has pointed out, self conception cannot be located through a single response but through a pattern of response which is predicated on stable presuppositions that the individual makes about himself.[1] In other words, self conception becomes evident through certain consistencies of behavior or response because it is based on a consistent set of assumptions about the kind of person one considers himself to be. It is these assumptions about self that we will try to discover here.

However, this paper does not attempt to isolate self conceptions of single individuals. Rather the attempt is to isolate consistent sets of assumptions, apparently held in common by certain students, which would allow us to classify them into two broad groupings, those with "strong" self conceptions and those with "weak" self conceptions. One of the purposes of this study, as mentioned above, is precisely to determine whether or not such indices might be located in data of this kind. Therefore, I will let the definition of "strong" and "weak" self conception await the discussion of the indices themselves, although in common sense fashion, I refer to persons who display clear, unambigous definitions of themselves as strongs, and to those who exhibit problematic or uncertain definitions as weaks.[1]

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[1] Tamotsu Shibutani, Society and Personality, Prentice-Hall 1961, pp. 229-230.

Role typically refers to a pattern of behavior which reflects the socially established set of claims and obligations existing between participants engaged in some social activity. However, since we are dealing here with verbal responses rather than actual behavior, role or role performance will refer to definitions of the student about behavior in socially established, self-other-contexts. So, here too, the attempt is to arrive at characteristic definitions or assumptions that the student makes about others and his relations with them.

A model of alienation can now be constructed around those two variables, self conception and role, where alienation is seen as tensions which exists between the two. For example, a person with a strong self may perceive roles available to him as inconsistent with his own self image, and therefore reject, become alienated from, a whole host of role alternatives held out to him by the social system. Or, an individual with a strong self may define roles as inconsistent, yet elect to perform them anyway -- perhaps in a manipulative, self-seeking fashion -- in which case he would be alienated in another sense. Then again, one with a weak self may be alienated in the sense that a given role may threaten to destroy whatever consistent self the individual has managed to maintain. And so on. The types discussed later in the report try to express some of the different ways alienation can result from disparities between self conception and role.

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[1] Of course dichotomizing self conceptions into these broad categories masks numerous differences which exist between individuals. Further refinements may emerge from later phases of the study. Also, the terms weak and strong may imply a value judgment that the writer does not intend and the reader should not infer. Perhaps a better choice of terms might have been "more-self-conscious" for the weaks, and "relatively-taken-for-granted-self" for the strongs, but these are awkward to use. In any case, the terms should be considered as entirely neutral.

Of course this defines alienation as more or less a normative phenomenon, since a perfect correspondence between self conception and role is probably impossible. That is, it seems unlikely that a role, or even a given set of roles, that a person performs will ever completely express what he considers himself to be. Therefore, alienation is conceived as a spectrum ranging from relative nonalienation to relative total alienation. The types, however, do not reflect this continuum. They are simply different ways a person may be alienated, although there may be different degrees of alienation within each.

Before discussing the specific types, I want to consider some of the indices of strong and weak self conception among the students. But in passing, let me say that most students were judged as having strong selves, and most of them fit into the Type 1 category which we will discuss below, the Integrated Alienated. This may limit the value of this typology for analysis of Hawthorn students as a whole, yet I think the other types, even though limited in number, are important for the program evaluation because my hunch is that some of our potentially better students are among the weaks, and that this type will increase in number over time.

## Indices of Strong and Weak Self Conceptions

As stated above, the final decision as to whether or not a given student possessed a strong or weak self rested upon my own intuition. The following list of "indices" is an attempt to translate this intuition into a more public statement of the kind of responses which seemed to lead me to this judgment. Moreover, the search is directed toward uncovering basic assumptions that the student makes about himself and others. That is, to specify those definitions which seem to underlie and pervade -- pattern, if you will -- the many different things that he discusses, even though he may not be aware of these assumptions himself.

This is difficult to do, both substantively and methodologically. That is, it is difficult to discover these definitions for myself in a conscious way, and it is also difficult to demonstrate them to others. Yet both tasks must be accomplished if the study is to claim any scientific validity and become something more than impression and speculation. I do not feel at this stage of the analysis that I have accomplished either task in any complete fashion. The relatively small amount of time spent on this rather large amount of data has not yet given me the degree of certainty that I feel will come later. Also, since these assumptions are often not explicitly stated by the student and must be inferred from the content and context of the discussion, demonstration is not a simple matter of selecting a few sentences or paragraphs from the text of the interview. I have tried to use such illustrations wherever possible, but it has not always been possible. Nor do I consider this list of indices to be complete, and perhaps they are not even the most salient.

## The Internal Self

The assumption of an internal self, lodged inside the person and separate from society, is not one that distinguishes strongs from weaks, but it is an important assumption to understand because every student in the sample makes it. They assume that the self (or, as they sometimes call it: personality, identity, the real-me, or the person) has an independent existence, apart from groups and society. However, most see it as being intimately related to social life in the sense that it may emerge from social experience, that individuals and groups may have an influence on it, or that it sometimes influences social life. Nevertheless, the two are seen as separate and distinct spheres.

The separateness of these two spheres can be seen in the opening remarks about the cartoon and appear repeatedly throughout the interviews. For example, most students saw the cartoon as a problem in conformity. By this they meant that the individual has difficulty protecting himself against group demands, i.e., the dilemma of wanting and needing to belong to groups, but, at the same time, running the risk of having one's personal autonomy undermined. One student remarks, "Everyone tries to be accepted. It's just part of people, they want to be part of the group. But we try to get into this group and find we are not really happy because we are not really ourselves."

This seems to express a tension in the mind of the student between what-one-is, one's individuality or self, and what-one-is as a member of a group. The two are never completely compatible, yet the person at once needs to "belong" as well as preserve his own individuality. Further, there seems to be the implication that the price of belonging is the loss of individuality, and the price of individuality is social isolation. Another student says,

> "It's important in our society to belong, but not to completely commit yourself. I know myself, I don't like to be stereotyped, and I don't think anyone else does ... people want to be identified with a group but they want to remain somewhat elite too. Nobody wants to say, 'I'm a member of a mass,' yet they don't want to say, "I'm a complete individualist,' either."

The problem seems to be to maintain a balance between the two, but, nevertheless, what-one-is and what-one-is as a member of a group are clearly two different orders of things.

Most of the students saw this dilemma as applicable to their own lives. They often began their comments on the cartoon by saying they thought it was "very true," people do, too often, try to "be like" others. Many cited examples from their own life, instances where they had "conformed" to group expectations, and most did so in a fashion that led me to believe they were somewhat ashamed of it.

Another related comment that occurred frequently for many students, both strong and weak, was that they did not like to categorize or "generalize" about people, nor did they like to be categorized themselves. My feeling is that this also reflects the separation between identity and group membership and, moreover, that identity is the more important or desirable of the two for judging people. For example, a girl says that group membership "labels" people in the same way that brand names label products. And just as one can go wrong by purchasing clothes by brand name alone, people, too, go wrong if they judge individuals solely on the basis of their group membership or status, rather than on the basis of personality. Further, the tone of her remark suggested she felt that it was unfair or unreasonable to form a judgment this way, much in the sense that the student above refers to as "stereotyping."

I have a hunch, too, that this leads to some suspicion toward social science on the part of some students. During the interviews a few students mentioned that they were concerned about the questionnaires they had been answering for the program study because they could not determine what categories they were being placed in, and the general tone of these remarks led me to think they felt some sort of hostility toward the study because of this. The danger seems to be that one will judge a person on the basis of his category, instead of his individuality, and, for some students at least, social science categories are no different in this respect than status or group membership categories of laymen.

I asked a student recently why she supposed so many students seem to object to "categorizing" people and being categorized themselves. She said this implied that their individuality depended on society, that their identity was simply a product of society, whereas they like to think of themselves as existing independently from others. Even so, I think this aversion may extend beyond preserving independence from society. In the urban world -- marked as it is by market relations, specialization and heterogeneity -- formal categories and status symbols tend to become surrogates for personal knowledge of others. It may be that the student is making an appeal for personal contact with others, expressing the desire to be treated as a whole and unique person. When categories replace people, many forms of abuse are tolerated. For example, institutions and individuals who place youngsters into categories such as teenager, adolescent, soft-younger-generation, beatnicks, hoodlums and the like, may be rationalizing many impersonal assaults upon them as individuals. Perhaps life experiences like this are related to the student's aversion to categories. But this is only a guess.

In any case, these comments suggest that the student does dichotomize the world in terms of self and society, and that maintenance of the self, individuality and autonomy, is crucially important to him.

## Vulnerability of Self in Social Situations

One characteristic which distinguishes strongs from weaks is the vulnerability of self felt in social situations. A recent Life magazine article contains a special report on the "Negro," a new type of student whom the Life writer feels is emerging on the American campus. One of the Negros, an Exeter student, is quoted as saying,

> "You are caught between two poles: the System and what you believe in. Maybe it's taking the chicken way out, but you just don't want to get exposed, so you follow the System ... You follow rules -- build facades -- and then wonder who you really are. I am the Civilized Man: wind me up and watch me go."

This is an interesting statement on a number of counts. First, we see the assumption that self and society, or "System," are separate spheres and that tension exists between them in the mind of the student. Also, his reference to "getting exposed" and the doubts about personal identity when one follows the System rather than what he "believes" suggests the presence of a problematic self. Of course there is no way to determine from this brief account whether or not the student has a weak self.[1] Nevertheless, the image presented pits societal definitions against individual definitions and suggests that the individual is vulnerable to those generated by society. The contention of this section is that the weaks are characterized as being particularly vulnerable to the definitions of others -- in the same sense implied by this student, i.e., the loss of identity -- and that strongs, in contrast, have mechanisms available to resist such pressures.

The weaks seem to get themselves involved in a network of social relations which, at some point, become so threatening to self that they feel compelled to "run away" from them. I asked one student who had just returned from a trip to Seattle, where he had lived in a "beat community," and who had taken a similar trip to Mexico the year before, why he felt this necessity to go away. He told me this,

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[1] For example, the Exeter student might well have a strong self and could be saying in effect, "I don't like the roles I must play in society because they are inconsistent with what I consider myself to be, what I believe in, but I will play them anyway since nothing else seems possible under the circumstances." Yet his comment about wondering who he is, suggests that his identity is somewhat vulnerable to the "System" definitions, and hence, may be problematic.

> A. Well, getting away means getting into yourself, but you don't know it.
>
> Q. Getting into yourself?
>
> A. Yes, given that what you are is the realities of all the people around you ... sever all the realities and you *aren't* anymore, but you still are. You see? You aren't in *their* terms. You don't have to go back to them again, and again, and again, you see, but you start to define yourself.
>
> Q. By getting away then, you are almost forced to discover yourself?
>
> A. Almost, but not necessarily.
>
> Q. Okay.
>
> A. So, in looking back, that, in essence, was what I was doing all the time while I was hitchhiking around the country.

Going away then removes you from others who define you in their terms, and the act of going away gives one the freedom to find oneself, the self that exists apart from the definitions of others. This explains why one goes away in a general sense, but why *must* one get away from the definitions of others? What is the danger involved in accepting their definitions? Another weak explained to me why he left Detroit and school for a trip to Mexico, alone on a motorscooter, a trip which finally led him to a communal farm in Missouri:

> A. I think that's what going is in essence. It's not going to, it's going away from. (It's going to, in some sense ... you're sort of going to Nirvana.) As long as you're going it's alright because nothing is happening. But once you get somewhere ... nothing. There's nothing there. So you go again. This can go on forever.
>
> Q. Is there some danger that those relationships that you run away from sort of define you in a way that you don't want to be defined? Or, sort of give you a conception of yourself that you might not like? Is there some danger of that involved?

A. In part. That's why I got away from my girl friend. Actually, it probably is intrinsically involved in all of it, but not totally. It is a factor I think.

Certainly as a socialist there is a certain definition there that I don't go along with ... I don't feel it part of me. As a beat there is a certain definition that is not really part of me. And even with my girl friend I was afraid there was going to be a definition that was not really a part of me ... you know, the middle-class college professor, and so on. And the whole discussion between my girl friend and myself centers around the idea that I was very much afraid that she was going to end up attempting to impose upon me her values.

Notice the separation the student makes between the self-in-the-situation (such as being a socialist, beat and boyfriend) and the "real" self ("me"). It seems to me he is saying that he must go away at the point in the relationship when the former threatens to impinge on or overwhelm the latter. Therefore, breaking away from others and the definitions they impose seems to be a response to a feeling of vulnerability to these definitions, a means to protect the real self.

Moreover, this student's conflict between the situational self and the real self seems to have a strong adolescent quality. Friedenberg points out that adolescence is essentially conflict between the individual and society, the point in a person's life where he "...learns the precious difference between himself and his environment." In societies where such conflict does not exist, such as Margaret Mead's Samoa or the world of 1984, adolescence is a meaningless term. The weak seems to find this task of separating self from others particularly difficult. Leaving the "environment" is perhaps the only way he can perceive the difference between himself and it. Be that as it may, the statement of this student suggests a rather tenuous definition of self, one which is both problematic and vulnerable, and where the attempt is to distinguish it from his social environment.

Strongs, on the other hand, rarely express the fear of being overwhelmed by the definitions of others regarding themselves. Some recognize that at times they must respond to definitions which are inconsistent with self, but there is never the fear that they will be unable to maintain the real self in such situations. Also the strongs have alternatives available to them that the weak does not have. The only alternative the weak has is to withdraw, but the strongs may 1) actively contradict the definitions of others or 2) "play" to the situation in a manipulative fashion.

For example, a strong remarks that he often says "shocking" things to people to keep them from identifying him as a complete member of the group. He thinks this shock tactic is his way to preserve his own autonomy and integrity, as he put it, "the fire in the inner heart." Here is a deliberate attempt to challenge the definitions of others, even in advance, so as to maintain the real self which may be improperly defined by them. There is no indication in the interviews of the weaks that this alternative is open to them.

Another alternative of the strongs is to publically accept the definitions of others about self, while privately rejecting them, and all the while using these definitions to gain personal ends. A working class strong says he takes great delight in discovering the definitions of others about themselves so that he can deceive them into thinking he is one of them. He has created a game of trying to pass in various social worlds, like the country club set or a slum community in Detroit, and is pleased by how skillful he has become at the game. But his performance is just that, an act, a character in a play. He has no doubts about his own identity when engaged in this game. He says he does it because it is fun primarily and because it might help him achieve higher status or a good job, but he shows some concern for the time when he may tire of playing it. He thinks he might eventually like to pursue knowledge and become like one of his professors, but he has serious doubts about his own abilities and thinks gaining success through manipulating others might be a more realistic goal. This, then, is an example of a strong who "uses" the definitions of others to his own advantage, and who also can maintain such detachment from those definitions that he never runs the risk of becoming vulnerable to them. He says,

> "What you end up doing is make a character for yourself. You most likely use your real name and take your (own) background and apply part of it to the group and another part to another group. If you've had a rather diverse background, came in contact with quite a few people, part of your background applies to various groups. And it's that part of your background that you give away. Like, when I'm with people who are of high middle class, I don't tell them where I live now, I talk about my "summer home" because a summer home is a status symbol. This is the part of the background that I bring out ... I'm not actually lying in essence, I'm just witholding the truth, completely, I'm not giving all of me away ... What happens is you can't let people formulate an opinion by themselves of you. You have to manipulate them. You have to form the opinion for them. It's nothing simple, it's a complicated thing which involves a week or a month's work if you really want to ... but you very carefully by your small actions, not by the big things you do, you try to copy

> the actions of a person in a similar group situation. The small things ... that's the kind of thing the people subconsciously will really notice. These are the kind of things you pattern after someone in the social group. You manipulate ... you give these people an impression of yourself that you want them to have. Everything that you do goes to make that impression in their mind. And if you see you are not getting that impression across, you quickly change your whole plan of acting, to the point where you get the point across, then you push it."

Notice the amount of control this person exercises in the situation. Like an actor on stage, he is creating a character which is believable to an audience. The only difference being that the script and cues come from the audience itself. And like an accomplished actor, he must take pains to keep his real self from intruding on the performance, except where he draws on his own experience to make the character more authentic. There may be some belief in the part while he is on stage, but there is no danger of him mistaking the self-as-character with the self-off-stage. This is not true for the weak, who tends to confound the character with the real self, and, when he becomes too confused between them, must leave the stage altogether.

Problems do arise for this student, but they are of a different kind than for the weaks. For example, this same student says,

> "That's one of the big problems that come up. Namely, that you can't find very many people that you can give yourself away to. In other words, that seems to be a basic human thing, you want to tell people who you are, you want them to know you, especially if they are friends. You can't do this. Only to a very select group of your friends."

So, while there may be only a few people to whom he can reveal his off-stage self, which causes some worry, still, he is not concerned about the nature or existence of that self. This is the problem faced by the weaks.

Then, too, strongs may simply withdraw from others, if they are defined in ways incompatible with self, and if they are free to leave. If they must stay, they may resort to the alternatives described above, i.e., resist the definitions or manipulate them. But they do not leave because they fear becoming different people; rather because the disparities are simply unpleasant. And, since there is little doubt about the nature of the self, the task of identifying disparity is easier for them than for the weaks. Weaks very often don't realize that tensions exist until they are rather deeply involved with others. This means, I think, that the weaks gain greater knowledge of others, since their break-off point occurs later, even though this knowledge may be less organized and more superficial than

than for the strongs.

Also, strongs seem to have a greater tolerance for disparity than the weaks. In fact, many strongs place a positive value on associating with people different than themselves because, they tell me, it allows for growth and development of the self. For example, one student says:

> "In a sense I think it is important for a person to have all these different colors. ("Colors" refers to those used in the cartoon to depict different social worlds.) Not that you try to be a different person everytime you're with another group, but it is important for a person to develop a wide range of interests and try to have different colors to his personality. It could have been fun for Franchot, actually, if he had something more substantial to build on ... it's nice to be part of groups, but there has to be something basic, you just can't... well, it's like method acting, like putting on overcoats...but there wasn't anything underneath, nothing substantial or basic about him. You must have your own beliefs, values and personality before you can change different interests."

One wonders, however, if the spectrum of different social worlds in which this student participates is actually very wide. That is, as a strong, he may associate with a rather narrow range of people because, being better able to perceive similarities and differences between himself and others, he may have already placed many beyond the pale, i.e., those who are so different that contact with them is unthinkable. The weak, on the other hand, being less discriminating, may, by circumstance alone, participate in a wider variety of social worlds. Herbert Blumer has pointed out that prejudice directed toward other groups is premised on a clear recognition of membership and identity in one's own.

In any case, this student is telling us that differences can be tolerated, even welcomed, if one has a self strong enough to absorb or integrate disparities in others. By reverse logic, we might conclude that those lacking this ability, the weaks, run the risk of being absorbed by others. Therefore, the weak is supremely vulnerable; he is risking his very existence in relations with others. Nevertheless, he does have some power of discrimination. We have observed that he does not totally adopt the definitions of others about himself, there is a point where he must withdraw. This implies that he has some consistent image about himself which he is protecting, even though he is uncertain about it himself. And it is this self that the weak chooses to preserve, with all of its uncertainty and lack of commitment, because, being unable to integrate the definitions of others, his only other alternative is to yield to them. That is, to disappear as a person. Bettleheim remarks that if manhood is viewed by the adolescent as empty, static or obsolescent, then manhood marks the death of adolescence, not its fulfillment. He says:

> "If there is no certainty of fulfillment, then it is better not to give up the promise of youth with its uncertainty, its definite lack of commitment. Youth at least offers a chance to escape the premature death of rigidity or the anxious confusion of a life that is disgraceful when it is without direction. Neither rigidity nor a confused running in many directions at once (and running after status and money are only the worst among nondirections) is an attractive goal for the young man trying to emerge from his state of uncommittedness into one of inner stability. Better to be committed to such uncommittedness than to commit oneself to spending the rest of one's life as a hollow man.[1]

## Responsiveness to the Definitions of Others

Paradoxically, perhaps, the weak is more responsive to the definitions of others, even though, at the same time, he is more vulnerable to them. Prior to the point in the relationship where vulnerability is perceived and he is forced to withdraw, he responds almost totally to the definitions of others. That is, the network of expectation that he finds in the situation _nearly_ becomes his identity.[2] He allows others to define him to himself in those situations. One of the weaks described it to me this way:

> A. In previous conversations with you I told you at times I had been living in as many as five or six different worlds around here, **and** yet being able to live in all of them ... to change personalities as I move from one to another. Like, when I came up here I would be one person, you know. And sometimes that's a drag now. When you get three different groups together at the same time, you don't know what to do. What you try to do is set up a concrete personality that all can react on. See? Well, again, that's a reaction to all other people. In other words, I was letting anyone who took the trouble to interact with me, define me. I would _be_ that. In other words, what _you_ think I am, or what Bob would think I am, or what Robin would think I am ... it would be entirely different people, almost, except where there was a gradual sort of development into more and more a person of my own, which would be the absorbment of more or less pleasurable habits which I have set up. Okay?

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[1] Bruno Bettelheim, "The Problem of Generations," _Daedalus_, Winter, 1962.

[2] For a fictionalized and perhaps exaggerated account of this see, Nigel Dennis, _Cards of Identity_, Meridian, 1960, pp. 1-13

Q. You would draw from those various associations?

A. Yes. In other words, I would be a composite person, set up from all the personalities in which I had some interaction and which still had some meaning to me. Got that? But the element of a self, that is, of _me_ ... this is what really happened out there (Seattle). What I found was a me that is a concrete, physical me. This was a totally new thing...

Since the weaks are so responsive to others, at least at this stage, we might expect them to show considerable variation in identity, as they move from one set of definitions to another. I have seen this particular student as an actor, intellectual, cowboy, Irishman, Beat and world traveler, to name a few, during the time I have known him. However, my impression is he took on these identities one at a time and that each one lasted from a few weeks to a few months. It did not seem to me that he changed identities as he moved from group to group during the time he was assuming one of them, as he implies above. On the other hand, I have no way of knowing what he "became" when he left my presence. In any case, the point about variability remains, whether it is expressed from group to group or from time to time.

Another weak tells me he can only be one thing at a time, although he, too, shows a marked variability in identity. He once told me, not during the interview, that he had ceased to be a socialist and now become a subsistence farmer and planned to live on a communal farm in West Virginia. He said he had destroyed all of his socialist membership cards the week before. The astonishing thing was he was not telling me that he had changed a part of his identity, his political views or his occupational aspirations, rather he was saying he had become a completely different person. Of course we should be cautious in our interpretation here. I doubt that this student has, in fact, changed his conception of himself as dramatically as he assumes, but it is interesting that he believes his self is this mutable.

This is as far as I have managed to go with the "indices" section of the report. More indices remain to be added, and certain revisions will probably be necessary for those reported here. Therefore, the following typology, which is an attempt to express some of the ideas discussed so far in a more systematic way, is provisional and will probably change as work progresses. The first three types of alienation refer to persons with "strong" self conceptions, and the last three to those with "weak" selves.[1]

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[1] At the writing of the paper in September, 1962 distribution of students in the sample was as follows:
Type 1: 15 students
Type 2: 5 students
Type 3: 2 students
Type 4: 2 students at one stage
Type 5: (the same two later)
Type 6: 2 (tentative)
Still uncertain, not yet classified: 6
Editor's note.

Type 1 - Integrated Alienated

This student is the next best thing to being nonalienated, except that my model defines everyone as alienated to some extent, so I must include them. These are students with strong self conceptions and who also define roles in such a way as to be consistent with this conception of themselves. That is, they define the role system as providing alternatives which are more or less compatible with the image they have of themselves as a person. Most of the students in the sample are in this category. However, my impression is - and this is only an impression - that these students do not show much enthusiasm or commitment for these role alternatives, even though they do generally accept them as compatible with themselves.

Type 2 - The Marginal

This type also has a strong self, but tends to reject most available roles as being incompatible with self. That is, from the totality of role alternatives perceived by this person only one or two (perhaps none) are considered as real alternatives, the others being rejected by him as inconsistent with his own self image. The most extreme form of marginality would be the case where the person defined no roles as compatible with self. The rejection may be passive, i.e., "going through the motions" if he is forced by circumstance to play incompatible roles (e.g., being drafted into the Army); or active, i.e., an outright refusal to perform the role or an active attempt to change it in such a way as to make it compatible with self. I suppose too, that it would be possible for a person to be marginal in the sense that he had insufficient knowledge to perform the role. In brief there is rejection of most available roles, either through unwillingness or inability, and an attempt to perform only roles which are in accord with his own self conception, if such roles are available.

Type 3 - The Manipulator

Like the marginal, the manipulator also has a strong self and also defines most available roles as incompatible with self, but unlike the marginal he elects to perform the incompatible roles anyway. In fact, he may even seek out roles like this to perform, like the student who makes a game out of manipulating others. The characteristic feature of this type is his self-seeking, and often cynical, orientation to others. He uses others in the role setting as means to achieve some personal end, even though he outwardly conforms to their definitions. He never identifies with other persons and always keeps his own purposes apart from theirs and hidden from them. Moreover, since he has a strong self, the manipulator never confuses his own self definition with the definitions attributed to him by others. The ends he seeks may be power, pleasure, prestige, jobs or whatever. He may also be using this as a means to achieve some role which he defines as compatible with self, and which may lie behind these more short range goals.

## Type 4 - The Symbiont

This type represents persons with "weak" selves. The symbiont, derived from the term "symbiosis", lives off the definitions of others about him, just as certain plants live off other plants in their environment. That is, the definitions of others define this person to himself, tend to be adopted as self definitions. Since the self is problematic, this type becomes dependent upon others in the belief, or hope, that they will provide him with a clear and acceptable definition of self.

Thus, in the extreme case the self of the symbiont would become nonexistent, since it becomes a purely external thing. Yet, this extreme, at least for the two subjects contained in the sample, was not observed. Rather, there is more a tendency in this direction. There seems to be a dim awareness of a real or "core" self which does not, or cannot, conform to these external definitions. Therefore, this type exhibits marked outward variability in identity, as he discovers the discrepancies between the role and real self. He will then cast off the one role performance and seek out another which he feels may be compatible with the core self, however dimly perceived that self may be. Thus, he becomes different people in his own eyes - e.g., at one time a beat, then a socialist, then a cowboy, an intellectual, a Mexican, a farmer, and so on. But the outstanding characteristic of the symbiont is his orientation to the social environment for self definition. At this stage he is unwilling, or unable, to assert his own self definition into his relations with others.

## Type 5 - The Secker

A type closely related to the symbiont is the secker. In fact, both types were obtained from the same two subjects as they spoke about two different periods of their own lives. Insofar as the two represent phases in a process, the secker would represent a later phase. The secker has fully recognized the incompatibility of the core self and role definitions and attempts, though perhaps not consciously, to realize, to assert, the core self. The first step in finding the self is to remove oneself physically from the social context which defines you. This may take the form of "going away" or getting "on the road", not necessarily to seek new definitions of others but to escape the old. Thus, there seems to be a threat to the core self existent in the old social setting which the person tries to escape; some critical point where the definitions of others threaten to destroy or inundate the core self. Now this "going away" may also occur for the symbiont, but it represents not so much an active search for self, as in the case for the secker, as it does a hiatus from the threatening definitions of others. The secker, in contrast, is actively searching for a new set of definitions more compatible with self, or tries to find himself through some intellectual or philosophical search.

### Type 6 - The Asymptote

The aysmptote is the seeker who has found himself. However, I hasten to add that this type is not represented by any student in the sample (there are two that I am unsure about), but is, rather, more a logical construct, although I think I am personally acquainted with persons who are like this type. Since I lack a prototype from the sample, it will be difficult describing this person in a clear fashion. However, I think he has managed to establish a self conception which is 1) strong enough to tolerate or modify inconsistencies in a role performance and to withstand the threat imposed by it, and 2) uses the role definitions as a means to further strengthen his self conception. But this acceptance of the role is by no means a surrender or denial of the core self - I think this is more likely to be the case for the symbiont - rather, preceding the acceptance of the role there has been a shoring up or strengthening of the core self to the point that the final role selection is one more or less compatible with the self. But the strengthening process has been largely conscious and intellectual. That is, the core self has emerged from a conscious reconstruction, it is not given to the person on an intuitive level, as is the case for the strongs. Thus, this type may be very intelligent, knowledgeable, liberal, humanistic in principle, or whatever, but he is relatively incapable of spontaneous human understanding, in Cooley's sense of the term. His understanding of people will necessarily be based more on knowledge and conception, rather than intuition and perception.

# THE STUDENT PROCESS

Michael Weinstein

## Introduction: Some Themes

To describe the experience of being a student is to be concerned with where, when, and how education takes place. It is to consider not only the information, skills, and even modes of understanding that are presented in university classrooms, but it is also to consider the experiences undergone, the changes that may take place in the student as a personality, and the various people, values, and life-styles met in all of these contexts, and more. In a very real sense, the process involves everything that happens to students and their teachers during the years that they are involved with one another.

In the university, as the central arena where this process is played out, the student is confronting and is confronted by faculty, ideas, values, and other students. As he is becoming educated, the student comes to redefine and understand himself, his society, and some of the possible ways he might live. Thus, I am describing the locality of one of the most decisive times in anyone's life, and certain themes accenting this cruciality must precede and run through my discussion of what happens at Hawthorn College.

Tension marks the student life. The tensions between his background and his future, what he learned from his parents and what he learns from his teachers, his dreams and his capacities, his interests and the rules of social institutions, his temptations and his responsibilities, all of which are still in a process of becoming clear, rationalized, and defined. And for most students, these tensions are unexpected. How can a student expect to be spiritually threatened, told that his previous world is too limited, that his parents, his pastor, his teachers were all wrong? Few students can predict the rigors of two years of intensive study of the calculus as only one of many prerequisites to be gotten through before he may even be considered, let alone accepted, at any medical school. And how can one foresee changes in himself that will make him unintelligible to neighborhood and high school pals, that they will not understand why he does things?

Further, these tensions are increased in the urban university in at least two ways. First, the city itself can be electrifying and complicating, adding more alternatives, more complexity, more people and events that contest and disperse calmer considerations of where one is, where one has been, and where one is going. A teacher explains the responsibilities of a citizen in a democracy, to which the student readily assents - and immediately he is challenged by a student political group, he must be consistent, he must picket against public wrongs, now. His father's newspaper at dinner underlines the lesson learned in political science, but somehow, parents and newspapers are not as enthusiastic about this blow for liberty as were friends on campus. Yet even before this first lesson about the "real world" is learned, a second and a third lesson are already underway, and so on for four years. Furthermore, this city which tests ideas and ideologies as no graded essay-exam could ever, makes the resolution of these tensions a perilous enterprise: students see teachers during the morning, employers during the afternoon, and parents at night, each role making different and often conflicting demands on the individual. That picketing of city hall may have made teachers pleased, though the dean of students is unhappy, and the boss threatens to fire you 'communists', and mother says she is ashamed to talk to neighbors. Who is right? What kind of city is this anyway? But, whose parents are paying your tuition? And is this the issue on which to leave home? With these sorts of considerations, it is no wonder that it is difficult for the student to comprehend with full implications the information he garners during the few hours he is in the classroom.

Involvement, somewhere with somebody, is an answer to the problems of ambiguity and complexity. Committing oneself to a person, a group of people, or an institution gives one a basis upon which to interpret and understand his experience. Much of the complication of the student life is due to shifts in commitment and involvement from parents to teachers, from the girl next door to someone a lot more cosmopolitan who just happens to be of another religion, from a high school cheering section to a group of guys who stay up all night to publish a mimeographed literary magazine. There may be the discoveries that such involvements are mutual, often demanding, but often quite limited, and perhaps too fluid a basis for integrating life experience. The student accepting a fellowship to graduate school may be accused of selling out, by his buddies who drank beer and swore the system was rotten and they would never cooperate; that same fellowship is also a saving grace, the proof to one's parents that he was not wasting his time and their money.

Through this all, the person is changing. He is not the same person when he graduates as when he entered. Personality growth and personality change are also important themes for understanding the student's process of education. Here we are talking of two phenomena: shifts in values and life-styles that help define the college-educated middle-class son of working-class parents, and more generally the growth involved in normal life development at the stages of adolescence and young adulthood. According to the discussions of Erik Erikson, primary personality questions involve "identity versus identity diffusion" and "intimacy distantiation versus self-absorption".[1] The college becomes a public forum for the private discussions that a person has with himself. Who am I, how much can I control the fate of who I will be, who are these other people around me and how can I communicate with them, how much dare I tell them about me and how much can I believe when they talk to me? Some speak of a college community, but are they serious, and what do they mean? The educational process, during college -- both in terms of information gained and personal relationships experienced -- occurs at a time in life when the individual is trying to confront the issue of relevance, of himself, of other people, to life.

## The Student Role

Though I have spent a few pages trying to emphasize the complex and interwoven elements in the life of the person who is a student, I now want to stress an analytical perspective in which it is important to keep in mind that students at Hawthorn College, at City University, indeed at any urban school, much of the time are not defined as students -- that is, for a good deal of their actual time during these four or more years when they are enrolled in the university, these people are away from campus, away from classmates, away from books, and homework, and academic ideas. Thus, it is useful to speak of a 'student role' for these people, as opposed to other roles they play in their daily lives: the son of his parents, the big brother, the car-pool member, the part-time employee, the money borrower, and so forth. For those students who "go away to school", finding themselves in the proverbial college town, these roles tend to merge for the individual and for those around him into some kind of more encompassing student role. In the city, however, roles are much less total, and though what a person does in one facet of his daily life obviously influences other facets, the large city can make it easier to demarcate, to distinguish clearly between one's behavior in one place with some people, and this same person's behavior in another place with totally different people.

The student role is difficult to define. We are dealing with a pattern of human behavior that we can identify and say, that is what a student does. Yet the specific dimensions of this behavior are so amorphous, that I prefer to define the role behavioristically as consisting of:

1) Any situation involving an individual's relations with the school in which he is enrolled;

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[1] Erik H. Erikson, "Identity and the Life Cycle," Psychological Issues, vol. 1, number 1, 1959.

2) Any situation which he shares with other people enrolled in that school;

3) Any situation where he is defined primarily as a student, either by himself or by others.

Tangent to this definition is the question of the more specific "Hawthorn Student Role,"where the relevant school mentioned in the definition is Hawthorn College rather than any school in general, and I am interested in situations where the individual is defined as a Hawthorn student in particular.

The following discussion of the process of student life is placed within the framework of the factors that limit and define the extent of the student role in the individual's life-time and life-space. These are factors in the social-structural (as contrasted with the personality-psychological) situation that tell us how much of a person's time is committed to being in a student role. Only in a very rough way does this tell us anything about the impact of the student role on the individual: the intensity of his commitment to the student role is best understood through abstract personality factors and such questions as involvement, tension, and the like, which are other aspects of the process of being a student, interwoven in our discussion.

My working framework for the student role comprises the following structural situations:

I. Curricular situations (class-room experiences, most relations with faculty and courses.)

II. Extra-curricular situations (social, intellectual, political, religious, etc., experiences.)

III. Non-curricular situations (especially living and working arrangements.)

This model is especially useful where it can be used to differentiate significantly within a population of students, that is in schools where there are significant numbers of part-time and non-resident students, but may be less useful in small resident schools where the role is extended throughout all three situations for most or all of the students. In an urban, commuter school, however, though all student roles include curricular situations, for many individuals that is the extent of it. And though there would be some students whose role included extra-curricular activities, very few would have their roles extend into greater proportions of life-time and life-space by living with other students and/or working in or near the university.

## The Hawthorn Structure as a Setting for the Student Role

Structurally, the Hawthorn education is tied to the whole City University system. Hawthorn students take only about half of their University classes in the College's basic sequences of Natural Science, Science of Society, Humanistic Studies, Senior Colloquium, and Senior Essay. The remaining classes are selected from special courses, or independent study, all within the College, or from the myriad of courses offered in the various academic departments in other colleges, especially Liberal Arts, Education, Engineering, and Business Administration. Hawthorn classes use the all-purpose classrooms of the University, Hawthorn students are considered the same as all other University students when it comes to using the general City U. facilities: the libraries, recreation facilities, student services, and the like. In addition, Hawthorn is provided with a couple of the reconverted old houses that at one time marked the whole City U. campus, for use as faculty and administration offices, and one for use as Hawthorn Center.

This center has always been considered an important part of the Hawthorn program. It was expected that it would house much of the interaction that was to be known as the Hawthorn Community. Since most of the students are commuters, the exceptions being those who live in off-campus apartments, the Center was expected to serve as a home away from home, the home on campus, for most students, and it does for some. However, just how the Center was to be used was to be left up to those who came to use it, and the Center has developed a certain kind of Hawthorn sub-culture, one which often is identified as the College culture, by outsiders. Since most of the student body rarely, if ever, step into the Center, it should be evident that there is more to the College picture. Nevertheless, the Center, and the social, academic, and political activities which take place in it account for a significant aspect of the role of those students who have an extended commitment to the Hawthorn Student Role. Many of these activities in the Center are of a pick-up nature, whether it be going out for coffee, planning a party, or holding the academic discussion, the political debate, and the guitar-led song-fest. Since these events seem to happen at random times of the day and evening, many students resent "wasting time" while waiting for something to happen, and the usual participants in such Center activities have become a revolving in-group who can afford to spend the extra time on campus.

Part of the problem of defining the Hawthorn structure is that it is so fluid. As far as formal requirements go, the faculty and administration are on firm ground only in terms of the actual classroom situation: what kinds of criteria will determine a class grade, what kinds of exams and papers must be produced. But even here the values of freedom and independence mitigate structural control. Faculty members are willing to substitute various course requirements for individual students; incompletes are readily given, and often not made up before a student drops out of school; attendance is seldom required at discussion sections and never at lectures (which are taped for students who may want to hear them again, or for the first time); administrative processes make it fairly easy for individuals to drop, or change class sections during most of the semester.

Outside the classroom informally, where much of the unique Hawthorn education is supposed to take place, there is little faculty direction, though much participation, and no control (outside of the personal influence which is permitted by their status). It is left up to the personal impulses of the student, and also of the individual faculty member, what will be the extent of his own community participation. It may be an administrative request that students schedule their classes to leave a Wednesday afternoon time period free for College activities (films, meetings, field trips, speakers), and classes and lectures may be scheduled to meet in the Hawthorn Center to lure students into spending time there, but in the end these activities are merely alternatives presented to the student body, some faculty hoping they will be selected, others not caring one way or the other.

Thus, the extent of participation in the Hawthorn Community is primarily the student's own concern, and may range from heavy participation (many extra seminars and tutorials, student government, free time in the Center or in faculty offices, weekends working on student publications, evenings at the homes of students or faculty for parties and discussions, and the like) to minimum contact with other Hawthorn students, for a total of perhaps four hours of class-time weekly, if that. It is possible for a Hawthorn student to handle his school experience in much the same way as most City University students attending classes, writing papers, taking tests, and leaving campus at noon for a part-time job. Students who do this make up a significant portion of the student body, perhaps a third.[1] Further, Hawthorn students may end up building their educational experience around professors or academic departments in other colleges of the University, or spend much of their on-campus time in University-wide student activities where their friends may not even be aware that they are Hawthorn students. The variance in participation and the ethic which streses the student's freedom to get involved or not, are crucial to an understanding of the College.

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[1] Nearly everyone will make some kind of special effort to be on campus for some special occasion, at least once or twice a year. On the other hand, of the 198 first-year Hawthorn students who were still in the College at the end of the second year, 73 were "invisible" (not ever reported as seen by participant observers) and did not report formal or informal participation in student activities.

Even the commitment to staying in college, to getting an education, to getting a degree, in how many years, for what reasons, is fundamentally a student decision, and administrative procedure makes various decisions relatively easy. Though the open community, with people constantly dropping in and out of classes, and in and out of the Center, encourages students to discuss their plans and goals with other students and faculty, subjecting them to informal pressure for certain kinds of intellectual commitments, this same open community can come to be relied on as a home, a place that will always be there, "a place where when you come they have to take you in," for students who want to drop out of school for a while, who want to travel around the country, or go to work full-time. City University's traditional concern with the part-time student makes this informal flexibility continuous with the New College program: one which encourages students to be aware of the wide world around them, and to find its relevancies within or outside of the classroom situation. An ethic which encourages "students to participate in their own educational experience" but which leaves the extent of participation to the individual student, is all the more consistent when it leaves the final question of attendance, and for what reasons, also up to the student.[1]

## The Curricular Situation and the Student Role

Though approximately half of his course time during the four-year sequence is taken up by required Hawthorn courses, the student has a great deal of freedom in filling the remainder of his schedule. And, although an advisor's signature is required on program authorization forms, students usually may change from disagreeable faculty advisors, and just about any signature validates the required form. Further, students who have decided on specialized programs tend to rely more heavily on suggested course lists prepared by the office of their major program, than on faculty advice. Thus, the student has important freedom over his final program, and both extent and intensity of commitment to the Hawthorn Student Role is well reflected in the courses selected.

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[1] Parenthetically, it may be noted that this ethic of freedom has been resented by some students and our research on drop-outs from the College has shown that some people saw flexibility as meaning sloppiness and the lack among the faculty of any clear-cut understanding of what students were supposed to learn in college. These students felt abandoned and, preferring not to be left to their own wiles, transfered out of Hawthorn within the first year.

Hawthorn offers a series of broadly defined rubrics for undergraduate study beyond the required courses: various kinds of seminars, tutorials, and independent study, allow student and faculty initiative full play. These vary in credit, allowing as much as to fill the student's schedule beyond his basic courses, if desired. Thus, students who like a particular faculty member, the Hawthorn teaching style, or who find themselves, for one reason or another, open to the suggestions of his faculty advisor or Hawthorn student friends, may arrange to take one or more of this kind of 'class', extending his Hawthorn Student Role in the process.

Within the regularly scheduled Hawthorn courses -- the lectures and discussions of the basic sequences -- intensity of commitment to the student role varies. It may depend on the level of the discussions and lectures themselves, whether they were appealing, stimulating, organized, related to the particular student's other experiences, and the like. The most significant of these lectures and discussions have often related to the personal lives of the students and faculty members themselves, thus carrying over into informal discussion at the Center and at campus cafeterias. Concepts such as psychological identity, socialization of minority groups in the United States, conceptual schemes and world view in the natural sciences provided students with new perspectives on their own lives, the experiences of their grandparents and, indeed, of their friends' grandparents, and were the kinds of ideas brought home and proffered at the dinner table.

Students preferring to get majors recognized in the College of Liberal Arts, or pre-professional training in preparation for a degree from the Colleges of Education, Engineering, Business Administration, or from one of the graduate professional schools (especially Medicine), must necessarily spend their non-basic couse time taking classes in other colleges of the University. This is despite the fact that most classes can be taken by these students without declaring a major, that the professional schools have declared that the Hawthorn general education background is acceptable preparation, and that graduate schools in other universities have proved willing to accept individuals without 'official majors' in their areas. Thus students who take many courses outside of the College would have lower commitment to the Hawthorn Student Role, because of extended contact with students and faculty concerned with specialized, rather than liberal, education. This is not to say that their generalized student role is lessened, though it would tend to resemble the average student role at the University, which role is less total than the average Hawthorn Student Role.

In summarizing the factors in the curricular situation, one can say that the more classes taken under the aegis of the College, and the less the tendency to specialize in a specific curriculum or profession, and the more the influence of Hawthorn faculty advisors and other Hawthorn students in the selection of courses, the greater the extent of the Hawthorn Student Role.

### The Extra-Curricular Situation and the Student Role

Differences between the students who tend to focus the play of their student role around Hawthorn College and those who play a more generalized City University Student Role, are related to the differences in the nature of the relationship between extra-curricular and curricular situations in the College, when compared to the University. There is a conscious goal-directed attempt in the Hawthorn plan, to tie extra-curricular experiences, outside contact with faculty, and socializing among other students, to the Hawthorn education. Within the heavily structured University situation, on the other hand, student activities are handled by a separate division of the bureaucracy, and are focused around special interest, religious, and social (i.e., social fraternities and sororities) groupings. This would have a non-integrative influence on the generalized City University Student Role, and makes it possible for some Hawthorn students to extend their Hawthorn Student Roles into their activities in the wider University.[1]

Thus students who spend extended time engaging in extra-curricular activities within the College situation -- in continuing groups like the Hawthorn Student Board or various student publications, or in _ad hoc_ activities such as presenting a variety show, inviting guest speakers, and the like, or merely in relaxing and socializing in the College Center (including playing pinochle, eating lunch, listening to records, doing homework, etc.) -- can be identified as having an extended commitment to a Hawthorn Student Role. Obviously, there is great variance among students in this regard: from dropping into the Center once in a while, to spending all of one's evenings and weekends there.

City University, as an urban university, has always been a home for student political action, especially in terms of the liberal-labor-left. Probably because of the College's desire to relate education to everyday life experiences, and perhaps also because of the liberal views of many of the faculty, Hawthorn has become more and more a meeting place for people involved in such activities. It would be difficult to estimate whether Hawthorn has produced more students interested in political action, as a result of its programs, or whether it has merely become a congregating place for those already so inclined; the answer is probably a result of the interaction of these two situations.[1] Whatever the answer, political action around City University, and from the campus into the city-wide community, is rightly or wrongly attributed to Hawthorn students (especially the Peace movement, some of the Civil Rights action, and much of the discussion of left-wing economic philosophy). Thus, Hawthorn students engaging in such activities often do so as part of their Hawthorn Student Role.[2] By our definition of student role, the fact that they are involved with other Hawthorn students, includes such activities within the student role.[3]

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[1] For example, Hawthorn students were identified as such, rather than as City University students, even when holding positions of leadership on the University-wide Student-Faculty Council, their activities being referred to as a Hawthorn College take-over.

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[1] Indeed, the same questions may be asked of faculty members: did politically liberal, young faculty see Hawthorn College as a place where many of their values were built in -- the working-class background of many students, the freedom to encourage participation in social action, and so forth--or did this liberal atmosphere develop as a by-product of the fact that certain individuals wanted to be in on the ground floor of this new college, political views quite incidental? In either case, the quality of liberal political views most salient in College discussions seemed to shift over the first two years. One observer noted that students were "spoon-fed liberalism" at the beginning, though this was a sort of anarchism presented during the discussion of what personal rights might be infringed upon by any formal structure labeled Hawthorn Community. During the second year of the College, new faculty and new students shifted the discussion toward political participation in the wider community: civil rights, peace, socialism, civil liberties and the like.

[2] Some students wore Hawthorn sweatshirts on these picket lines, demonstrating that they were not only students at Hawthorn College, but that they were "proud of it." Other Hawthorn students held that sweatshirts were infra dig, and too much like Big Ten Football schools.

[3] Hostile letters in major metropolitan newspapers also identified some of these students as being from Hawthorn, pointing out that these people were "perpetual malcontents and troublemakers" and not deserving of an education in a state university at public expense. In one instance a group of Hawthorn students wrote a letter-to-the-editor in answer to these charges, though discussion at the Center questioned the politics of "stooping to a low level" by taking the charges seriously.

Hawthorn students who are heavily engaged in social fraternity and sorority activities do not usually do so as part of their Hawthorn **S**tudent **R**ole, but rather are involved with old high school friends and with others met in social, rather than academic, situations. With the exception of one sorority which included perhaps ten Hawthorn girls from the College's first class (and they were identified more as education majors than as Hawthorn students), Hawthorn students do not seem to draw their classmates into such groups.[1] The spirit around Hawthorn center is generally anti-fraternity. This may have something to do with the liberal, democratic, equalitarian ethic which is dominant in the College, or with the fact that Hawthorn students with extended commitment to the student role do not need the social life provided by such groups, the Center being referred to as the only "co-educational fraternity" on campus.

Because extra-curricular activities in the Colleges of Business Administration, Education, and Engineering are closely tied to the pre-professional socialization of students, specialized student roles within these colleges tend to be highly integrated, and the demand for an extended commitment to the pre-professional role is high. In these colleges, classroom leaders, student government participants, and professional fraternity membership tend to be closely interwoven. Thus, Hawthorn students who are in pre-professional programs in these colleges may be expected to have **less** commitment to the Hawthorn Student Role, than have other Hawthorn students. An important exception are the Hawthorn students in the experimental education project in the College of Education, who play dominant roles both in that project and in Hawthorn student activities, perhaps because of the similarity in the two programs: experimental, with an emphasis on education as process.

In summarizing the factors in the extra-curricular situation, then, one major element stands out: how closely the extra-curricular situation is tied to the curricular situation. That is, within Hawthorn extra-curricular activities play an important part in the College's view of the Hawthorn Student Role, and what it should be.

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[1] Actual figures on participation in social fraternities and sororities at City University are rather rough and quite low. The Student Activities Office reports 207 students of the approximately 3000 who entered in 1959-60 as being members of these groups at one time or another in their college career -- this is about 7%. Related figures show 37 of 198 students -- **these** who entered in 1959-60 and were still in the College two years later -- in these social groups, almost three times the University average. Much of this differential can be explained by the facts that Hawthorn has comparatively very few of the older and part-time students who seldom join social fraternities and sororities and bring down the University average of such participation.

In professional schools, a similar close relationship between curricular and extra-curricular spheres mean an integrated pre-professional role, and thereby a lowering of commitment to a Hawthorn Student Role by students who are also in professional schools. When the tie between the two spheres is not close, however, as in the largest of City University's colleges, the College of Liberal Arts, then the generalized role is less integrated, and commitment to more specialized roles is determined more by the roles of one's friends, than by the nature of the extra-curricular activity itself.

## The Non-Curricular Situation and the Student Role

When it comes to factors in the non-curricular situation, i.e. specifically living arrangements, working arrangements, and transportation arrangements, the crucial factor most often is how much time the individual is on or near campus. Slightly less important at a commuter school are the questions of with whom is the campus time spent, and what is the qualitative nature of the activity carried on during that time.

In terms of the living arrangements of Hawthorn students, the significant majority are unmarried, living at home with parents, and commuting to campus. This condition is one of the givens in the Hawthorn experiment, the urban college where most of the students commute to campus, and is the basic reason why the extent of the student role is less than at residential colleges.

Transportation arrangements, to be discussed below, probably account for much of the variation in role-commitment among students who live at home with parents.

Students who live around campus in the relatively inexpensive and often slum housing surrounding the University in the center of the city, whether they are living alone, in small groups, or as young married family units in the city-owned housing project, are among the highest in commitment to the Hawthorn Student Role. By being around campus, in easy contact with one another, as well as with faculty and other students who come down to campus in the evenings or on weekends, life-time and life-space tends to be almost continually devoted to the student role. Though these are essentially small groups, and made up of revolving membership as some people move back to other parts of the city as others come down to campus, students who live on campus are often involved with the other conditions that we have mentioned as marking extended role commitment:

taking special courses,[1] spending time at Hawthorn Center, especially in the evenings, and being involved in student political action. Indeed, perhaps we are dealing with an inter-related constellation of factors. For those students who are married and live off-campus, the Hawthorn Student Role is usually minimized. That is, unless the spouse is also a Hawthorn student (in which case the couple almost always lives around campus), primary interaction is not with other Hawthorn students. The young married student has that added responsibility of supporting a wife and sometimes infant children. Low-paying University jobs are seldom sufficient unless both husband and wife are working, so better-paying jobs in other parts of the city are necessary, keeping those students away from campus much of the day. If the married student is an older person who has a growing or grown-up family, the student role is at its minimum, because there is seldom time to spend waiting for some pick-up activity to take place in Hawthorn Center, or to come down to campus in the evening when many extra-curricular groups, as well as some special classes, are meeting.

The problem of coming down to campus in the evening, or remaining there during a long afternoon after classes, is epitomized by the question of transportation, or more specifically by the question of control of transportation. If the individual, and this is especially important for girls, owns his own car or has free access to the family car, which would more often be the case, the campus and the activities going on around it are more readily available and, all other things being equal, this has important positive influence on role-commitment. Since major bus lines run through campus, often transportation can be handled that way, but service is limited and sometimes erratic at night, and cold mid-west winters do not encourage waiting for public transportation. On the other hand, if a student is a member of a car pool from one of the more distant parts of the metropolitan area, an extended role is discouraged, at least as far as staying on campus is concerned.[2]

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[1] The 37 students reported living on campus averaged 15.9 credit hours of special courses at Hawthorn with one student accumulating 61 such credit hours. For those Hawthorn students who did not live on campus, the average was only 1.5 credit hours of these kinds of courses, and the most any student accumulated was 34.

[2] The other side of this car pool coin concerns who the other members of the car pool are. If they are Hawthorn students, they may play a very important part in the student's role, being able to discuss class and university experiences on the way to and from campus. This is covered by the factor of who one' friends are.

Generally speaking, car pools leave campus at assigned times, and though one may try to get another way home once in a while, if he is a rider, when it is his turn to drive, he has a responsibility for getting his passengers home; thus he may not remain around campus.

If transportation doesn't matter to the individual, that is, if he lives on campus, has many friends who drive and would be willing to give him a lift home, or if he is willing to hitchhike home, or sleep on the couch of a friend who lives on campus, the student role is extended. For some people, because not being concerned about transportation means an opening of added alternatives for spending time around campus, this situation maximizes student role-commitment.

The question of employment parallels the limiting influences of living arrangements: how much time is allowed on campus. Thus, for full-time students who do not work or for students who work part-time around campus, in the libraries, as secretaries, and handy-men, and the like, there is the added possibility, and excuse[1], to remain on campus for extended periods of the day. This situation is maximized for those students who are employed for part-time jobs in Hawthorn itself. These include secretaries, and aides, people who run mimeograph machines and answer telephones, people who carry handouts to lectures, people who are bibliographic assistants and research assistants for the faculty, and indeed, for the Program Study. Students who have these highly prized jobs almost by definition have an extended Hawthorn role-commitment.

On the contrary, however, students who must work off-campus, as part-time workers and full-time students, or full-time workers and part-time students, must minimize their commitment to the Hawthorn role or, at most, condense it into specific half-hours during the week or evenings on weekends. This group is a significant part of both Hawthorn College and City University student bodies, one of the characteristics defining this university. Housewives, who are part-time students, were discussed above: they too have limited time on campus and minimal commitment to the Hawthorn Student Role.

A final group of non-curricular factors has been mentioned a number of times in other contexts: who your friends are has an important influence on the extent of your role, in terms of curricular and extra-curricular situations, as well as where you live and how you get home. Thus, if your friends are primarily Hawthorn students, role-commitment is encouraged; if they are students at other colleges in or out of City University, the Hawthorn Student Role is lessened, though a generalized student role may be increased; and if primary friends do not attend college, as may be the case with students from lower-class neighborhoods, student role is greatly reduced and actual attendance at the University may be threatened.

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[1] The "excuse" is for parents whose "Protestant Ethic" demands work as the only legitimate way to spend week-day afternoons. Further, some students need this "excuse" for themselves, and would feel uncomfortable hanging around faculty offices or Hawthorn Center if there was no specific purpose to be there.

In summarizing the factors in the non-curricular situation, we are thrown back to our definition of the extent of commitment to the student role. The more time spent in a situation involving relations with the College, or in situations with other people from the College, and/or in a situation where the individual is defined or defines himself primarily as a Hawthorn student, the higher the commitment to the Hawthron Student Role.

## Conclusion

Throughout this chapter we have been discussing situations and factors that tend to make the student process at Hawthorn more difficult, more disjointed, than it would be if the individual were able to spend more concentrated time in a student role at his College. Whether that increased time would result in a more significant education is problematical; more significant is the question of how intense, how meaningful, is that time that is spent in the student role. Hawthorn, as part of an urban, working-class university, has been explicitly assigned the task of coming to grips with these kinds of questions. Though only partially preconceived in that way, two aspects of the College situation are proving to mitigate the normally anti-educational discontinuities of part-time students, working students, and communting students. These aspects are 1) the open, fluid community, and 2) the recognition of the wider experience of involvement in the surrounding urban environment.

Both aspects attempt to make education more meaningful and relevant to students by extending the student role. The provision of the open and fluid community extends the student role by providing commuting students with a home (physically, socially, and intellectually) on campus. The fluidity is important because the non-curricular situations of these students tend to change often, and a rigid community structure of fixed appointments, meetings, and responsibilities, could not accomodate those changes. Indeed, though this fluidity often leads concerned individuals to believe that no community exists, this is also why the community is viable: it can adjust and face the many changing exigencies of the city around it, and the democratic system in which it is enmeshed by virtue of its being a public institution.

The recognition of the wider experience of involvement in society extends the student role by forcing it out of the campus to where the student lives. Though this has seldom been an explicit goal of universities, it has often been an unofficial teaching method. It is significant that this recognition of involvement was legitimated by the President of City University in his forward to the Hawthorn Bulletin. He pointed out that the College followed in the tradition of early educational leaders in the state, for one of whom the College was named:

> "His commitment to classical learning was equaled by his dedication to liberal principles, for this professor of Latin jeoparidized his own success by his vigorous denunciation of the Mexican War and his advocacy of the abolition of slavery. Hawthorn College preserves and extends his sense of the value of learning and his engagement in society."

In this way the College recognizes and begins to have some relevance to many of the traditionally "non-student" factors which limit commitment to the student role.

# ANALYSING THE SOCIAL FABRIC

by
Paule Verdet and Sally Whelan Cassidy

It is often taken for granted that it is impossible to uncover the network of relationships which make up the social fabric of a universe as large as a college, particularly a street car college, even if it is small. Lately researchers have turned instead to the concepts of student cultures or subcultures which group students together primarily on the basis of values or attributes which they have in common. How these develop, are supported or challenged in the day to day interactions among fellow students is rarely considered. These day to day interactions seemed to us so crucial, however, that we were determined to spend all the time and energy necessary to come up with an adequate picture of the system of friendships at Hawthorn.

We used two main methods: formal analysis by means of computer, and structural analysis in the anthropological tradition of little community studies. The basic principle of letting the data speak for themselves is common to both. However, our ambition of the formal analysts was to end up with a procedure which would be applicable to any problem of the same kind as ours, while our sole concern as structural analysts was for the unique features of the social universe formed by Hawthorn students.[1]

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[1] Of the two authors, Sally Whelan Cassidy worked closely with Frank Wattenberg, an ex-Hawthorn student now member of a creative team of undergraduates at the Computing Center of City University. She directed the work done along the lines of formal analysis. Paule Verdet was called in to help do the "hand work" which they felt was needed to develop the "machine method" further. She did the work of structural analysis which is reported here in detail, bringing to it her penchant for the anthropological approach and her considerable acquaintance with a variety of Hawthorn students. Meanwhile, Sally Cassidy saw to it that all the necessary records were obtained from various offices at City University, especially those having to do with student organizations. Richard Schell, Hawthorn Adviser, was of invaluable help there. She also took every opportunity to collect material relevant to the question of structure: students living on campus, car pools, membership in senior colloquiums, attendance at various events. At all stages in the development of the analysis, there was much consultation and discussion between the two authors.

## Preliminary Work with the Computer

The choices made by each student who took the sociometric test[1] were punched on IBM cards according to a program carefully devised and tested ahead of time on the basis of data from another clique study.[2] The computer was instructed to comb through all the sociometric information available on all respondents of the same sex, and to group together as forming a "clique" those students, any two of whom had selected each other as a friend seen recently (relationship 1-1).[3] An individual who had no such relationship was reported as a clique of one.

The results reported by the machine were that nine "cliques" could be considered: three pairs (two of males, one of females), two triads (one of males, one of females), two more substantial sets (one of four males, the other of six males), and finally two huge sets (one of twenty-seven males, the other of twenty-five females.) One hundred and five students were reported by the machine as unattached (or, in its peculiar language, as making a clique by

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[1] The first sheet of the instrument used for data collection is reproduced on the next page. It was accompanied by a list of 179 names in alphabetical order, each name preceded by a number which would be used throughout the analysis to identify the student. It was that list of names, with the markings made on it by each respondent, which was used for punching.

[2] The program will be made avilable upon request. The data used for the pre-test were generously given by Jacqueline Masse from her master's dissertation (March, 1962, University of Chicago) on the Clique structure of a group of four hundred and five students at the University of Chicago's International House.

[3] This method is called the "cascading method." The Computing Center used an IBM 7070, but the technique is considered as workable for small scale computers. For a sample of the print-outs we worked on and a key to the symbols used (1-1, 3-1, etc.) see pages 24-25.

The following data is gathered for the study of Hawthorn's social structure; informal groupings and role relations.

Name______________________________

1. List below the people with whom you usually spend your free time.

| First Name | Last Name | Hawthorn student | City student | Other College | At Work |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |

2. How often do you still see neighborhood or high school friends not in college with you?

very often___ occasionally___ rarely___ never___ other_____ (specify)

3. On the next page is a list of names of students from the class of 1959, or who have joined it. Circle the number in front of the name of those students with whom you can remember having spent more than fifteen minutes informally in the past two or three weeks.

If you remember having spent more than fifteen minutes informally with Hawthorn students not included in the list, add their name at the bottom or on the other side of the page.

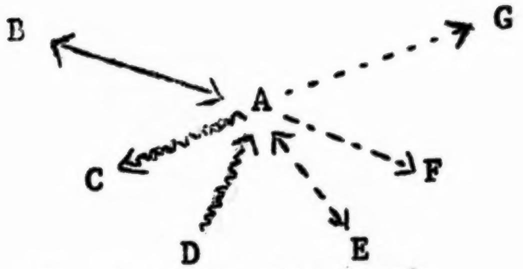
4. Now, looking over the list of students (including those you may have added), underline the names of your friends.

themselves.) This came as a blow[1] until we realized that the machine had been given very restrictive- but as we shall see later far from too restrictive- instructions. Many mutual relationships of friendship remained to be taken into account; not only the 1-3, 3-1, 3-3 relationships of friendship among men and women. There was much to be done still.

The First Steps

Obviously, the nine "cliques" were to be treated very differently, filling out the small ones, if possible; and disarticulating the big ones. But in all cases we worked graphically, translating into diagrams the relationships enumerated on the print-out. As a rule, we took into account only the relationships involving receiprocal friendship, using the following symbols:

Student A . . . . 1-1 Student B
1-3 Student C
3-1 Student D
3-3 Student E
(and also) 1-0 Student F (who did not take the test)
3-0 Student G (who did not take the test).



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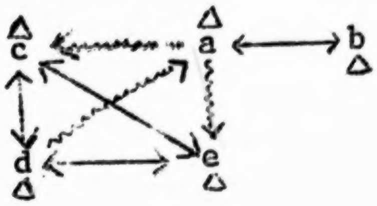
[1] We knew that we could not expect the machine to report on the forty-seven students who had refused or failed to take the test. However, our first impression was that as many as fifty-eight students who had cooperated in the study (or one-third of our total) had been ignored by their classmates. Our first response was to examine what was the exact academic status of these fifty-nine students. We found that fifteen of them had been included on the list by mistake. They had left the college long ago, or had fallen behind so badly in their studies that they could not be expected to associate any more with the 1959 entrants. But this thorough inspection also revealed that about as many students could have been profitably added to the list of names, since they had transferred out of Hawthorn only late in their career, or had left school a year or so previous to the study. As it turned out, we were fortunate in that six of them were spontaneously added to the list by their friends. We ourselves discovered where to assign seven more from the data we were to use later.

For the pair, the first task was to find out whether the reciprocal relationship picked out by the machine deserved indeed to be singled out among other reciprocal relationships each of the individuals might have had.[1] If so, we started looking for other students, among those unassigned to any clique, who were related to both members of the pair in reciprocal fashion (1-3, 3-1 and 3-3 choices). The rule of keeping the sexes separated could now be disregarded[2], since we were looking for social units larger than a dyad. Finally, students who had not taken the test but who had been consistently chosen by members of a group of friends were presumed to belong there. We had one doubtful case- a girl who had not taken the test was heavily selected by a triad of men, and by a group of girls. We assigned her to the girls' group.[3]

The original groups of three were by far the easiest to handle. On the basis of the mutual relationships among all three students, one could immediately add a fourth or even a fifth member, regardless of whether he had taken the test himself. The notion of "marginal member" started to emerge, as students were discovered who were clearly related to two members of a cluster of four or five and to no other group (at least, not as strongly.)

---

[1] A student could have been involved in the relationships diagrammed below. The machine would have reported two different "cliques": (1) the pair a-b; (2) the triad c-d-e. The machine's decision would have to be corrected by declaring a a member of clique c-d-e-a, with b as marginal to it, or even as a member of another clique.



[2] We might mention here that one of the ways in which our program could have been improved would have been to make the sex of each individual recognizable by simple inspection of the print-out. On our diagrams we use the common symbols of the circle for women and the triangle for men.

[3] It was a mistake. Data on the student activities consulted much later strongly suggested that she was more closely associated with the men.

Things became more difficult in handling the sets of four and six. Much as we hate to admit it now, it took us some time to realize that the machine was only offering suggestions, predicated entirely on the instructions we had given it--that it was not setting up for us the basic layout of the system of friendships. What made us relaize this was to see that one of the "members" of the "clique" of six students was related in no way whatsoever with four of the other five. It became clear that we had uncovered a cluster of five, plus a pair. We treated the two seperately.[1]

This done, we moved to the analysis of our monstrously big "cliques." In the case of the men, the task was relatively simple. Aside from one student (#163) who totalled an unusual amount of reciprocal relationships (nine out of the twenty-six possible), the members of that big grouping could be laid out in rather simple arrangements.[2] Schema One show the ;-; relationaships among the twenty-seven members. There are no simple triads, but combinations of triads and dyads (e.g. #116, #68, #44, and #43, #123.) There is also the chain effect--people sharing one friend without themselves being friends (at least according to the strict definition used by the machine (e.g., #72, #121, #154.)

We started to work on the obvious triads and their adjoining pairs, in order to see whether other reciprocal links of friendship[4] could be discovered among these students. Other students' choices were examined and little by little the tissue was reinforced in places, broken in others. Nine clusters developed out of the original one big clique.[5] In addition, a pair was taken away

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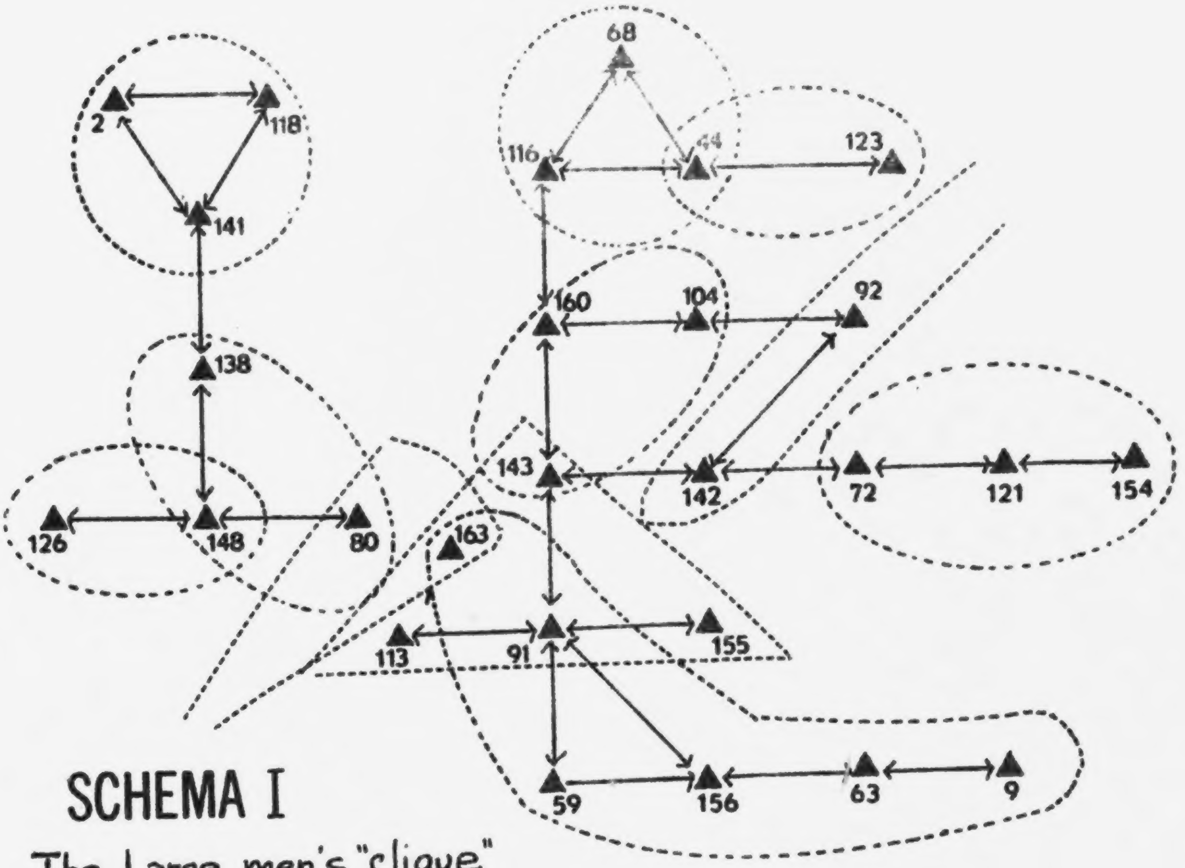
[1] Ultimately that "pair" was to lead us on to one of our large groupings in our final count (one comprimising many old friends, and mixing men and women). As for the group of five, one of its "members" was found to be marginal. Then two non-respondents were added to it as full-fledged members.

[2] It will help the reader to refer to the graph on the next page. He will see how the use of spacial representation helped us translate the conclusions of the machine into workable terms.

[3] For simplicity's sake, the relationships of #163 have not been charted.

[4] By this we mean the 1-3, 3-1, and 3-3 relationships.

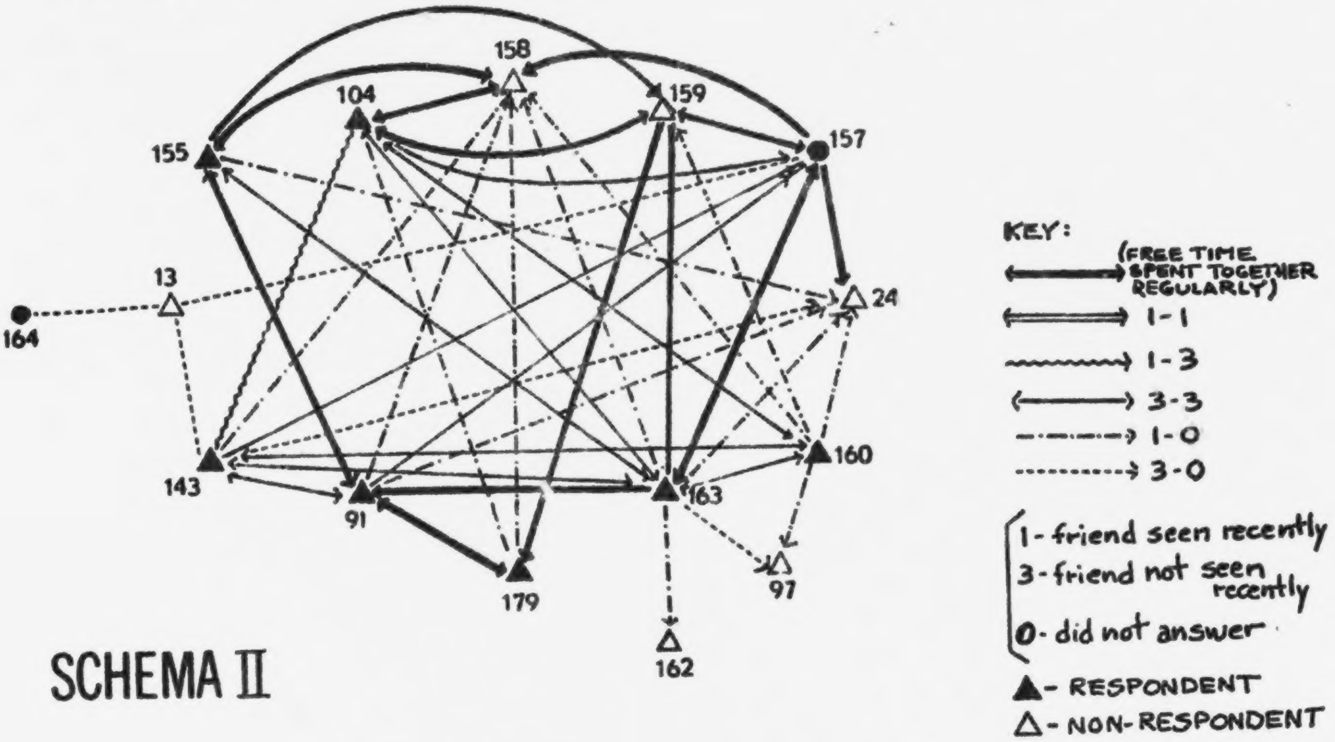
[5] Their outline has been sketched lightly on the diagram.


68
2
118
116
44
123
141
160
104
92
138
143
142
72
121
154
126
148
80
163
113
91
155
59
156
63
9

SCHEMA I

The Large men's "clique"

One of the final clusters of World I : The Brain Trust


158
104
159
155
157
13
164
24
143
91
163
160
179
97
162
KEY:
(FREE TIME SPENT TOGETHER REGULARLY)
1-1
1-3
3-3
1-0
3-0
1- friend seen recently
3- friend not seen recently
0- did not answer
▲- RESPONDENT
△- NON-RESPONDENT

SCHEMA II

from its original setting because it fitted better within the structure based on the women's big "clique". Later other members were placed in other clusters, in addition to their assignments to those discussed here.[1] All of the resulting clusters were at least four members large, at most fourteen.

Upon checking on the students' names, we realized that the various clusters derived from the big "men's clique" were indeed only partly related to each other. They covered a wide variety of activities and interests- from fraternity groups which had hardly anything to do with the Hawthorn community (we thought) to men most active in Hawthorn student government; from old homogeneous cliques to high school friends engaged in the same professional career, to friendship groups developed on campus by writers, artists, philosophers sharing a rather precarious but exciting existence.[2]

The girls presented a very different problem. Their big "clique" of twenty-four members, while alittle smaller in size than that of the men, was much denser in mutual relationships. While there was only man with nine 1-1 relationships (the next most heavily chosen having five of these) it was not unusual for the members of the girls' grouping to have seven or eight such relationships. How could this mutual entanglement be sorted out? First, we tried removing the four most popular girls from the graphic representation of the clique, as we had done so successfully with the one popular man. This time, however, remnants did not fall into easily identifiable dyads and triads, but rather into chains(see chart, first attempt.) This showed the error of removing the most popular ones, who were obviously linking the others together.

The next attempt (see chart, second attempt) was to divide the members into those who had most of their strong relationships outside that big "clique" and those who had most of theirs inside

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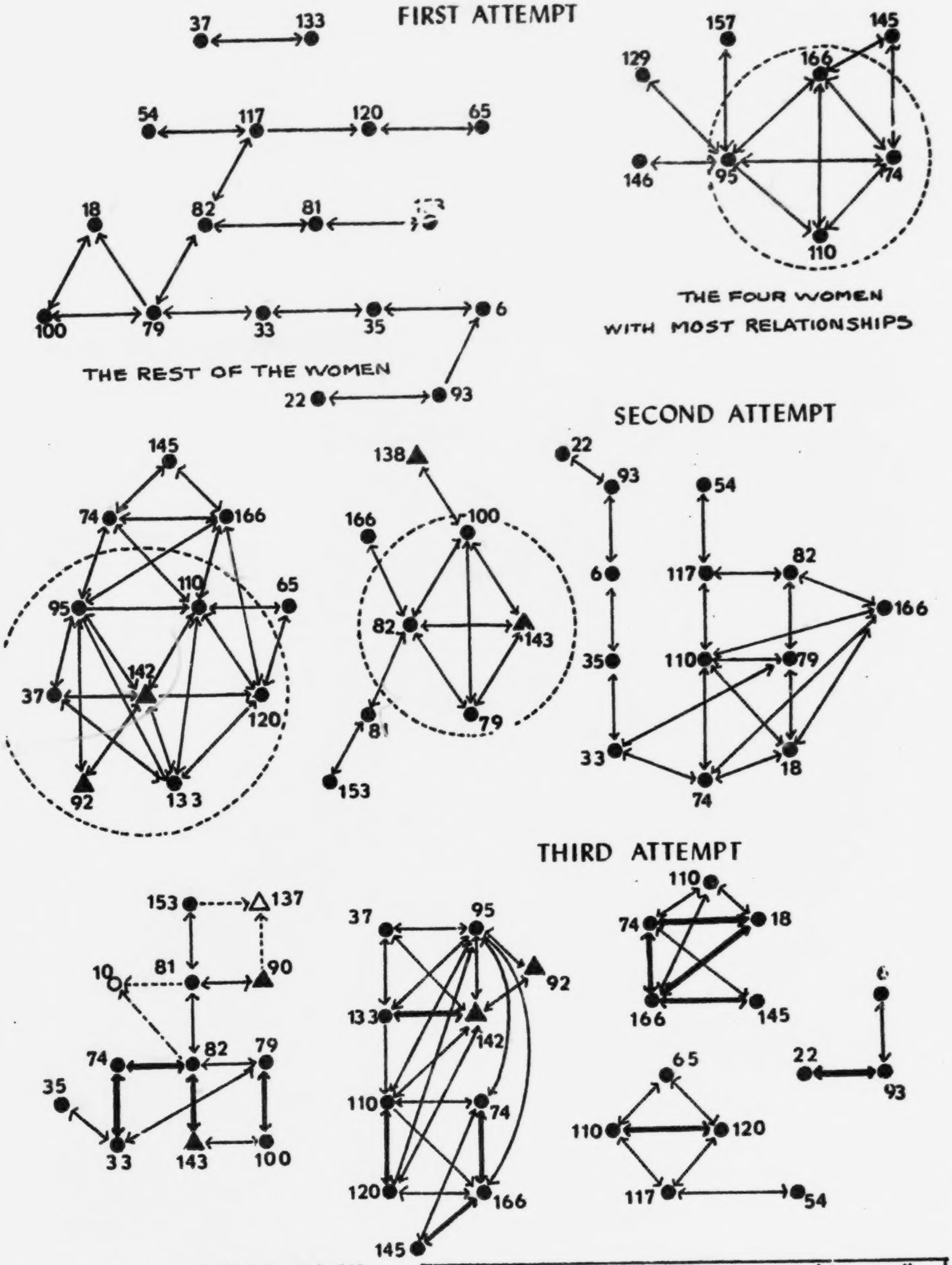
[1] When we decided that we had to allow for multiple membership in order not to do violence to our data, we became leery of using the term "clique" which evokes the image of a closed circle of friends rather exclusively interested in each other, and little disposed to share a member with another clique. We started using instead terms such as "group" or "cluster".

[2] We have drawn at the bottom of the graph (Schema II) the final configuration of one of the clusters derived from the original large men's "clique". Notice that two of the clusters separated out during the first stages of the analysis have been brought together again. Heavily chosen non-respondents have been added.


FIRST ATTEMPT
37
133
54
117
120
65
18
82
81
153
100
79
33
35
6
22
93
THE REST OF THE WOMEN
157
145
129
166
146
95
74
110
THE FOUR WOMEN
WITH MOST RELATIONSHIPS
SECOND ATTEMPT
145
74
166
95
110
65
37
142
120
92
133
138
166
100
82
143
81
79
153
22
93
54
6
117
82
166
35
110
79
33
18
74
THIRD ATTEMPT
153
137
10
81
90
74
82
79
35
33
143
100
37
95
92
133
142
110
74
120
166
145
110
74
18
166
145
6
22
93
65
110
120
117
54

SCHEMA III : The Large women's "clique"

it. The latter's only strong relationships were with two men, usually with one or the other of them. Thus, three main subgroupings were diagrammed among the twenty-four women; those strongly related to one of the men, those strongly related to the other; those related to neither of them. This arrangements seemed to make more sense, but it was not very satisfying, being based on characteristics somewhat extrinsic to the groupings themselves.

At this point it became clear to us that one of our self-imposed rules would have to be abandoned. We had planned to use exclusively the data from the second part of the sociometric test (the response to the class list) in our setting up of the cliques. We wanted to use the first part (names of people with whom free time was spent) to test the accuracy of our work after it had been completed. But now we had come to an impass. We needed the twenty-four women sorted according to an even stricter definition of friendship than the one the machine had used.[1] So we looked at what they said about the usual companions with whom they spent their free time. This was not completely suitable evidence, in that not all of these choices, understandably, were reciprocal- each student responding in terms of her amount (and her definition) of free time. However, it gave us some firmer idea of which relationships could be considered as basic in building of subgroups.

Once this was established, we returned to the 1-1 relationships first, then to other reciprocal friendly relationships, of which there were also a great many. Not without many hesitations, corrections, reversals, we arrived at five clusters, ranging from the simplest to the most complex (see chart, attempt 3.) In this new arrangement, three women (#146, #157, #129) were assigned to altogether different clusters than the ones considered here; two men were included as integral members of the women's structure; two more men as marginal to it.

This was not a perfect solution. Even though some students found themselves in as many as three different clusters, there were still seven 1-1 relationships not taken into account. The data on free time we had used and our own acquaintance with these students led us to interpret our results as indicative of considerable activity, considerable time spent on campus, considerable interest in social relationships and activities. On the other hand, for most of these girls, there seemed to be little relating them to the rest of the Hawthorn student body. At times we wondered if all our efforts at breaking down the monster clique had not been an exercise in futility- maybe it was a large clique after all.

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[1] This turn of events showed how wise we had been to make the machine use a strict definition of friendship. Had we broadened it a little, we would have been faced with this excessive entanglement which blurred the system of relationships for many more students than the twenty-four girls.

## Toward an Operational Definition of Involvement

Perplexed but undaunted, we turned next to the opposite types of problems. We examined, one by one, the students who up to now had not been assigned to any cluster, either as a full-fledged member or as a marginal associate. Were they truly isolated, or did some of them have among themselves (though with no student already assigned somewhere)[1] a reciprocal link of friendship? For those who had no such reciprocal link, was there anything in the list of the choices they had made, or in the list of the students who had chosen them, which could suggest that they generally moved in the social vicinity of one of our clusters?

We had already used the term "marginal" to designate a student reciprocally linked to only two members in a cluster of five or six. We now decided to reserve that term for the individuals who had much more tenuous relationships with a cluster. Among those who did have reciprocal relationships of friendship we now distinguished between the "primary" members (those having more than two of these relationships within the cluster) and the "secondary" ones. We realized that we needed a scale which would indicate the density of overall involvement of each student, regardless of the particular cluster(s) to which he happened to belong. To this effect we prepared the following code:

1- member of three or more clusters

2- member of two clusters

---

[1] Again, we were looking for the 1-1 relationships between men and women which would not have been picked up by the machine, and for 1-3, 3-1 and 3-3 relationships. The task was particularly hard in the case of the students who had not taken the test, for we could not tell how they would have responded to the choices which various of their fellow students made of them. In our decisions we tried to keep a balance between too lightly assuming either reciprocity or the lack of it (which would have amounted either to "rewarding" or "penalizing" these students for not having taken the test). This was not, however, an impossible task. We never considered the option of just keeping these students out of our final structure.

3- primarly member of one cluster, with reciprocal relationships of friendship elsewhere (sometimes secondary member of another cluster)

4- primary member of one cluster, with no reciprocal relationships elsewhere

5- secondary member of a cluster (with at least one reciprocal relationship of friendship within the cluster) with reciprocal relationships elsewhere

6- secondary member of a cluster (with at least one reciprocal relationship of friendship within the cluster) without reciprocal relationships elsewhere

7- marginal member of a cluster (without reciprocal relationship of friendship with any of its members)

8- very marginal member of a cluster (makes no friendship choice, but is chosen by some of its members)

9- isolate- makes no friendship choice, and is chosen by none.

As we came to use this code, we realized that it had at least one serious flaw. The member of a small clique of three, with a total of two reciprocal relationships, was coded 4, as was, for example, the member of a clique of seven with a total of five reciprocal relationships. This did not seem very adequate if what we were indeed interested in was a measure of overall density of a student's involvement. We then decided that we would automatically consider the members of very small groups (i.e., two or three members) as "secondary."[1]

We were now faced, however, with two new problems. First, we noticed another flaw in our scale. A popular member of a big cluster of, let us say, fourteen students, with seven mutual friends within it and none outside would be coded 4- just as would the member of a closely knit clique of four. We played with various ways of distinguishing the former from the latter, and settled for the following criterion: any individual with seven or more receiprocal frriendship relations within the same cluster would be considered what we now called as special.[1] As it was impossible to incorporate this new dimension into our already existing scale, we simply designated them with a star on our lists, and resolved to pay special attention to them when we studied the other popular students, coded 1 and 2.[2]

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[1] This may appear as something of an oversimplification at first. In fact, "secondary" members of an ordinary cluster were very much in the position of relating as a dyad er a triad to one or two of its members. Hence there is a good deal of consistency in our revised definition.

Second, there were some students who, by their choices, seemed to challenge the very assumption upón which our whole effort rested, namely that students tended to associate among themselves in clusters of friends rather than seriation on an individual basis. Not surprisingly they were quite poorly handled on our scale. Thus a member of a small cluster of, let us say, three, who also happened to be reciprocally related (sometimes by stronger bonds than those attaching him to his "clique") to five students all located in different clusters, would be coded 5 on our scale of density of involvement. Yet, if all his friendships scattered hither and yon were added up, the total was as high as that of the student we had just decreed would be considered as "special." This handful of students (whose number at first oscillated between eight and fifteen) preyed on our mind. We resolved to make a special analysis of them. We kept changing the name by which we designated them: the choosey ones, the free lance operators, the independents, the individualists. But we never quite settled on an operational definition for them. The reason was that, every time we considered one of them very carefully, poring over his list of reciprocal relationships, we discovered some little thing which led us to correct the configuration of one or more of our "existing" clusters. Thus we delayed making final decisions about these students until we had come to a definitive lay-out of all our clusters.[1] This was to take months of often interrupted work.[2]

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[1] At our final count, there were six of these students.

[2] It would have been more consistent to place these cases at the top of our scale of density, and to have a different code measuring the diversity of involvements. But an enterprise of the kind we are describing here is so complex that changes of definitions and symbols which occur half-way through are made at the risk of becoming engulfed in a sea of confusion. This is in part why we report our procedure in such detail, in the hope of helping others avoid the mistakes which we made early and could never completely correct.

## Broadening our Perspectives

While we had been working at breaking down the two monstrous "cliques" originally reported by the machine, into credible clusters, we had come to speak of them as the "Men's World" and the "Women's World" respectively. At the outset, we came to speak of the former as the "Hawthorn World"-having excluded from it one or two small cliques which we knew were not involved at the Center or in related activities; and having added to it a handful of girls whom we knew to be involved in these same activities and who were indeed more related to members of the Men's World than to members of the Women's World.[3] We continued using the name "Women's World" for the set of clusters derived from the second, original big "clique", thus reflecting in large part our own social distance from it.[4] We now wondered whether there were other worlds which could pull together at least some our other smaller clusters. We used the double criteria of overlapping clusters and commonality of activities and style or interest, which had emerged from our decisions regarding the two worlds already discovered.

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[1] For the outcome see pp.

[2] We mention the intermittent nature of our work here because it had important effects. On the one hand, time and again we had to familiarize ourselves anew with the topography and the rules of our own artifact, often getting lost in it as if it were foreign to us. On the other hand, we were coming back to it with a fresh outlook, ready to let go of unfounded assumptions (or habits) and thus to discover new possibilities. It was very time consuming, and the same pseudo-discoveries were often repeated. But we are inclined to think that the advantages outweighed the disadvantages.

[3] One must remember that the machine had been instructed to ignore all 1-1 relationships between men and women to avoid confusing pairs of friends with couples.

[4] At times, on the basis of the intense activity of these students and of their absence from Hawthorn's own student endeavors, we called them the "City University World."

We looked at each of these remaining clusters, seeing who were its members, what was their academic status, their socio-economic background, their high school, their ethnicity and religion, their academic or professional interests. We wrote a short summary of the style of each cluster, and then considered how they could be grouped. Three new worlds seemed to come into focus.

First, close to the Hawthorn World there were three small and overlapping clusters of writers, artists, non-professional anthropologists- students who had taken seriously the theme of freedom and independence, often had moved to campus, had been involved in research entirely on their own. Often they had gone away and come back- they seemed to be in school more for the atmosphere, the conversations, the moral support than for the degree. We called them "The Intellectual Fringe".

Second, close to the Women's World, as we thought, were small groups of students, mostly men, with strong professional orientation- pre-meds already enrolled in medical school; business and engineering students, most of whom had transferred late in their college career to their professional school. Usually these were not strictly specialized professional cliques.[1] There was a strong presumption that they were made up of the Hawthorn contingent in a number of fraternities. We called them "The Professionals".

Third, in between those two worlds as it were, fell a collection of clusters characterized by common traits and interest, with little overlap among them:

- two clusters of old high school friends (all of them Jewish) the two high schools being the two excellent ones which sent large contingents to Hawthorn
- two clusters of students seemingly brought together by the seriousness with which they took their studies
- two small clusters of students sharing the same vocational interest- the theater and engineering
- one cluster of pre-medical students from the same excellent high school
- one cluster of students of different background and interest, but all Roman Catholics

For lack of a better word, we called this assemblage the "World of Common Traits". But since a rather exclusive concentration on their studies seemed to be the main order of the day for all of these students, we also thought of them as the "Serious Ones", or the "No-nonsense Types".

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[1] On the other hand, they did not overlap among themselves.

To us, these worlds became more basic than the clusters themselves. We looked at them as "moral environments", in Durkheim's sense of the words. That is to say, while we saw the clusters as resulting from various activities initiated by the student, we saw the worlds as providing the students with basic definitions, outlook, standards of conduct and of judgment. This is why, having been more than willing to accept the idea that a student was simultaneously involved in two, three and even five clusters, we were very reluctant to consider anyone as a genuine member of two worlds. Even when we had to acknowledge double membership, we always forced ourselves to indicate from the evidence we had which of the two worlds appeared to be his true home.

### Bringing New Data to Bear

We then decided that it was time for us to check our construct against all the best additional evidence we could muster. This included the first half of the sociometric test (up to now we had used it only to extricate ourselves from our difficulty with the large women's "clique"), the records of student participation in all campus organizations,[1] and finally the students' recollection of their best discussion session and its other members.

The rest of the sociometric data confirmed the results we had obtained so far. Only minor adjustments needed to be made, such as reinstating a "clique" of four which had been created and eliminated several times during the previous phase. We also incorporated into a few clusters a total of seven students who had left school or transferred out of Hawthorn rather early, but who were obviously very much a part of the lives of a particular group of ther old Hawthorn associates.

The records of student organization, on the other hand, showed us that we had been misled in our treatment of the "Women's World". Some of the clusters in that world corresponded rather neatly to this or that sorority. Another one pulled together the veterans of the Association of Women Students. On this basis, once again, we started work on the "Women's World." We shall spare the reader a recital of this new round of efforts. We shall only mention our relief when we ended up having significantly diminished the frequency of overlaps. We had also found out, however, that some of the clusters in the "Women's World", especially the small ones, just had no organizational base whatever. They reflected ties of friendship among students who shared interests in teaching, or religion, or still something else. On the other hand, our "Professional's World" comprised both cliques from social fraternities and students exclusively united in their joint effort to enter the same medical school.

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[1] The official records for university-wide student activities on the campus of City University were much more thorough than those for Hawthorn activities- however, this inbalance was more than compensated by our own familiarity with, and involvement in, various Hawthorn enterprises.

We then proceeded to reconsider much of our previous work. The "Hawthorn World", which we first renamed the "Hawthorn Community"; and then "The Core", had remained pretty much the same. So did the "Intellecual Fringe", which we renamed "The Fringe" to avoid giving the false impression that it was the exclusive source of intellectual life at Hawthorn. The "Women's World" became the "Campus World", including now all clusters which were based on campus-wide organizations (this time irrespective of sex). The "Professionals' World" now comprised the clusters which were either clearly brought together by the pursuit of the same professional goal (medicine, business) or which reflected parallel- and mutually meaningful- itineraries on the part of students with a variety of professional ambitions.

The use of these more specific (maybe extrinsic to the test itself) criteria inflated our world of "Common Traits" out of all proportion. We then happened to notice, as we were writing down lists of clusters, by worlds, that some of the groups in this somewhat residual world tended to be closely knit yet often large, while others tended to be small and/or rather loosely put together. The contrast in the very design on the same page was striking. As our mind raced in search of possible meaning, we noticed that practically each one of the tightly knit groups was made up of students from the same high school, either _in toto_ or in part. There must have been security in common roots for these students there right from the start. We also noticed a cluster of Hawthorn student assistants, who clearly had found a "place" on campus. Thus we resolved to divide this large residual world into two new ones; the "Old Boys' World"[1] , members of which we also thought of as being "At Home", "Settled", etc., anything which would connote that thanks to previous ties they had not succumbed to the anonymity[2] of the large urban campus; and the "Street-Car World" which stood for the exact opposite. It now seemed to us that the very fact that in this last World the clusters were small reflected the trouble their members had, as they came and went from home to campus and from campus to home, in establishing friendship ties with fellow students.[1]

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[1] This world actually included an equal number of men and women.

[2] If the word existed, we would rather speak of "a-topicity", i.e., the absence of place.

From the students' memories of discussion sections we found information on the origin of a few of our clusters. Some students had found each other early and had stuck together, through thick and thin. But the main value of this last set of data was to make us realize how many students spoke of each other by first name alone. We thus realized that the actual network of relationships might well be much more dense than our sociometric data reported. We, however, decided that demanding the knowledge of a person's full name for a relation of friendship to be taken into account was not unduly restrictive.

The last step we took was to make a complete list of all the mutual friendship relationships left dangling after every student had been assigned to one or more cluster.[2] Fifty-one of these crossed world boundaries. But a good many others fell within the "Campus World" itself. We started a new diagram, and with mounting excitement, discovered that all but two of the latter actually were interconnecting into a cluster. At long last that World was completely accounted for. It was as if we had completely overcome in the end the original handicap of the arbitrary and artificial separation between men and women, for men and women interrelated in that last and largest cluster of the "Campus World" in the same natural way that they did in other worlds.

Another satisfaction was that all but one of the students who seemed to relate to their friends in complete apparent disregard for the system of clusters had now been integrated into his own cluster. The outstanding student was outstanding in many other ways.[1] On the other hand, there were two complete isolates, people who either spoke to nobody, cared for nobody, or acknowledged knowing nobody's name.

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[1] We found that there was a second cluster of Hawthorn student assistants, generally coming from less prestigeful high schools than those in the first. This one could almost typify the groups in the Street-Car World, except for the fact that it was rather large. Was not its existence a challenge to our notion of a-topicity, since student assistants are among the few students in an urban campus who have a place of their own? It would have been, but for a single crucial fact; it had a majority of Negro students. These were the days before Black Power, when Negro students indeed did not have a "place" of their own, or at least did not feel they had one.

[2] We were still concerned about the few students with the seven relationships of friendship who were coded a mere 5 on our density scale.

The ground was now clear for a careful study of what these Worlds, and the clusters they harbored, would tell us about the Hawthorn student culture and its impact.

## Practical Advice

If anyone wants to use this kind of tool for sociometric analysis, may we make the following recommendations:

A. Use the kind of program we used but with different provisions for programming the students who choose not to take the test; get the computer to do preliminary sorting along strict definitions as we did (including the separation between sexes.)

B. Rely heavily on graphic representations in order to correct and expand the work of the computer; distinguish carefully between the diagrams which give a full picture of the mutual relationships and those which you merely sketch to try out a hunch, lest the latter be mistaken for the former at a later date.

C. Date every single piece of paper, whether diagram, lists of related students, hunches, or whatever; as the work progesses not only will details change, but your broad outlook will be altered. Besides you need to know whether any given document was written before or after you made a given crucial decision.

In retrospect, two things could have been very useful, which we did not use under the form we now recommend:

A. To use a rather large size card of the hand-punchable kind for each person in the social universe studied; on it would be punched the various relevant details such as social class, quality of high school, level of entrance test scores, curriculum, etc; on it also would be written the kind of data which would lose much of their relevance by being punched, such as name of high school, details of ethnic and religious background, basic data on relationships to faculty, etc; finally, one would type on it selected statements, particularly revealing of personal style (especially in relations with others, general or specific), taken from the individuals interviews,from his his own writings, from the Participant Observer's notes, etc.[1]

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[1] He is referred to as Student A1 in Chapter III of Volume I.

B. To ask the respondent at the time of the test to draw his own sketch of the topography of social universe under study, and to place himself within it.

Methodological Summary and Comment

We think that we have shown that one can make a systematic analysis of the fabric of student culture at a small urban college. We have uncovered its breakdown into six subcultures:

| | |
|---|---|
| The Core World | 40 students, 3 clusters |
| The Fringe World | 14 students, 3 clusters |
| The Old Boys World | 27 students, 5 clusters |
| The Street-Car World | 39 students, 10 clusters |
| The Professional World | 22 students, 4 clusters |
| The Campus World | 33 students, 6 clusters |
| Isolates (at Hawthorn) | 2 students. |

We have defined and ascertained levels of involvement:

| | |
|---|---|
| Primary member in two clusters or more | 24 students |
| Popular primary member in one large cluster | 6 students |
| Primary member in one cluster | 66 students |
| Secondary member in one cluster (or more) | 61 students |
| Marginal or very marginal to one cluster | 20 students |
| Isolates | 2 students |

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[1] All of these sensitizing data to be used, once again, not to replace careful scrutiny of the sociometric data themselves, but to sharpen it and to keep reminding the researcher that uncovering the structure was but the first step in the study of student culture.

Even more importantly, our construct has not only confirmed what we knew from experience, it has also corrected much that was biased in our own image of the Hawthorn student body, much that was determined by our own position and perspective.

What have been the main ingredients of that success? Looking back at the long, painful process, it appears to us that one of the key factors was the tension between two equal and opposite forces, each represented by one of the two researchers; one pulling in the direction of the abstract and universal ideal of the formal analyst, the other towards the concrete and particular goal of the structural analyst. The first launched the whole enterprise, the second brought it to completion. The first was willing to simplify the picture, the second was eager to complicate it. But the two forces acted on each other. The first admitted the necessity to take into account the special characteristics of the Hawthorn social universe (e.g., in accepting that there be an overlapping of clusters). The second recognized the desire to develop a method which could be used in other cases.

This last aspect in particular was crucial. The practical compromise we arrived at was that data extrinsic to the sociometric test would never be used unless the signals given by the test data were too ambiguous; and that an ambiguity in the test data would never be resolved arbitrarily without consulting relevant outside data. We believe that this is where the strngth of our method lies.

We hope that our modest triumph will encourage others to undertake studies of this kind, for we believe that, just as the ethos or culture of a tribe cannot be properly understood if one is not thoroughly familiar with its social structure, the study of students subcultures will not be fully rewarding unless they take into account the prescriptions, restrictions, and expectations which are the product and the expression of the underlying structure.

## Note on Symbols and Layout

We reproduce here a sample of the information received from the computer.

```
                          CLIQUE NUMBER 85

Members        Choice types        Choices          Choices Clique
------------------------------------------------------------------

  41               13                 29                  21
                   03                 69                  45
                   11                 88       *          85
                   02                 89                  56
                   03                128                  77
                   11                139       *          85
                   01                154                  94
  88               03                 29                  21
                   11                 41       *          85
                   21                128                  77
                   11                139       *          85
                   30                161                  98
 139               03                 29                  21
                   11                 41       *          85
                   13                 49                  34
                   10                 64                  42
                   30                 70                  46
                   11                 88       *          85
                   30                100                  95
                   11                128                  77
                   30                145                  95
                   30                155                  94
                   10                161                  98

                              Totals

          Choices within Clique  01 0   02 0   03 0   10 0   11 6   12 0
          Out of all choices        1      1      4      2      7      0

(cont'd)  Choices within Clique  13 0   20 0   21 0   22 0   23 0   30 0
          Out of all choices        2      0      1      0      0      5

(cont'd)  Choices within Clique  31 0   32 0   33 0
          Out of all choices        0      0      0
```

## Key to the "Choice Types"

| | |
|---|---|
| Punch 1: | recent conversation plus friendship |
| Punch 2: | recent conversation but no friendship |
| Punch 3: | no recent conversation but friendship |
| Punch 0: | no recent conversation and no friendship |

The first digit indicates the kind of choice made by the individual whose sociometric data are being reported, while the second indicates the kind of choice made by the other individual.[1]

Thus, we can read the first few lines of the print-out of Clique 85 as follows:

Student 41 and Student 29 agree that they are friends

Student 41 reports that they have had a recent conversation which Student 29 does not remember.[2]

Student 69 considers Student 41 as a friend whom he has not spoken with recently; Student 41 does not respond to Student 69's choice.

Student 41 and Student 88 agree that they are friends and that they have seen each other recently; this fact, plus the fact that they are both men, places them in the same clique (which is signified by the star on the print-out).

Student 89 does not consider Student 41 as a friend, but he reports having had a recent conversation with him. Student 41 makes no mention of the fact.[3]

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[1] The print-outs, from which we did all our work, gave first the number assigned to the clique being reported on; then, the code number of all individuals in it each immediately followed by the list of relationships he had to each of the individuals whom he had mentioned or who had mentioned him; the quality of the relationships was indicated, as well as the clique number to which each of these individuals belonged.

[2] The tests could not all be given to the students at the same time, due to problems in scheduling. Such discrepancies need not be interpreted as showing a lack of memory or interest.

[3] This might be due to differences in timing. It might also indicate that Student 89 knows Student 41's full name while Student 41 does not know Student 89's.

Further down the list we find that Student 139 has a 1-0 type of choice of Student 64. This seems at first sight to be a flagrant case of lack of reciprocity. It simply indicates, however, that Student 64 did not take the test.[1]

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[1] Unfortunately the machine was not programmed to distinguish between students who refused or failed to take the test (there were 48 of these) and the students who did not respond to a fellow student's choice. Behaviorally, there was no difference. But the meaning of the two acts, in terms of relation, was vastly different. This double meaning of the digit 0 was very unfortunate. It kept us from using much of the totals recapitulating the relationships of the members of a clique. Using a special signal for the abstainers would have complicated the program, but would have simplified the task of the analysts.

# RANKING OF HIGH SCHOOLS

by Paule Verdet

The socio-economic-academic index of high schools was arrived at by means of a succession of steps none of which were satisfactory. But in the end, the product seems to be a valid instrument for the evaluation of the background received by the student during his high school years.[1]

We had four major categories of high schools to evaluate:

Public High Schools in Detroit proper

Public High Schools in Detroit suburbs

Private High Schools in Detroit and its suburbs

Other public and private high schools

We had various data from which to draw:

a.) The Catholic Directory, 1961, which gave the list of Catholic schools parochial and city-wide in the Fall of 1960.
b.) The map of Detroit and Suburbs for 1961, based on data collected in 1961 by the Detroit News. Blocks are colored according to the category in which they fall, as defined as: "High income", "Above average income", "Average income", "Below average income", and "Low income". The money equivalent of those categories is as follows: (in 1961)

| | |
|---|---|
| High | $15,000 and over |
| Above average | $10,000 to $14,999 |
| Average | $ 7,000 to $ 9,999 |
| Below average | $ 5,000 to $ 6,999 |
| Low | $ 3,000 to $ 4,999 |

Unfortunately, the lack of coloring, which corresponds to the "Average income" areas is also used for the zones where there are no residents, or very few. Still, the map gives a good idea of the relative wealth and of the homogenuity of various areas of the city.
c.) The boundaries of the school territories for the city of Detroit.

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[1] This work was done in 1964, with the intention of recapturing the situation which prevailed in the late '50's, that is to say the years when the 1959 Hawthorn entrants were attending high school. The ranking is now out of date.

d.) The book Education and Income, (1961) by P. Sexton and the thesis from which it was derived. The author made use of the Detroit News data for 1956. Unfortunately what she gives are figures of "average income" which are misleading for heterogeneous areas (although it seems pretty well established by our findings that if there is a sufficient proportion of a school district with considerable income, the school will be good even if there is an equal proportion of incomes below average in the area; e.g., Redford in Detroit).
e.) The book Findings and Recommendations of the City-Wide Citizens Advisory Committee on School Needs, (1958). The emphasis here is on the state of the buildings, but other data such as rate of dropouts, study of foreign languages, percentage of graduating class applying to college, etc. are valuable.
f.) The list of Michigan semi-finalists for the National Merit scholarships in 1961-2 and 1963-4. (Earlier lists would have been even more appropriate, but they were not at hand.)

To sum up, we can say that we had an abundance of data on the Public Schools in the city of Detroit. We did not have either the parish boundaries or the boundaries of the territory of the suburban schools. However, the parish address and the various townships' boundaries plus the schools addresses made up somewhat for that lack. The Detroit News map, and the National Merit lists were to enable us to establish one single rating.

We started with the city schools. Sexton had them ranked by average family income (revised for 1957) for the school area. The range is from a high of $9503 to a low of $5043 - other indices vary considerably too: yearly rate of dropouts, from 4% to 24%; percentage of students in college prep courses, from 79 to 15; percentage of graduating class actually requesting that their transcript be sent to a college, from 81 to 10, etc.. The number of semi-finalists for National Merit Scholarships goes from 20 to 0.

We tried to rank the high schools as to academic excellence.

1) Clearly Mumford comes on top of our list of local high schools with 20 semi-finalists, highest percentage of college prep students. No other school can be put in the same category except for Cass, with 56 semi-finalists, though a much lower percentage of graduates going to college.
We find that Mumford is the only school above $9,000 in income level.

2) Next come the local high schools with a good number of semi-finalists (Ford, 8; Denby, 12; Redford, 11), more than 1/2 their enrollment in college prep, low dropout rates. Two exceptions are striking, however. Cooley has the same adacemic characteristics, but only one semi-finalist. Mackenzie has nine semi-finalists, but twice the dropout rate, and only 35% of the graduates actually applying to college.

Now we find that Ford, Denby, Redford and Cooley are in the $8,000 - $9,000 income level, while Mackenzie's area has an income level of $7,324. Still, we place these five high schools in our second category in over-all socio-economic-academic characteristics.

3) Next come local high schools with one or two semi-finalists (Cody, Southeastern, Pershing). Generally, about 1/3 of their enrollment is in college prep, and a slightly higher proportion of their graduates apply to college. Osborn and Central have no semi-finalists, but they have about the same characteristics (except for Osborn's low dropout rate and Central's very high proportion of graduates applying to college - 50%).

From the economic standpoint, all of these schools are in areas between $6,600 and $8,000 in income level. They form our 3rd category.

4) Finally come the high schools which not only do not have any semi-finalists but have high dropout rates (14% to 24%), low proportion in college prep (25% to 15%), low percentage of graduates applying to college (about 25% with exceptions of 32% and 10%). These are the schools going by geographical names, the old schools of the old city.

All of them are found at the bottom of the income ladder.

As some high schools are missing from our lists, Chadsey is placed with Pershing in category 3 and so are Commerce and Aero Mechanics, while Wilbur Wright is placed in category 4 with Western.

It is important to stop here and see how we can summarize our definitions of the categories so as to apply them to other high schools outside of the city of Detroit.

### Category One

The high school affords an unusually good academic preparation. (One semi-finalist per 200 or even 85 students at that school - and we don't mean seniors). If serving a given territory, the proportion of families with "high" income should be about 1/4, plus about 1/2 "above average".

### Category Two

This high school has good academic standards (One semi-finalist per 250 to 300 students). In its territory, the proportion of families with income "above average" should be superior or at least equal to that with "average income", and there should be practically no pockets of population "below average" (unless compensated by a "high income" section).

## Category Three

This high school can neither be commended nor condemned academically. Only very rarely are students picked out for such honors as the National Merit scholarships. But there do not appear the problems usually linked with low economic status. Characteristically, the territory of such a high school should have no pocket of "low income" population (unless compensated by some "high" and/or "above average"), the main component should be "average" or just "below average".

## Category Four

This high school can be presumed to be detrimental to the student who prepares for college, in wasting his time, and providing him with no relevant motivation. The area is characterized by a mixture of "low" and "below average" income, with little else to balance these unfavorable factors.

With this in mind we can turn first to a consideration of the private schools in Detroit and its suburbs.

There are two private schools of high repute from which we have freshmen. Cranbrook, with 18 semi-finalists, fits neatly in Category One (it does also economically, being located in one of the wealthiest suburbs). Liggett has no semi-finalist hence is placed in Category Two in spite of its reputation.

There are two Lutheran schools - One, Lutheran West having one semi-finalist, is placed in Category Two. The other, Lutheran East, having none, is placed in Category Three.

There are two kinds of Catholic schools: those city-wide and those attached to parishes. Those city-wide are much more likely to have a large proportion in college prep courses. They are in Category Two, except for the U of D high which has an unusual number of semi-finalists (10). On the other hand, the parochial high schools are in Category Two if they have some semi-finalists or if the economic standing of their area is clearly above average (thus St. Paul High School in Grosse Pointe Farms, St. Alphonsus in Dearborn, St. Louis in Mt Clements). The rest of the parochial high schools are in Category Three, even if their opposite numbers among the public schools fall in Category Four (thus the Hamtramck parochial schools). Our assumption is that the willingness of the parents to pay a fee, and the smaller size of the parochial school, make it less likely to fall prey to the disfunctioning which our Category Four presumes.

The hardest job is to allocate the suburban public schools in the Detroit Metropolitan area. For one thing the townships do not necessarily coincide with school districts. Out of areas bearing traditional names, new districts are devised, while the population keeps using the old names. Thus Robichaud high school, linked with Inkster by the respondents, belongs to the Dearborn Heights school district. We did not think we could secure a map of the districts as they were in 1959 without making this in itself a full-fledged enterprise. So again we used the address of the school to give an idea of the territory it covered.

Another problem, however, hits us when we try to use the Detroit News map. In the suburbs, the problem of distinguishing between undeveloped and "average income" areas is frequent. Besides, the further we move away from the city, the more the scale of incomes becomes questionable. Thus, small communities like Walled Lake or Romulus are marked on the map as "low income" territories, but it is hard to decide whether they are rural slums or simply modest villages, with none of the opportunities but also none of the problems of the city.

Still another problem is that we do not have any idea of the size of the schools. In order to appreciate the meaning of the figures on the National Merit list we have to compare them to the size of the community. Thus, when we find that Farmington High, from a community of 6,881 has four semi-finalists, we are ready to rate it higher than, say, Allen Park High, which has five but a community of 37,000. (Still the decision as to where to place Allen Park High remains difficult to make: from the map, the community is heavily an "above average" income area, it is at the dividing line, for us, between Category Two and Category Three; only at the insistance of local experts from City did we put it in Category Three).

The allocation to Category One is not too hard to make: Seaholm High in Birmingham has 35 semi-finalists, Grosse Pointe High has 38, Dearborn High has 21, Bloomfield Hills High (from a small community of 2,000) has nine. All these areas have a large proportion of their population with "high" income.

At the dividing line is Southfield High, in a wealthy area too; this school has only 10 semi-finalists, for a population of 31,000. So it is relegated to our Category Two. So are Berkley High (11 semi-finalists), Oak Park High (9), Royal Oak (Dondero with 12 finalists, Kimball with 6), Bentley High in Livonia (12), etc.. In addition to these and other high schools whose socio-economic level matches their academic achievements, we include schools from more modest backgrounds which are unusually singled out in the National Merit list: Ferndale High (11 semi-finalists), Wayne Memorial High (5), Walled Lake (6) and Romulus (1). Finally we also include two schools whose presumed district is clearly at the "above average" income level, though they do not distinguish themselves on the list of National Merit Scholarships: Lakeview High in St. Clair Shores (three semi-finalists) and Harper Woods High.

Category Three is the most composite of all. It includes both schools with a few semi-finalists and schools with none at all; the communities may be either at an "average" level of income or "below average" though no "low". We repeat that this category can be used only to reflect the assumption that there is nothing either very good or very bad about the kind of education provided by the schools in this category. Some of them, such as Highland Park, have had a great academic tradition, we understand, but the present facts are that this school has only three semi-finalists, and that its population is very heterogeneous academically.

In Category Four are the few high schools which serve clearly underpriveleged communities, generally a mixture of "low" and "below average" income groups; Hamtramck, Ecorse, River Rouge, and Inkster High.

Finally, the Michigan high schools outside the Detroit Metropolitan area are placed in Category Three unless they have unusual numbers of semi-finalists in terms of the size of their community. Thus Romeo (3 semi-finalists for a community of 3,300) and Bad Axe (one semi-finalist for a community of 3,000) are placed in Category Two, while Saginaw High (two semi-finalists), Benton Harbor (2), Ludington (one for a community of 9,000) are placed in Category Three. Also in Category Three are schools from small communities without semi-finalists (Armado, 1,000; Ubly, 800; etc.), the assumption being here that neither the problems nor the resources of those high schools must be great.

No effort has been made to estimate the level of out of state schools, with three exceptions. A vocational school in Windsor, Canada, is placed in Category Three, and two private schools (a military academy in Wisconsin, and a Catholic school in Syracuse, New York) are placed in Category Two.

## Reflections on some of the problems encountered

The above gives as fair a picture as we are able of our operational criteria. Throughout our effort, we have tried to put our tentative ranking to the test of people "in the know": people connected with the School of Education at City University, people working in the admission's office at City University, and the Advisor at our Hawthorn college. They have helped establish cutting points, many of their remarks have been confirmed by the lists of National Merit scholarships.

The reader may wonder why we did not use the tests of City University entrants to help establish the quality of their high school. City University, being a non-residential, relatively inexpensive school, with little of the collegiate galmor about it, tends to attract poor students in either the academic or the economic sense of the term. We have heard it said, though not seen it proved, that it gets the poorer students (again in both senses) from the better schools in the area, and the better and better off students from the poorer schools in the area. Any ranking of schools based on the performance of the group of their graduates which comes to City University would be bound to be affected by this leveling phenomenon.

One may ask, isn't such a ranking as satisfactory as any other? Would it not reflect anyway some of the divisions which must exist in the student body of especially the large high schools? Possibly. But we thought it would be more important to get a sense of the full range of resources or handicaps which the students have met throughout their high school years.

As a matter of fact, one of the great drawbacks of our ranking system is that it takes into account only the last years of a student's education. What preparation he took with him to high school is probably highly relevant to the use he made of its resources. We know nothing of that, unfortunately.

# APPENDIX ON THE FATE OF "INTELLECTUALLY COMMITTED" AND "PRACTICALLY INCLINED" WOMEN

by Paule Verdet

As Table 5 showed, among the women whose parents have had at best a high school education, as many women profess an intellectual interest as pursue a practical goal. Intellectual interests are twice as popular as a practical outlook among those whose parents or siblings have gone to college.

Let us consider first the women from the most poorly educated families. It is interesting to notice that it is those who are better prepared academically who declare for practical goals. The "intellectually committed" overwhelmingly select professional curricula at entrance, do poorly and drop out. Only one out of eight maintains her determination to become an elementary school teacher.[1] The one student who starts in the general program begins very well (A- in Hawthorn courses, B- in the others), but she seems baffled by her very success and leaves in her sophomore year. Hawthorn intellectual fare is not what she had been bargaining for.

Less surprisingly, Hawthorn is not what the "practically inclined" have been bargaining for either. All but one (who entered in the general curriculum) transfer to another college within City University, though a few do so only in their junior year. The practical incentive makes them respond to practical cues (one of which is that they get better grades elsewhere than in Hawthorn); it helps them take initiative in deciphering the maze of the University. By their sophomore year they are all set. Almost half of them graduate (most of them with better grade averages than they started with) as opposed to the one in eight graduating among the "intellectually committed". On the other hand, none of the three Education students who graduate have the insight to get involved in the challenging Experimental Program.

We find some of the same patterns continuing among the women from families where at least one parent graduated from high school. However, this time, those who declare an intellectual interest tend to be better prepared than those more practically inclined. This makes our findings just the more surprising. For it turns out that, among the "intellectually committed", it is those who stick rather closely to a professional curriculum (either in elementary or secondary education) whether in Hawthorn or elsewhere, who succeed in the end. Six out of seven graduate. On the other hand, those who entered in the general curriculum, though among the best prepared, tend to leave school sooner or later, without however transferring out of Hawthorn. They respond to its intellectual stimulation, but are not sustained by it, and seem to flounder indecisively. Out of these seven women, only two graduate: one who as a freshman transferred to another college in City University, and entered the Teachers' Education Experimental Program; and one who became very much involved in Hawthorn's social and artistic life, thus supplementing her incentive for success and her understanding of the meaning of "intellectual committment", Hawthorn style.

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[1] The reality of her intellectual committment might be revealed by two details: (1) she transfers from Hawthorn only in her junior year, in spite of her getting only a C- in her Hawthorn courses in her freshman year, as over against B+ in her other courses; (2) in the School of Education, she elects the Teachers' Education Experimental Program, which embodies much of the questioning, open-ended style of Hawthorn.

By contrast, being "practically inclined" appears to be a relative factor of success, whether the student enters in the general or in a professional curriculum, whether her academic preparation has been poor, bad or indifferent, whether she stays in Hawthorn or transfers elsewhere. On the other hand the practical incentive seems mitigated by other considerations: thus among this set of women, transferring out of or staying in Hawthorn is not directly related to their relative success in Hawthorn courses and in other courses during their first year: some transfer who get better grades in Hawthorn, some stay in Hawthorn who got better grades elsewhere. More important to them seems to be making progress in their chosen curriculum. By their junior year they have made up their minds. Eight out of fourteen graduate.

The next set to be considered is the women coming from families where someone (parent or sibling) has gone to college. They are a dismal lot. True, their academic preparation is poorer than that of the previous set. But even this does not explain their record of failures, their tendency to give up.

Out of the nine "intellectually committed", only three finish their first year with a C average.or better. Whatever their preparation, whatever their curriculum at entrance, they seem lost from the very start. Could it be that their "intellectual" expectations, developed in contact with their relatives, are too different from the Hawthorn style? It may be relevant that the only one who does finally graduate is a student who, having entered in the Business Administration Curriculum, transfers to Liberal Arts after one semester, and once there reorients herself, improves her grade average from a D in her freshman year to a B- at graduation, and has the sense to enter the Teachers' Education Experimental Program. The record of the "practically inclined" is hardly better. Out of four women, only one graduates, having entered in the general program and opting for Secondary Education in her junior year. This vulnerability of students whose family has been exposed to college is an enigma indeed.

Not surprisingly, the daughters of college graduates are well prepared academically, the "practically inclined" even more so than the intellectually committed". Yet only half of each subset ever reach the goal of graduation. Of the twelve "intellectually committed" only one fails out. Four others quit--one at the very beginning of college, two as late as their junior year who have earned a grade average of B or better. Ennui? The attraction of other things? One would think that family expectations would be enough to keep those women in college, and that their intellectual interest would make them willingly follow this ordained plan. This is very true for that half of the students who came to realize their intellectual potential (whether they start in the general or in a professional curriculum does not matter)--but is not true of the other half.[1]

The six "practically" minded have the same kind of record, except that those who fail or leave do so as freshmen rather than as sophomores or juniors. They have no time to waste. On the other hand, the three who do graduate graduate late, having taken the time to explore various majors, or to get involved in the Experimental Education program.

### RECAPITULATORY TABLE OF OUTCOME OF TWO SELECTED SETS OF WOMEN ENTRANTS, BY EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

| | Intellectually Committed | | | Practically Inclined | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Success | Uncertain Outcome* | Failure | Success | Uncertain Outcome* | Failure |
| Neither parent HS grad | | | | | | |
| more general curr.** | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| more professional | 1 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 2 |
| One parent HS grad | | | | | | |
| more general curr. | 2 | 5 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| more professional curr. | 6 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 2 |
| Some coll, parent/sib. | | | | | | |
| more general curr.** | 0 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| more professional | 1 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| One parent coll. grad | | | | | | |
| more general curr. | 3 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| more professional** | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 |

*includes the following cases: slow-downs, students who left with a grade average better than C.

**includes Secondary Education curriculum (an effort has been made to divide each subset in two parts as nearly as possible equal to each other).

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[1] It may well be that at this level of education background women begin to be expected to go to college, no matter what their talents and their interests. The sorting out of those who really want to attend college and can do so with profit would have to take place in college. Hence the exceptionally high proportion of failures. But other factors could play an important role as well.

## SAMPLE OF THE CODES USED FOR 1960 INTERVIEWS

## HAWTHORN PROGRAM STUDY -- SPRING 1960

### Spring Interview

(Administered individually to all Hawthorn
first year entrants in Spring 1960)

Code

Card Number (30)

Test Number (08)

Interview Number

Sex

Q. 1. HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE THE ATMOSPHERE AT HAWTHORN?

OUTLINE OF CODE

- I. Description of student culture and interactions
- II. Description of Hawthorn students' relationships with City University
- III. & IV. Description of the Hawthorn students themselves
- V. & VI. Description of teachers and their relationships with students
- VII. Description of academic characteristics--program, classes
- VIII. Description of academic demands
- IX. Description of physical characteristics of Hawthorn
- X. Description of organizational, administrative characteristics

I. Description of student culture and interactions

10. Sense of community and belongingness: There's a closeness as a total group; I feel like I belong here; Everyone gets to know everyone very well.
11. Sense of shared goals and values: We're all working toward the same thing. (Specific reference to goals. If just a feeling of being part of something, code in 10)

Q. 1. How would you describe the atmosphere at Hawthorn?

12. Sense of openess to all: The atmosphere is loose and easy; Anyone can get along with people at Hawthorn; The Student Center is for everyone; Some people think the S. C. is run by a few but it's really open to everyone.

13. Description of stratified culture in neutral or positive terms: There are cliques; There is a governing class; The Student Center is used by a few students; There are "ins and outs".

14. Description of stratified culture in negative terms: It's not as open as it should be; The Student Center is run by certain kids and unless you're in, you don't have a chance at anything. (Response must indicate clear negative evaluation)

15.

16.

17.

18.

19.

1&. Other positive (or neutral) descriptions of student culture and interactions

1-. Other negative descriptions of student culture and interactions

II. Description of Hawthorn students' relationships with City University.

20. Description of being a separate unit in neutral terms: Hawthorn students are really separate from City University; It's like not being part of the large university, just a small college of its own.

21. Description of being a separate unit in negative terms: Hawthorn is too separate from City University; Hawthorn students think (or act) like they're better than City University students; Hawthorn students shouldn't think they're so special compared to City University. (The "special" or "elitist" references must be in comparison with City University)

22. Description of being a separate unit in positive terms: Hawthorn students have something unique compared with City University; It's a small college atmosphere where you can get to know people better than you can at City University generally.

23.

24.

25.

26.

27.

28.

29.

2&. Other positive description of Hawthorn relationship with City University

2-. Other negative description of Hawthorn relationship with City University

### III. & IV. Description of Hawthorn students themselves

30. Students very nice, informal, friendly (Any kind of general blah in positive terms)

31. Students intellectual: Description in positive or neutral terms): Students can converse on many topics; Students really interested in learning; Eager to discuss things.

(32.) Students are special, better than most college students: (Description of elitism in neutral or positive terms): They're pretty special; Hawthorn students are a cut above the usual college student; (If nature of difference can be coded elsewhere, do so. This category is for feeling of general uniqueness)

33. Students are hard working, serious: Students really work hard on their courses; They're very serious about getting an education; They know the difference between work and play.

(34.) Students are idealists, concerned about social issues: (Description in positive or neutral terms): Students seem interested in things going on around them in the world; Students are interested in controversial subjects; Students want to do something about problems.

35.

36.

37. Other positive description of Hawthorn students

38.

39.

40. Students are not very nice, not very friendly (Any kind of general blah not codable elsewhere and stated in negative terms)

41. Students intellectual: (Description in negative terms): Everyone tries to display intelligence; Students try to be intellectual all the time; They try to show off how much they know; They're really just pseudo-intellectuals and don't really know as much as they make out.

42. Students are snobbish, elitist: (Description of elitism in negative terms and comparison with City University not made explicit): Hawthorn students get the idea they're tremendous; They're too self-conscious, let it go to their heads; Hawthorn students think the world is their oyster because they go to Hawthorn.

43. Students carefree, not serious: Students play cards a lot, not really interested in studying; Students goof off a lot; They try to get by with as little as possible.

44. Students are idealists: (Description in negative terms): Students always want to change something, think the world is awful; They're big talkers about everything wrong in society; They gripe all the time about how awful everything is.

45.

4&. Ambivalent attitudes toward students: Some nice, some not so nice; Some good, some not so good: Some smart, some phony intellectuals (Code all ambivalence expressed regarding the same quality here. If student simply mentions both positive and negative qualities, code separately in the appropriate categories.)

4-. Other negative description of Hawthorn students

V. & VI. Description of teachers and their relationships with students

50. Teacher nice, friendly (Any kind of general blah in positive terms)

51. Teacher approachable, interested in helping you learn: (Not social approachability; must be related to teacher's role of helping): Teachers are really interested in whether you understand; Teachers will take time to talk with you about things you're interested in.

52. Teachers get to know the students very well: (Description about social approachability in positive or neutral terms): Teachers have good personal relationships with students; Teacher-student relationships very informal, relaxed; Teachers mix with the students a lot.

53. Teachers competent in teaching techniques: Good teachers; Teachers can really put a point across; Teachers give good lectures.

54. Teachers very interesting, smart, intellectual: (Characteristics of teachers, not just teaching techniques and not just related to performance in teaching role): The teachers are interested in lots of things; The teachers are real intellectuals.

55.

56.

5&. Other positive description of teachers or their relationships with students

60. Teachers are not so nice (Any kind of general blah in negative terms--I don't like the teachers)

61. Teachers are hard to reach regarding academic or guidance work: (Not social unapproachability) Teachers aren't really interested in the student's problem; Teachers don't really want to talk with you, they're never in, or get rid of you as quickly as possible.

62. Teachers get to know students very well (Description about social approachability in negative terms): There is too much informality between students and teachers; You never know where you stand because sometimes they're friends and sometimes teachers. (Desire for role differentiation)

(63.) Teachers not very competent in teaching techniques: Teachers let the discussions get out of hand; They don't really talk at the student's level.

64. Teachers try to be too intellectual, play the role of the "sophisticated" person; Teachers aren't as smart as they think they are.

6&. Ambivalent attitudes toward teachers: Some nice, some not so nice; Some good, some not so good; Some smart, some phony intellectuals (Code all ambivalence expressed regarding the same quality here. If student simply mentions both positive and negative qualities, code separately in the appropriate categories)

6-. Other negative description of teachers

## VII. Description of academic characteristics--program, classes

70. Good liberal education (General catalog descriptions in positive terms about broad, general education)

71. The program is stimulating, exciting, thought provoking (Exciting intellectual atmosphere)

72. Classes small

73. Classes relaxed; informal free atmosphere

74. Discussions good; lots of discussions; people get a chance to talk

75. Lectures are stimulating

76.

77.

78. Discussions disappointing; not so good; same people talk all the time

(79.) Lectures are dull; hard to understand

7&. Other positive description re academic characteristics

7-. Other negative description re academic characteristics

## VIII. Description of academic demands

80. General challenge and hard work: It is hard, difficult; have a lot of reading and research to do; The courses are rough; You will really have to work hard.

81. Demanding of high level of intellective functioning from student: Have to think abstractly; Have to analyze, not just answer questions; Have to formulate new ideas; You don't get concrete answers to things.

(82.) Demanding of specific intellectual skills: Have to be able to read quickly; Have to be able to write well (Not just the general analytic, integrative skills in 81)

83. Demanding of high level of independence, self-direction: Have to be well organized because no one tells you what to do; Have to be able to do independent study; It's really up to you; no one pushes you; It's a place where work is done on your own, where you have to grasp the ideas yourself.

84. Competitive: There is great competition for grades

8&. Any other demand described neutrally or positively

8-. Any demand described negatively: Any demand seen as excessive, anxiety provoking (Not just difficult but too difficult)

## IX. Description of physical characteristics of Hawthorn

(90.) Location in relation to City University convenient: It's convenient to most classes; it's a good location.

91. Student Center provides a place to go; to "hang around" (All positive reference to Student Center not codable in 82 and which results from the Center as a physical institution)

(92.) Center provides a place to study

93.

94.

95.

9&. Other positive reference to physical characteristics

9-. Negative reference to physical characteristics

## X. Description of organizational, administrative characteristics

01. Negative view toward disorganization: Everything is disorganized; It takes too long to find out what to do; Nobody knows what is expected; No textbook in natural science; They're always changing lectures.

02. Disorganization seen as temporary and thus somewhat excusable: Things are disorganized but it's because it's a new college; Things will settle down.

03. Aimlessness, purposeless, confusion re goals: Nobody really knows what Hawthorn is supposed to be; The students don't understand the goals.

04.

05.

0&. Positive reference to organizational, administrative characteristics
0-. Negative reference to organizational, administrative characteristics

99. Don't know to whole question
00. No second, third mention

&&. Other positive mention
&-. Other negative mention

--. Not ascertained to whole question
-&. Student refuses to mention anything (Especially appropriate for use of this code for Q. 2; i.e., "I wouldn't tell him anything; let him find out for himself")

Q. 1 Summary
for affective dimension in description of atmosphere

1. Clearly positive--(All responses positive or positive & neutral)
2. Positive with reservations--(Any negative or ambivalent comment but where general flavor is positive)
3. Neutral, indifferent--(All neutral responses)
4. Negative with reservations--(Any positive or ambivalent comment but where general flavor is negative)
5. Clearly negative--(All responses negative or negative & neutral)
7. Ambivalent--(Mentions positive, negative, and/or neutral and none predominates; periodic ups and downs, sometimes one feeling, sometimes another)
9. Don't know to whole question
&. Student refused to make any comment; insisted that he had nothing to say or as for Q. 2, didn't wnat to transmit anything to another student
0. Inap: Impossible to code out the feeling
-. Not ascertained

Q. 1 Summary
of description of atmosphere in terms of appropriateness for student

1. It's a good place for me: Ideal for me; I have gotten along well; Glad I made this decision
5. It's not a good place for me: It's been hard for me to adjust; Hard for me to make friends; Wondered if I was learning anything; Not good for my interests, career objectives

9. Don't know to the whole question
0. Inap: Student doesn't make any reference to personal evaluation
-. Not ascertained

Q. 1 Summary
of description of atmosphere
in terms of comparisons with some other school

1. Student compares with City University or LA at City University
2. Student compares with other colleges
3. Student compares with high school

5. Student feels it is the same as any place--explicit refusal to compare

9. Don't know to whole question
0. Inap: Student doesn't make any references to comparisons
-. Not ascertained

## TEXT OF 1960 INTERVIEW

Student Number_________________________________

Interviewer's name ____________________________

Time Interview began___________________________

Time Interview finished________________________

MY NAME IS________________________AND I AM WORKING FOR THE HAWTHORN PROGRAM STUDY. THE LETTER YOU RECEIVED WILL HAVE GIVEN YOU SOME IDEA OF THE SORTS OF THINGS WE ARE INTERESTED IN TALKING TO YOU ABOUT. AS THE FIRST GROUP TO GO THROUGH HAWTHORN, YOUR OPINIONS AND REACTIONS ARE ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT, AND WE HOPE THAT YOU WILL BE FRANK WITH US. OF COURSE, EVERYTHING YOU SAY WILL BE KEPT COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL, AND THE FACULTY WILL HAVE NO ACCESS TO ANYTHING THAT IS SAID IN THESE INTERVIEWS.

CHECK HERE IF THIS INTERVIEW HAS BEEN EDITED

FIRST WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT YOUR FEELINGS AS A STUDENT OF HAWTHORN:

1. How would you describe the atmosphere at Hawthorn?

2a How about if you were telling an incoming freshman about Hawthorn what would you mention?

2b. What kinds of problems would you tell him to look out for?

Interviewer:
CHECK HERE IF THE STUDENT SEEMS TO BE PERTURBED ABOUT A CONFLICT OF LOYALTIES________________________)

3 What kind of person would you encourage to come to Hawthorn?

4a Now that the first year is over how do you feel about having been one of the first group at Hawthorn?

4b What patterns do you think your class has set for those that come after you?

5 Since Hawthorn is a new college many people talk about "making it a success" What would you say that the "success" of Hawthorn means?

6a Have you thought at all about transferring to another college or to Liberal Arts?

(IF YES)
6b. Why is that?

7a. Do you think you will stay to complete your B. A.?

______Yes ______No ______Maybe

(IF MAYBE OR NO)
7b Why is that?

NOW I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE NATURAL SCIENCE COURSE.

8a. During the year you took up: Theory of Numbers
Logic
History of Science
  Astronomy
  Dynamics
  Daltonian Atomism
  Evolution

Which did you find most difficult?

8b Why?

8c. Which made the greatest impact on you?

8d. In what way?

9a. If you had known what kind of course natural science is, would you have wanted to take this course?

9b. Why is that?

10a Have you taken any college science courses in addition to natural science?

____________________ No______
(fill in course)

(IF YES)
10b How would you describe the difference between ____________________ and natural science?

10c. Has your natural science course been of any help with____________________?

10d. Why is that?

11. Given your impressions of the natural science course, what would you say is its intent?

12a. Has the natural science course altered your way of thinking?

(IF YES)
12b In what way?

(IF NO)
12c. Why is that?

NOW SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE SOCIAL SCIENCE COURSE

13a. During the year you took up:
- Relation
- Small group
- Socialization
- Differenciation
- Pattern
- Complex Organization - Verstehen
- Complex Organization Formal Theory

Which did you find most difficult?

13b. Why?
13c. Which made the greatest impact on you?
13d. In what way?

14. Given your impressions of the science of society course, what would you say is its intent?

15a. Has the science of society course altered your way of thinking?

(IF YES)
15b. In what way?

(IF NO)
15c. Why is that?

16a. Among other things this semester you've read Homans and Schneider and Whyte. These people really do different kinds of social science. Which do you understand the best?

16b. Which do you like the best?

17. What would you say were the good and bad points of the research project for you?

18. Now that you've had a year in college, how would you describe the scientific enterprise?

(IF NECESSARY) What makes a science, science?

19a. If you think about all your courses. Liberal Arts and Hawthorn, where would you say you've done your best work?

19b. Why is that?

20a. Suppose you are working with three other students on a project which is an important part of the course. The four of you divide the responsibilities and each does a part of it. The day before you have to present the project in class you find out that one of the students hasn't done his work. This will affect the quality of the work of the other members of the group.

What would you think about this student?

20b. What would you do about the situation?

21a. Suppose Bob and Tom are both students in the same class. Bob works very hard and has written an average paper but has overcome handicaps of inability and poor background. Tom is a lazy student with much ability and a good background. Despite very little preparation, he has written the best exam in the class.

How do you think these two students would be graded in LA?

21b. How do you think they would be graded at Hawthorn?

21c. How do you think they should be graded?

LET'S TURN TO THE DISCUSSION SECTIONS NEXT.

22a. What would you say you've gotten out of your science of society discussion section?

23. How do you feel about talking in science of society when you haven't had a chance to finish the readings?

TO REALLY UNDERSTAND THIS YEAR AT HAWTHORN, WE'RE CONCERNED WITH YOUR REACTIONS TO THE FACULTY-BOTH WHAT KIND OF A JOB THEY'VE DONE AND WHAT THEY'RE LIKE AS PEOPLE. WHAT YOU SAY HERE IS COMPLETELY CONFIDENT--BE FRANK WITH US.

24. What kind of person is your science of society instructor? How would you describe him or her as a person?

25. How about your natural science instructor? How would you describe him or her?

26. Who is your science of society instructor?

27. And your natural science instructor?

28. How does your relationship with (Science of Society INSTRUCTOR) differ from your relationship with (NATURAL SCIENCE INSTRUCTOR)?

29a. Who is your favourite faculty member?

29b. Why is ______________________ your favorite?

(IF NO FAVORITE, ASK FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ABOUT SOCIAL SCIENCE DISCUSSION INSTRUCTOR)

30a. Would you like to have ________________ home for dinner?

(IF NO)
30b. Why not?

(IF YES)
30c. Why haven't you invited him/her?

31a. What would you guess your mother would think of ________________________?

31b. How about your father? (DO NOT ACCEPT "THEY WOULD LIKE HIM").

32. What do you think you would all talk about at dinner?

33. We all know that nobody is perfect. What would you say are ________________________'s faults?

34. What do you think ____________________ does in his/her spare time?

35a. Most people at some time or other fashion themselves after someone else. How does this work for you?

35b. Are there any faculty members who have some qualities you would like to have?

35c. (IF NECESSARY) What qualities?

36. What are the kinds of things you feel you have to do to make a good impression on your discussion instructor?

37. What kind of person do you think becomes a university teacher?

GIRLS ONLY

38a. Think of the men on the Hawthorn faculty. Are there qualities you see that you would like in your future husband?

(IF YES)

38b. What are they?

(IF NECESSARY)
38c. What faculty members are they?

NOW THESE NEXT QUESTIONS HAVE TO DO WITH WORKING.

39. Are you currently working?

_____ Yes _____ No

FOR THOSE WHO DON'T WORK

40. Why did you decide not to get a job?

41a. What do your parents think about your not working?

41b. Did you discuss whether to get a job with your parents?

42a. Do you think you will work during the school year next year?

42b. Why is that?

FOR THOSE WHO DO WORK?

43. Why did you decide to get a job?

44. What is your job?

45. What are the most important things required of you on your job?

46a. What do you think of a student who doesn't work?

46b. Anything else?

47a. Did you discuss how to go about getting a job with your father?

_____ Yes _____ No

47b. Your mother? _____ Yes _____ No

47c. What was their advice?

48a. If you were going to take a week off from work, would you discuss it with your parents? _____ Yes _____ No _____ Maybe

48b. Why is that?

49a. Which do you feel tires you out more -- work or school?

49b. Why is that?

(IF NEITHER TIRES OUT)

49c. How do you explain that?

50. Can you think of any ways in which your experiences on the job have affected your reactions at or to school?

51a. If you had a test to study for, and you were told you had to put in some extra time on the job, what would you do?

51b. How would you feel?

52a. Do you have any friends who work:

52b. How often do you see them when you are not on the job?

53a. Do you go out with anybody you met at work?

(If Yes)

53b. Is he/she a student?

IF STUDENT DOES NOT WORK FOR THE UNIVERSITY

54a. What would you say are the differences between the kinds of people you meet at work and at school?

54b. Can you tell me more about that?

FOR ALL STUDENTS

55a. Being quite frank, which do you feel is more important -- to turn in your papers on time, or to get to work on time?

55b. Why is that?

NOW THESE NEXT QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH YOUR FAMILY SINCE YOU'VE BEEN IN COLLEGE.

56. What kinds of things do you usually do on the weekend with your whole family?

57. How do you feel your relationship with your parents has changed since you bagan college?

58. How does your view of what going to college does for you differ from your parents' view?

59. What decisions or major steps do your parents feel you shouldn't make while you're in college?

60a. Have you changed your mind this year about what you want to do when you finish college?

60b. What do your parents feel about this?

61a. Compared with what your parents think, when do you think is the right time to get married?

61b. How about the time to get seriously involved?

62. What is your parents' reaction to your spending time down at school after class or in the evening?

63. Where do your parents expect that you should meet the fellow/girl that you date? In the neighborhood, church, college, at work?

64. What do your parents disapprove of your doing?

65. What are the kinds of problems you have with your parents?

66. When you are irritated with your parents, how do you show your anger?

67. When your mother discusses you with the relatives, what is she likely to talk about?

68a. Would you say that your parents see you now as an adult member of the family or not?

(IF NOT)
68b. When in the minds of your parents do you think you will be seen as an adult? What do your parents see as the sign of adulthood?

(IF YES)
68c. What made your parents recognize that you were an adult or grown-up?

69a. Now that you've had a year of science of society, you've learned that we all belong to a social class. How would you describe your family's social class?

69b. What do you base this on?

69c. How would you say you say your family differs from a typical family of your background?

70a. If you were to flunk a course, which of these things would your parents do: (SHOW CARD)

_____ they wouldn't ask my grades
_____ they would inquire what action the University takes
_____ they would say it's up to me
_____ they would want to know what happened
_____ they would go down and talk to the instructor

70b. What if you said you felt your mark wasn't fair, what would your parents do?

NOW I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT SOME OF YOUR INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES:

71a. What are you going to do this summer?

IF WORK:

71b. What kind of job will you have?

71c. Is it a continuation of a job you have already had?

_____ Yes _____ No

71d. If you didn't have to work, how would you like to spend your summer?

72a. Compared to going to school are you looking forward to the summer?

72b. Why is that?

73a. Is there anything you've been wanting to do or have saved up to do during the summer?

IF YES:

73b. What is that?

74. What do you do most often when you just want to relax and have fun?

75a. Suppose you had a chance to travel, where would you most like to go?

75b. Why is that?

76. If you had a chance to make a trip to New York, what things would you like to do?

77a. Are you currently involved in a serious relationship with a fellow/girl?

IF YES:

77b. Are you planning to be married?

IF YES:

77c. When? (this summer, sophomore, junior, senior, or after leaving school)

IF NO:

77d. How often do you date now?

77e. Do you date more/less than when you were in high school?

77f. Why is that?

77g. Are you concerned about dating?

IF YES:

77h. In what way?

77i. Do you think Hawthorn has given you the dating opportunities you want?

77j. Why is that?

78a. Compared to what your parents think, when do you think is the right time to get married?

78b. How about the time to get seriously involved?

79. Now, thinking about the future. How would you describe how you want your life to be five years from now?

80a. Ten years from now, what kind of job do you see yourself as having?

80b. Have you changed your mind about this during the past year?

IF YES:

80c. In what way?

81a. Is what you want out of life different from your parents' life or pretty much the same?

81b. In what way?

81c. How about the things you might read? Would they be different or pretty much the same as your parents? How is that?

81d. How about the way you'll furnish your house? Would it be different or pretty much the same as your parents? How is that?

81e. How about the way you'll bring up your child? Would it be different or pretty much the same as your parents? How is that?

NOW THESE NEXT QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES:

82a. Thinking back to high school, would you say that the amount of your participation in religious organizations and services was about the same or different from the other fellows/girls you know in high school?

(IF PARTICIPATION WAS DIFFERENT)

82b. Why do you think this was so?

83. Would you say that your parents attend church or synagogue and participate in its activities more frequently, less frequently, or about the same as their friends and neighbors of about the same age?

__________More frequently ___________Less frequently

_______________About the same

NOW WHEN YOU THINK ABOUT YOUR RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES THIS PAST YEAR:
(ASK ONLY OF THOSE WITH RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION IN HIGH SCHOOL)

84a. Has your attendance at or participation in religious activities changed since you were in high school?

IF YES:

84b. How has your attendance or participation changed?
84c. How do you account for this change?
84d. How do your parents feel about this change?

(ASK 85 ONLY OF THOSE WITH NO HIGH SCHOOL RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION)

85a. Have you attended or been active in any religious groups this past year?

IF YES:

85b. With what groups have you been active?
85c. Of what has this activity consisted?
85d. How would you account for your interest in that_________?

(ASK OF ALL STUDENTS)

86. Of what importance is religion in your life?

87a. Compared with other fellows/girls you know at HAWTHORN, do you think the degree of your religious interests is about the same or different?

(IF DIFFERENT)

87b. Why do you think this is so?

88a. In general do your parents agree with your present religious ideas, activities, and participation?

(IF PARENTS DISAGREE)

88b. Do you think they feel strongly about this?
88c. How do you feel about their attitudes?

NOW THESE LAST QUESTIONS HAVE TO DO WITH THE STUDENTS AT HAWTHORN AND HAWTHORN ACTIVITIES.

89. How would you describe the Hawthorn students to an outsider?

90. How would you compare the Hawthorn students with the students in Liberal Arts?

91. What would you say are the differences between the fall and spring students at Hawthorn?

92. What do you think about what goes on at the Student Center?

93a. Would you say that there is a special group of students who hang around together at the Student Center?

(IF YES)
93b. What are they like?
93c. Would you say that you are part of this group?
____________Yes ______________No

94. When a group of students is having a discussion or bull session at the Student Center, what are the things they are most likely to talk about?

95a. What are the causes or social issues Hawthorn students are most concerned about?

95b. What about yourself? Are there any issues you're very much concerned about?

(IF YES)

95c. What are they?

96a. Do you think Hawthorn should have a student government of its own?

95b. Why is that?

95c. Why do you think it hasn't gotten started this year?

97. Some poeple take the view that while you are in college you should learn from participating in student activities. What is your view on this?

98. Can you compare what you think working during school contributes to college and what participating in activities contributes?

IN SOME WAYS THIS IS A GOOD TIME TO EVALUATE YOUR FIRST YEAR AT COLLEGE. FOR INSTANCE,

99a. In what ways do you feel you have failed to make the most of your first year at college?

99b. If you could do it over again, what would you change?

100. People always say that coming to college involves some adjustments from high school. What kinds of adjustments have been involved for you?

100a. If you think of the year as having peaks and valleys or high points and low points, what have been the high points of the year?

(IF NOT CLEAR)

101b. Did being at Hawthorn have anything specific to do with this?

102. What have been the low points?

(IF NOT CLEAR)

102b. Did being at Hawthorn have anything specific to do with this?

INTERVIEWER RATINGS

1. RACE

White____________
Negro____________
Other (write in)_______________

2. SEX

Male__________
Female________

3. PHYSICAL ATTRACTIVENESS HOW GOOD LOOKING IS THE STUDENT

Unusually attractive ________
Quite attractive ________
Average ________
Somewhat unattractive________
Unattractive ________

4. ATTRACTIVENESS OF PERSONALITY OF STUDENT

Unusually attractive ________
Quite attractive ________
Average ________
Somewhat attractive ________
Unattractive ________

5. ATTITUDE TOWARD INTERVIEW

Very comfortable ________
Somewhat comfortable ________
Comfortable at some
parts, not at others ________
Somewhat comfortable ________
Very uncomfortable ________

6. POISE

_______Highly poised - great social skill
_______Somewhat poised - average social skill
_______Little poise - awkward

7. TYPICALITY

_______In no way outstanding - an average sort of person
_______In some ways different
_______Definitely different - atypical

8. VERBAL FLUENCY AND ARTICULATENESS

______High
______Average
______Low

9. ASSERTIVENESS

______Highly assertive - brash
______Somewhat assertive - fairly confident
______Unassertive - shy

10. HOW HAPPY DOES THIS STUDENT APPEAR TO BE?

______Very happy
______Quite happy
______Even dispositioned
______Varible
______Moderately unhappy
______Unhappy

11. HOW ANXIOUS, IRRITATED OR ANNOYED IS THE STUDENT ABOUT LACK OF ORGANIZATION OF THE COURSES OR PROGRAM AT HAWTHORN?

______Highly
______A fair amount
______Little
______Not at all

## TEXT OF 1963 INTERVIEW

8. How would you describe the atmosphere at Hawthorn? (SI)

9. What are the differences between the way Hawthorn is today and the way it was when you first came? (Z)

9a. What accounts for these differences? (Z)

10.What do you think about being part of the first group to go through Hawthorn? (F6, S4)

10a. Do you see any disadvantages in coming to Hawthorn which you might not have had if you had gone elsewhere?

10.b. Do you see any advantages in coming to Hawthorn which you might not have had if you had gone elsewhere?

11.Since Hawthorn is a new college, many people talk about making it a success. What would you say that the "success" of Hawthorn means? (S5)

12. What informal influence do you think that students have had on the way Hawthorn has developed?

12a. What would you change about Hawthorn if you could?

13.Hawthorn had certain educational emphases when it began, such as the importance of small discussion groups, the creation of an intellectual community, and fostering independent intellectual work.

13a. How do you feel these have worked out?

13b. What do you think about the community?

14.What have been Hawthorn's major problems? (Z)

14a. What do you think should be done about them?

15. How about if you were telling an incoming freshman about Hawthorn: what would you mention? (S2a)

15a. What problems have you personally run into or had to cope with at Hawthorn? (Z)

16. What do you think is Hawthorn's image in the Detroit community? (S)

16a. (IF ANY UNFAVORABLE CHARACTERISTICS) Do you think Hawthorn should change to establish a better image?

17. From your experience with college faculty, what sort of person becomes a university teacher? (F19a, S37*)

17a. How about at Hawthorn? (Z)

17b. What differences do you see among the people teaching in the three divisions at Hawthorn? (Z)

18. Some people believe that college teachers should expose the students to a variety of styles of life, but not try to influence the student's own values about the way he wants to live. Others feel the teacher has the right to influence the student's values.
How do you feel about this?

19. How are grades viewed at Hawthorn? (Z)

19a. Do the three divisions grade differently or are they pretty much the same?

19b. (IF DIFFERENTLY) How?

19c. How do you feel about exams at Hawthorn?

19d. How do you feel about grades at Hawthorn?

20. Did you have a good time at Hawthorn? Yes_____ No________ (F16)

20a. Why?

21. Has there been a period when you spent time at the Student Center? Yes_____ No________

ASK ONLY FOR STUDENTS RESPONDING "YES" TO Q. 21

21a. When was that?

21b. What was there that happened in your life then that you stopped going to the Center?

21c. What activities took its place?

22. How do you think Hawthorn would do without any Center?

22a. Have you ever tried to do anything about or at the Center?

23. Have you ever worked as a student assistant at Hawthorn? Yes_____ No_______

(IF YES) 23a. What do you think you got out of it?

(IF NO) 23b. Would you have wanted to be a student assistant at Hawthorn? (S)

23c. Why?

24. How would you advise a student about getting a job at Hawthorn? (S)

25. What role do secretaries have at Hawthorn? (S)

YOU HAVE ALL TAKEN COURSES IN LIBERAL ARTS AND HAWTHORN.

26. Do you think that Hawthorn is pretty much like the College of Liberal Arts at City or different from Liberal Arts at City?

26a. In what way? (F12)

27. If you think about all your courses (Liberal Arts and Hawthorn), where would you say you've done your best work? (S19)

27a. Why is that?

28. Is there any truth to the story that Hawthorn students get different treatment at Liberal Arts?

(IF YES) 28a. Could you tell me a little about it?

(IF NO) 28b. How come the persistent rumor?

29. What do you feel Liberal Arts' image of Hawthorn students is?

30. What are some of the advantages of taking Liberal Arts classes?

31. What are some of the disadvantages of taking Liberal Arts classes?

32. Where do you really feel comfortable, like yourself, in Liberal Arts classes or in Hawthorn classes?

33. Do you find yourself responding as you would in a Hawthorn discussion when you are in a Liberal Arts class?

33a. Can you think of an example?

34. Do you find yourself responding as a Liberal Arts student when you are in the Hawthorn class?

34a. Can you think of an example?

35. Are you graduating this June? Yes_______ No _______

(ONLY FOR THOSE NOT GRADUATING IN JUNE)

35a. Did you ever drop out for a semester or more? Yes_________ No_________

(IF YES) 35b. Why did you come back?

(IF NO) 35c. Often students don't graduate in four years because all kinds of things can interfere. What's involved in your not graduating?

36. Have you ever discussed dropping out with friends who are thinking of it? Yes______ No_________

(IF YES) 36a. What do they see as the pros and cons of dropping out? (PROBE ONLY IF RESPONDENT SHOWS PERCEPTIVENESS)

37. Do you think students stayed on at Hawthorn who would have preferred to drop out of school, or go elsewhere? Yes ______ No_______

(IF YES) 37a. How do you think they happened to stay?

THIS PART HAS TO DO WITH YOUR VIEWS ON BOOKS AND IDEAS

1. Some students are concerned about causes or social issues. What about yourself--are there any issues you're very much concerned about? (S95*)

(IF YES) 1a. What are they?

2. How would you rank the following people in order of the contribution of their work to mankind?

Albert Camus______ John J.Kennedy______
Jonas Salk_______

2a. Why did you rank them this way?

3. Has there been any book that you have read during the last few years that has impressed you? (FOCUS ON GETTING ONE BOOK)

(IF YES) 3a. What is the name and author?

3b. What about it appealed to you?

4. What do you think is the most important problem your generation has to face? (IF ANSWER SCANT PROBE)

4a. What do you feel is your personal role in this?

5. How would you describe the scientific enterprise? (S18)

(IF NECESSARY) What makes a science, science?

6. Would you ever seriously consider joining the Peace Corps?

6a. What are the pros and cons for you?

7. What does the following quotation mean to you?

"Man is certainly stark man; he cannot make a worm and yet he would be making gods by the dozen."

THE NEXT QUESTIONS DEAL WITH WHAT YOU'RE GOING TO DO AFTER YOU FINISH HAWTHORN.

38. What are you thinking of doing after you finish here?

38a. Anything else?

38b. Can you tell me more about this?

(IF NO SPECIFIC PLANS) 38c. Can you tell me about some of the alternatives you are considering?

39. What experiences at college do you feel have played a role in your thinking about what you want to do after college?

(IF NOT ASCERTAINED IN Q. 39) 39a. Has anybody on the faculty affected your thinking about what you want to do when you finish? Yes____ No______

(IF YES) 39b. Name

39c. Could you tell me something about how he/she affected your thinking?

INTERVIEWER: CHECK ONE

Does the respondent's attitude toward career planning seem to be:

Well organized______
Somewhat organized______
Somewhat disorganized______
Very disorganized______

40. (FOR BOYS ONLY) What do you think now your final career choice will be?

40a. Suppose something stopped you from going ahead with this. What would you feel you were giving up?

(IF UNABLE TO STATE A CHOICE) 41. What are some of the alternatives you think about?

42. (FOR GIRLS ONLY) Thinking about your life, what part do you expect work to play in it?

42a. What is it you plan to do?

(FOR BOTH BOYS AND GIRLS)

43. What is it about being a ________ that appeals to you?

(IF ALTERNATIVES HAVE BEEN GIVEN IN Q.41. PROBE TWO MOST IMPORTANT)

43a. What do you think the rewards are of being a ____________?

(IF CAREER CHOICE IS DIFFERENT THAN PLANS AFTER COLLEGE)

44. What experiences at college do you feel have played a role in your choice?

45. Aside from more realistic limitations that may occur, what are your dreams about your career?

46. Given the state of the world today, all kinds of things stand in the way of making plans. What stands in your way?

46a. What about the draft?

(FOR ALL GIRLS)

47. Do you think a woman should work, or have a career of her own, after marriage? (FWO 3)

47a. Why is that?

48. Thinking about a woman's life, how is a woman's life changed by marriage? (FWO 4)

49. It is our experience that parents and students often have different ideas about the next step after graduation. How about you and your parents?

(WHERE THERE ARE DIFFERENCES WITH PARENTS)

49a. What are your feelings?

49b. What are your parents' feelings about this?

(WHEN THE PLAN IS GRADUATE SCHOOL)

50. How do you plan to pay for grad school?

51. What degree do you want to get?
(IF NOT ASCERTAINED) 51a. In what field?

52. Where have you applied? (or do you plan to apply, for those not graduating in June.)

52a. Who helped you decide where to go?

(WHEN THE PLAN IS FULL TIME WORK OR A WORK COMMITMENT EXISTS AFTER FINISHING GRAD. SCHOOL)

. How did you get the job?

54. (IF NOT ASCERTAINED) Have you been working at this or a job related to it while you've been at school?

(IF YES) 54a. How did this affect your decision about what you're going to do?

(WHEN THE PLAN IS TRAVEL OR TIME ABROAD)

55. How do you plan to pay for your _______________?

NOW SOME STUDENTS HAVE HAD JOBS ALL THE WAY THROUGH WHILE OTHERS HAVEN'T WORKED

56. Have you worked during college? Yes_____ No________

(IF WORKED DURING COLLEGE)

56a. When did you first start working?

56b. What was there about your life then that made you decide to start to work?

Anything else?

56c. Are you working now? Yes______ No_________

(FOR STUDENTS WHO HAVE WORKED BUT DO NOT WORK CURRENTLY)

56d. What was there about your life that led you to stop work?

(FOR ALL STUDENTS WHO HAVE WORKED AT ANY TIME)

57. Can you compare what you think working during school contributes to college and what participating in activities contributes?

58. Do you feel real competition between the demands of your job and school?

59. Are you aware of any developments or modifications in your values or ideals while you have been at Hawthorn?

60. Sometimes in college people develop an awareness of new capacities, talents, or interests. How has this worked out for you the past few years? Have your interests developed from former ones, or are you aware of new capacities and talents? (PROBE)

61. Different people want different things from college. Read through this list of things different people may want from college and I will ask you to tell me for each whether it has been important or unimportant at college as far as you are concerned. (F27)

| Important | Unimportant | |
|---|---|---|
| (a) _____ | _______ | a. Changing yourself |
| (b) _____ | _______ | b. Learning to be of service in the world |
| (c) _____ | _______ | c. Preparing for future work |
| (d) _____ | _______ | d. Learning to know many different kinds of people |
| (e) _____ | _______ | e. Developing values for your future |
| (f) _____ | _______ | f. Making friends for life |
| (g) _____ | _______ | g. Developing intellectually |
| (h) _____ | _______ | h. Learning new skills |
| (i) _____ | _______ | i. Meeting your future mate |
| (j) _____ | _______ | j. Academic Achievement |
| (k) _____ | _______ | k. Participation in extra-curricular activities |
| | | l. Learning to be independent |
| (l) _____ | _______ | m. Having a good time |
| (m) _____ | _______ | n. Meeting people |
| (n) _____ | _______ | o. OTHER (FILL IN) ________ |
| (o) _____ | _______ | ________ |

61a. Which is most important? _______________

61b. Which is next most important?____________

61c. What at college has been helpful in realizing (Most important goal)?

61d. How have friendships helped?

61e. Would you always have made the same choices you just did about what is important? (F27a)

(IF NO) 61f. What led to your changing in this way? (27e)

61g. Which is least important? (SHOW CARD)

61h. Why is that?

62. Would you describe yourself as willing to really think through the implications for yourself of a new idea, or do you think of yourself as having pretty much settled on your basic philosophy of life? (S)

(AN EXAMPLE IF HE SAYS YES TO NEW IDEA)

63. How do you feel about leaving Hawthorn?

64. In what ways do you feel you've failed to make the most of your four years at college?

64a. If you could do it over again, what would you change?

65. Do you think being at Hawthorn tends to make a person appreciate his own background, or does it tend to uproot him? (S)

65a. Can you give me an example of this?

(IF EXAMPLE IS NOT PERSONAL) 65b. How has this worked for you?

66. How do you feel your relationship with your parents has changed since you began college? (S57)

66a. How about your mother?

66b. How about your father?

67. Do you think that being at Hawthorn tends to uproot people religiously? (S)

67a. Can you tell me a little about that?

68. Has being at Hawthorn helped you know who you really are or has it confused the picture? (S)

(AN EXAMPLE)

69. Do you feel you know pretty much what kind of person you are? (S)

70. Are there others who know who you really are? (S)

71. In what situation do you feel really understood by others? (S)

(AN EXAMPLE)

NOW, THESE QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT YOUR FRIENDS AND SOCIAL LIFE DURING COLLEGE. OUR WORK INDICATES THAT THERE ARE MANY DIFFERENT PATTERNS OF LIVING WHILE ATTENDING HAWTHORN. WE WANT TO BE ABLE TO CHARACTERIZE THESE DIFFERENT PATTERNS AND TO SEE HOW HAWTHORN WORKS FOR THESE DIVERSE STYLES AND NEEDS.

72. Thinking about the group of friends with whom you feel the closest, what sort of things would raise someone's standing in the group? (F44f)

72a. Can you give me an example?

73. What sort of things would lower someone's standing? (F44g)

73a. Can you give me an example?

74. Are you currently involved in a serious relationship with a fellow/girl? (S77a) Yes____ No______

(IF NO) 74a. Are you going steady with anyone?
Yes______ No_____

(IF YES TO Q. 74 or Q. 74a)

74b. How long have you been in this relationship?____

74c. Is this person a student at Hawthorn? at City?

Hawthorn__________
City ___________
Neither__________

74d. What is this person doing now? ______________

74e. Do you date anyone else? Yes____ No______

74f. Are you planning to be married? (S77b)
Yes_______ No________

(IF YES) When?______________________

(FOR THOSE WHO ARE NOT INVOLVED IN A SERIOUS RELATIONSHIP)

75. How often do you date? (GET WEEKLY APPROXIMATION: IF LESS THAN ONCE A WEEK, GET MONTHLY APPROXIMATION, OR WHETHER ONLY VERY OCCASIONALLY OR NEVER.) __________

76. Do the people you date mainly come from your neighborhood_______, Hawthorn________, other colleges at City _________, where you work__________, other schools ____________, or somewhere else? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

77. Has Hawthorn given you the dating opportunities you want? (S77i)

77a. Why is that? (S77j)

78. When you think about your ideals for your future husband or wife, what characteristics do you have in mind?

78a. What about his/her religion?

78b. What about his/her ethnic background?

78c. What about the type of family?

79. Have you ever dated anyone from a different background than your own?

79a. How did you feel about this?

80. If you think back to the time you began college, in what new ways have you come to look at relationships between men and women?

80a. Can you think of any ways in which your experiences at Hawthorn have played a part in this?

THE FOLLOWING SECTION HAS TO DO WITH YOUR EXPERIENCES WITH FACULTY MEMBERS

81. If you think about the faculty members you've had contact with at Hawthorn or in Liberal Arts, who are the ones that have meant something to you?

81a. Who has meant the most to you?

(ASK ONLY FOR PERSON GIVEN IN Q. 81a. IF STUDENT PICKS SEVERAL, URGE HIM TO PICK MOST MEANINGFUL. IF RESPONDENT CONTINUES TO GIVE MORE THAN ONE, ASK Q. 81b and c, ABOUT THE FIRST NAMED!)

81b. What has made this a meaningful contact for you?

81c. What is there about him/her that impresses you most?

**FOR STUDENTS WHO DO NOT MENTION A HAWTHORN FACULTY MEMBER IN Q. 81.**

82. Is there anyone on the Hawthorn faculty whom you feel this way about?

(IF NO) 82a. Why do you think this is?

83. (INTERVIEWER: USE THE NAME OF ONLY ONE FACULTY MEMBER FROM NOW ON. USE FIRST FACULTY MEMBER CHOSEN FOR Q. 81a "Who has meant the most to you?") TURN THE PAGE AND SAY "Would you check off on the following list the kinds of contacts you had with (Most meaningful faculty member)!"

83. a. How often have you discussed course material in his office?
often___ Occasionally___ rarely___ never_____

b. How about talking about courses outside his office?
often___ Occasionally___ rarely___ never____

c. Have you discussed ideas not directly connected with a course?
often___ Occasionally___ rarely___ never_____

d. Have you discussed your plans after college?
often___ Occasionally___ rarely___ never____

e. Have you had a job with him/her?
Yes____ No______

f. Have you been to coffee, or bull sessions with him?
often___ Occasionally___ rarely___ never____

g. Have you attended the same parties?
often___ Occasionally___ rarely____ never_____

h. Have you had him/her home?
often____ Occasionally____ rarely____ never_____

i. Have you been to his/her home?
often____ Occasionally____ rarely____ never______

j. How much time a week would you guess he spends preparing discussion sections and lectures? (S) ______________________

k. How much time a week would you guess he spends with students outside of class? (S)

l. What do you know about his/her intellectual interests? (S)

m. What do you think are his career interests? (S)

84. Who on the Hawthorn faculty would you say really makes Hawthorn the sort of place it is? (S) (DO NOT PROBE FOR MORE THAN THESE!)

84a. Why do you say him/her?

85. What are the values the Hawthorn faculty itself seems most inspired by? (S)

86. What goals do you think the Hawthorn faculty desire for their students? (S)

87. Some say that Hawthorn faculty members want students to be intellectuals, or bound for graduate school, or committed to a lot of self-change. (S)

87a. Do you think this is true?

87b. How do you feel about it?

87c. How do you think that this has worked for you?

88. What kinds of problems can a student ask a faculty member here for help with?

89. Some students have spent quite a bit of time with faculty members. Do you feel you have made friends with any of the faculty members?

89a. (IF YES) Who?

90. Who is the Hawthorn faculty member with whom you've had most contact outside of class?

91. Would you like to have (Hawthorn faculty member that has meant most, (Q.81a) home for dinner? (IF STUDENT HAS HAD FACULTY MEMBER HOME. CHECK HERE_________, AND ASK: 91b, and c.)

(IF NO) 91a. Why not?

(IF YES) 91b. Why haven't you invited him/her?

91c. What would/did your mother think of______ (S31a)

91d. How about your father? (S31b)

92. (We all know that nobody is perfect.) What would you say are ______________________'s faults? (S33)

93. Are there any faculty members who have some qualities you would like to have? (S35b) (GET NAMES)

93a. (IF NECESSARY) QWhat qualities? (S35c)

AS YOU KNOW, WHAT GOES ON AT HOME OFTEN AFFECTS COLLEGE. NOW, THIS SECTION IS ABOUT YOUR FAMILY.

94. How would you sum up what your father thinks about the education you've gotten at Hawthorn?

94a. What about your mother?

95. Many students feel that accepting money from their paeents for their education obligates them.

95a. How do you feel about this?

(ASK OF ALL EXCEPT THOSE WHO PAY COMPLETELY FOR THEIR EDUCATION)

95b. What do you think you would do differently if you were paying for your education yourself?

98. In general, what do your parents expect of you? (F32)

99. Do your parents understand what you want out of life?(S33)
Yes________ No__________

100. Is what you want out of life different from your parents' life,or pretty much the same? Same_________
Different_____

100a. In what way?

100b. (FOR GIRLS ONLY) How about the way you'll furnish your home? Would it be different or pretty much the same as your parents'? Same_____Different____

100c. In what way? (S81d)

101. How about the way you'll bring up your child? Would it be different or pretty much the same as your parents? How is that? (S81e)

102. Do you feel you are pretty much living according to your family's rules, or are you on your own? (F39a,S)

102a. How is that?

103. Would you say that your parents see you now as an adult member of the family or not? (S68a)

103a. (IF YES) Can you tell me about an incident where you realize this?

103b. (IF NO) In which ways do you feel your parents do not see you as an adult member of the family?

103c. Can you tell me about what makes you feel this?

104. What kinds of things do your parents disagree about?

105. How are you involved in these disagreements? (PROBE TAKING SIDES)

106. Would you say that the amount of disagreement between your parents is:
a)Considerable___ b) Moderate___ c) Not very much______

107. Has either parent ever confided in you about the other?
Yes_______ No_______

(IF YES) 107a. Which parent?

107b. How did you feel about it? (Probe TAKING SIDES)

107c. How has this changed since you've been at college?

THESE NEXT QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT YOUR COURSES!

108. What was the best discussion section you were ever in? (S) (GET COURSE NUMBER, INSTRUCTOR'S NAME)

108a. Tell me a little about it?

108b. Who else was in it?

109. Aside from the obvious difference in subject matter, what do you feel were the differences in the three basic courses? (S)

110. How do you feel about planning your time and meeting your own schedules and deadlines? (S)

111. How do you work in a course where in the first week or so the instructor doesn't give you a pretty clear idea of what he expects of you? (S) (AN EXAMPLE)

112. How do you find you work in a course where the instructor tells you exactly what ideas are important, how they are to be handled, and what he expects you to do with them? (S) (AN EXAMPLE)

113. Have you ever taken a Hawthorn special course, tutorial, civilization course and the like? (GET NAME, TIME, INSTRUCTOR) (S)

113a. How did they seem to compare to the sequences?

114. What are you getting out of the senior colloquium?

114a. What do you think might have made it a better experience for you?

115. Have you written or are you writing a senior essay?

(IF NO)

115a. Are you planning to write a senior essay?

(FOR THOSE PLANNING TO WRITE OR WRITING AN ESSAY)

115.b. What is the topic?

115c. Why did you pick that topic?

115d. Did you work with anyone in picking your topic?

115e. What do you feel you've gotten out of working on the essay?

116. Finally, how would you describe what you want your life to be like 20 years from now? (F 23a)

116a. Anything else?

## 12 Page Questionnaire Fall 1959

Identification Number________________

YOUR EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE

1. When did you graduate from high school?____________________

2. From what high school did you graduate?____________________

3. How many other high schools did you attend? (Give number. If no others, write "none.")______________________________

4. List any high school activities in which you participated. After each, rate whether you were very active, active to an average extent, or not very active. Check in the last column if you ever held an office in the activity.

| Activities (Include all clubs, organizations, athletic teams, literary projects, etc.) | Very Active | Average Activity | Not Very Active | Held Office |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | | | | |
| (2) | | | | |
| (3) | | | | |
| (4) | | | | |
| (5) | | | | |
| (6) | | | | |
| (7) | | | | |
| (8) | | | | |
| (9) | | | | |
| (10) | | | | |

5. Approximately what percentage of your high school class are going on to college?

6. Taking your overall high school record, would you guess that you were in:

upper fifth__________
second fifth__________
third fifth__________
fourth fifth________
bottom fifth________

7. How much did you enjoy high school?

On the whole, enjoyed it_______
Liked some things, disliked others _______
On the whole, disliked it_______

8. How much do you feel you learned in high school?

Great deal _______
Some _______
Very little _______

9. Do you feel you will do better academically, about the same, or less well in college?

Better _______
About the same_______
Less well _______

10. Count the number of other students in your graduating class whom you knew well enough to invite to your home. How many were there?__________

11a Were there courses you liked better than others?

Yes__________ No________

11b What were they? List no more than three______________
______________
______________

12a Were there courses you disliked more than others?

Yes________ No________

12b What were they? List no more than three ____________

____________

____________

ABOUT YOUR COLLEGE PLANS

13a What do you plan to major in? ______________________

13b How firm do you feel your decision about this major is?

Firm, will not change ______
Fairly sure will not change ______
Tentative ______

13c Why do you want to major in this field?

ANSWER ONLY IF YOU ARE IN A PRE-PROFESSIONAL PROGRAM

14a What pre-professional program are you in? ________________

ANSWER ONLY IF YOU ARE A **HAWTHORN** COLLEGE PRE-MEDICAL STUDENT

14b Did you discuss attending **Hawthorn** College with the **City** Medical School?

Yes ________
No ________

14c (IF YES) What were you told by the Medical School?

15. Following is a list of five subject-matter areas. Rank them from 1 to 5, so that 1 corresponds to the area in which you are most interested and 5 corresponds to the area in which you are least interested.

______Natural sciences (e.g., physics, biology)
______Humanities (e.g., fine arts, history, English)
______Social science (e.g., economics, government, anthropology, civics, sociology)
______Mathematics
______Foreign languages

16. Following is a list of five subject-matter areas. Rank them from 1 to 5, so that 1 corresponds to the area in which you feel best prepared, and 5 corresponds to the area in which you feel worst prepared.

______Natural science (e.g., physics, biology)
______Humanities (e.g., fine arts, history, English)
______Social science (e.g., economics, government, civics, anthropology)
______Mathematics
______Foreign languages

17. In general, how do you feel about the academic preparation for **Hawthorn/City** which you received at high school? (Check one)

______I feel entirely confident that I can handle my work at **City**.

______Generally speaking, I should be able to do the work, but there's a weak spot here and there.

______I expect some trouble in most of my courses, but I should manage to get by.

______As far as preparation goes, I think my admission was a fluke

18. How do you expect your academic performance this year to compare with others in your college class? (Check one)

______I'll do better than 90 per cent of the class.

______I'll do better than 75 per cent of the class.

______I'll do better than 50 per cent of the class.

______I'll do better than 25 per cent of the class.

______I'll do better than 10 per cent of the class.

19. Are you planning to participate in (check one)

_____**Army** ROTC

_____Naval ROTC

_____Air Force ROTC

**(IF YES)**
Why is that?

20. If you were in a college class of, say, 100 to 250 students, how would you want it conducted? (check one)

_____The instructor lectures, without participation from the floor.

_____The instructor lectures, but allows participation from the floor.

21. If you were in a college class of about 40 to 50 students, how would you want it conducted? (check one)

_____The instructor does most of the talking.

_____Discussion among students takes up most of the time.

22. If you were in a college class of from ten to 25 students, how would you want it conducted? (check one)

_____The instructor does most of the talking.

_____Discussion among the students takes up most of the time.

23. Someone once said that the purpose fo a college education is not to teach you how to earn a living, but rather to enjoy the living you are going to earn. Do you agree? (check one)

Strongly disagree______
Disagree ______
Slightly disagree______
Slightly agree ______
Agree ______
Strongly agree ______

24. Which of the following statements come closest to describing the way you feel about college? (check one)

______Basically, it's going to be a tough four year grind, but I'll manage to enjoy it somehow.

______Basically, it's going to be an enjoyable experience, even though it will mean very hard work at times.

______Other (write in)________________________________

____________________________________________

____________________________________________

ABOUT YOUR FUTURE

25. What occupation or type or work do you expect to enter after you have graduated and completed any further training?

________________________________________________

26. How firm is this decision?

Firm. Will not change. _________
Fairly sure, but may change_______
Tentative ________

27. How much have you thought about this decision? (check one)

A great deal _____
A fair amount _____
Only a little _____
Not at all _____

28. How do you feel about thinking about your career plans? (check one)

______I get a big kick out of making career plans.

______Thinking about career plans is one of the things that has to be done.

______I don't particularly like to think about career plans.

______Frankly, I'd rather not think too much about career plans.

29a Do you expect to continue your education in a graduate or professional school? (check one)

Definitely yes_____
Probably yes _____
Probably not _____
Definitely not_____

(IF YOU CHECKED ALTERNATIVES 1 or 2)

29b In what field of study?______________________________

30. What yearly income do you realistically expect to make ten years after college and any further education are complete (provided that the purchasing power of the dollar remains what it is now)? (check one)

_____Under $5,000
_____$5,000 to $10,000
_____$10,000 to $20,000
_____$20,000 to $30,000
_____$30,000 to $50,000
_____$50,000 and over

YOUR WORK HISTORY

31. Please list your four most recent jobs. If you have never worked, write "none".)

| | Kind of Work | Duration From | Duration To | Wages per hour | No of hr. per wk |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | | | | | |
| (2) | | | | | |
| (3) | | | | | |
| (4) | | | | | |

32. Are you married, engaged, going steady, or single and unattached?

Married _____
Engaged _____
Going steady_____
Unattached -_____

ABOUT YOUR FAMILY

33. What is your father's religious preference? (If Protestant, please list denomination. If Catholic, please note whether Roman or Greek Orthodox. If Jewish, please note whether orthodox, reformed, or conservative.)______________________

34. What is your mother's religious preference?_______________

35. What is your own religious preference?____________________

36. Do you think of yourself as more religious, about as religious, or less religious than your parents?

More _____
About the same_____
Less _____

37. How often do you attend church or synagogue?

Every day or almost every day_____
Two or three times a week _____
Once a week _____
Every two or three weeks _____
Once a month _____
Several times a year_____
About once a year _____
Less often than once a year _____
Never _____

38. Fill in the following about your brothers and sisters.

(a) Number of older brothers______
(b) Number of older sisters ______
(c) Number of younger brothers_____
(d) Number of younger sisters______

39. What is the number who have gone to college among: Do not include those who have only attended business college.)

(a) Older brothers _____
(b) Older sisters _____

40. What is your mother's education?

Grammar school only _______
Some high school _______
Some high school and other training, such as business school _______
Completed high school _______
Completed high school and other training, such as business school _______
Some college _______
Completed college _______
Graduate work (DESCRIBE)_______________

41. What is your father's education?

Grammar school only ____
Some high school ____
Some high school and other training, such as business school ____
Completed high school ____
Completed high school and other training, such as business school ____
Some college ____
Completed college ____
Graduate work (DESCRIBE) ________________

42a Is your mother living?

Yes____
No____

(IF NO)

42b How old were you when she died?__________.

43a Is your father living?

Yes___
No____

(IF NO)

43b How old were you when he died?

44. Are your parents divorced or permanently separated?

Yes____
No_____

45. How much conflict has there been between your parents?

Very much_______
Much _______
Some _______
Little _______
Very little_____

NEIGHBORHOOD AND RESIDENTIAL HISTORY

46. In which do you live? (Please answer in terms of your home address, rather than your school residence.)

(a) Two-family house ________
(b) Single-family house ________
(c) Apartment in apartment building ________
(d) Other (specify)

__________________________________________

47. Do you live

(a) In the suburbs ______
(b) In the outskirts of the city ______
(c) In the city itself ______

48. Where is your home address now? (Please do not answer in terms of school residence.)

______________ (City) ______________ (State)

49. How long have you and your family lived there? ______________ (Number of years)

50. Where did you live most of your life? ______________ (City) ______________ (State)

51. Is this a large city, average-sized city, small city, or farm?

Large city ______
Average-sized city ______
Small city ______
Farm ______

52. Where were you born? ______________ (City) ______________ (State)

53. All Americans except the Indians were originally from another country, and even the Indians probably migrated from Asia. We would like to know about the original nationality of your family. Please give the country of origin, as far as this is possible.

53a What is the original nationality of your family on your father's side?

______________________

53b What is the original nationality of your family on your mother's side?

______________________

53c For each of the following, check whether they were born in this country, or born outside of this country.

| | In this country | Outside of this country | Don't knew |
|---|---|---|---|
| (a) You, yourself | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| (b) Your father | _____ | | |
| (c) Your mother | | | |
| (d) Your father's father (Your paternal grandfather) | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| (e) Your father's mother (Your paternal grandmother) | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| (f) Your mother's father (Your maternal grandfather) | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| (g) Your mother's mother (Your maternal grandmother) | _____ | _____ | _____ |

54a Are any languages besides English spoken in your home?

Yes______
No______

(IF YES)
54b What other languages?__________________________

__________________________

55a Is your father a member of a union?

Yes______
No______

(IF YES)

55b. What union is he a member of?__________________________

______________________________________________

56 How interested in union work is your father?

Very interested ____
Somewhat interested ____
Not at all interested ____

57. Approximately how many hours a month does your father give to work for the union?______________

58a What is your father's job?________________________________

58b Whom does he work for? ____________________________

59. About what is his yearly income?

Less than $2,000
$2,000 but less than $3,000 ________
$3,000 but less than $4,000 ________
$4,000 but less than $5,000 ________
$5,000 but less than $6,000 ________
$6,000 but less than $8,000 ________
$8,000 but less than $10,000 ________
$10,000 to $15,000 _________
Over $15,000 ________

60a Does your mother work?

Yes_____
No______

(IF YOUR MOTHER WORKS)

60b What is your mother's job? _______________________

60c Whom does she work for? _______________________

60d Does your mother work

Full time_______
Part time_______

WOMEN ONLY

1. How old were you when you began to menstruate?____________

2. How do you feel during your menstrual period? ___________

NAME________________________ DATE________________________

## FIRO-A

On each of the following pages you will find a pair of statements about behavior aspects of home life of children. First, you are to read each single statement carefully to see how it fits you. In some cases the statement may not describe exactly how you feel and act; in these cases, estimate which answer comes closest to describing your characteristic behavior. Then, at the bottom of the sheet, circle the answer which fits you best.

Please be as frank and as forthright as you possibly can. Do not hesitate to use any of the categories if you honestly feel they are most appropriate. Think each question over carefully. There is no time limit. Put down your considered judgment as to how your home actually was.

1.

In my home my parents actually spent relatively little time interacting with me. I didn't have the feeling very often that they were very much interested in what I was interested in. They did not spend much time playing with me instead of doing what they wanted to do. As a result, I really didn't get to know my parents very well. That is, I'd never see them in very many situations so that I'd get to know how they act and feel in a large variety of circumstances.

2.

In my home my parents centered their attention around me. As soon as they were home they would play with me and talk to me and take a great interest in whatever I was doing. We'd interact under all sorts of conditions so that I'd see my parents laugh and cry and get angry, be delighted, and feel fearful. As a result I got to know them very well so that I feel I understand them thoroughly and everything I do is of great interest to them.

Circle the Answer That Best Describes the Way you Really Act and Feel.

MY HOME WAS MUCH MORE LIKE 1 THAN IT WAS LIKE 2

MY HOME WAS SOMEWHAT MORE LIKE 1 THAN IT WAS LIKE 2

MY HOME WAS SLIGHTLY MORE LIKE 1 THAN IT WAS LIKE 2

MY HOME WAS SLIGHTLY MORE LIKE 2 THAN IT WAS LIKE 1

MY HOME WAS SOMEWHAT MORE LIKE 2 THAN IT WAS LIKE 1

MY HOME WAS MUCH MORE LIKE 2 THAN IT WAS LIKE 1

3.

My home was one in which there was strict discipline. My parents decided what was best for the children and enforced their decision. If we didn't comply we were punished for it. There was very little effort made to teach me how to do things on my own or to make me independent.

4.

There was no guidance in my home. I was always given complete independence to do whatever I wanted. Even at a very young age I was on my own and had to do things for myself. There was hardly every anyone around to show me how to do things or to tell me what was right and what was wrong.

Circle the Answer That Best Describes the Way You Really Act and Feel.

MY HOME WAS
MUCH MORE
LIKE 3 THAN IT
WAS LIKE 4

MY HOME WAS
SOMEWHAT MORE
LIKE 3 THAN IT
WAS LIKE 4

MY HOME WAS
SLIGHTLY MORE
LIKE 3 THAN
IT WAS LIKE 4

MY HOME WAS
SLIGHTLY MORE
LIKE 4 THAN IT
WAS LIKE 3

MY HOME WAS
SOMEWHAT MORE
LIKE 4 THAN IT
WAS LIKE 3

MY HOME WAS
MUCH MORE
LIKE 4 THAN IT
WAS LIKE 3

5.

My home was very reserved and unemotional. My parents rarely expressed affection to me. They really did not believe in displaying emotions. It was more a matter-of-fact businesslike atmosphere. Expressions of affection either simply never arose or else were actively discouraged.

6.

There was a great display of love and affection in my home. In their own ways both my parents expressed their love for me very openly and without reservation, so that I always had the feeling I was completely loved for myself alone. There was a great emphasis on expressing affection.

Circle the Answer That Best Describes the Way You Really Act and Feel

MY HOME WAS
MUCH MORE
LIKE 5 THAN IT
WAS LIKE 6

MY HOME WAS
SOMEWHAT MORE
LIKE 5 THAN IT
WAS LIKE 6

MY HOME WAS
SLIGHTLY MORE
LIKE 5 THAN IT
WAS LIKE 6

MY HOME WAS
SLIGHTLY MORE
LIKE 6 THAN IT
WAS LIKE 5

MY HOME WAS
SOMEWHAT MORE
LIKE 6 THAN IT
WAS LIKE 5

MY HOME WAS
MUCH MORE
LIKE 6 THAN IT
WAS LIKE 5

On each of the following pages you will find two long statements about how people act and feel in certain situations. Read each of the two descriptions carefully to see how well it fits you. Then decide which of these two most accurately describes how you feel and act. In some cases neither description may describe exactly how you feel and act; if so, estimate which one comes closer to describing your average behavior. Then, at the bottom of the sheet, circle the answer that fits you best.

Please be as frank and as forthright as you possibly can. Do not hesitate to use any of the categories if you honestly feel that they are most appropriate. Think each question over carefully. There is no time limit.

PLEASE PUT DOWN HOW YOU ACTUALLY FEEL AND ACT. NOT HOW YOU OUGHT TO OR WOULD LIKE TO ACT.

THIS IS VERY IMPORTANT!

Circle the appropriate answer:

1. When I get into a group I try to become a leader:

   Usually Sometimes Almost never Never

2. When I get into a group I become a leader:

   Always Usually Sometimes Almost never

3. When I am a leader I am usually:

   Excellent Very good Fair Not so hot

Rank the three possibilities given below from the one most desired (1) to the one least desired (3):

4. When I am in a group, the thing I like most is to be:

   ______ A. Very well liked

   ______ B. A leader

   ______ C. Prominent in the activities

| A | B |
|---|---|
| I try to keep my relations with people on a fairly impersonal basis. I really don't enjoy getting too involved with people, partly because it interferes with my desire to be by myself. I don't especially appreaciate people coming to visit me at any hour, though I do recognize they're just trying to be friendly. | I try to make friends as quickly as possible with virtually everyone I meet. To me, being liked is the most important thing. I try to have any relationships with people informal and very close. I like to discuss personal problems with close friends. I like |

There are many times I don't feel like seeing people--I'm content with what I'm doing.

I feel that I can handle my personal problems better by myself. If I want to talk about them with anyone I would rather it be someone I don't know well than a close friend. In a group I don't get involved with personalities but prefer to stick to what we're supposed to be doing.

people to drop in on me at almost any hour of the day or night, and practically always I will go out somewhere with them if they ask me to. I will go out of my way to make people like me and do a great deal to avoid being disliked by them. Sharing experiences and being partly responsible to others is very important. In a group I almost always try to get to know the other members well because I enjoy the group more then

Circle the Answer That Best Describes the Way You Really Act and Feel.

I AM MUCH MORE LIKE A THAN I AM LIKE B

I AM SOMEWHAT MORE LIKE A THAN I AM LIKE B

I AM SLIGHTLY MORE LIKE A THAN I AM LIKE B

I AM SLIGHTLY MORE LIKE B THAN I AM LIKE A

I AM SOME WHAT MORE LIKE B THAN I AM LIKE A

I AM MUCH MORE LIKE B THAN I AM LIKE A

C

When I am responsible for organizing and carrying out a task, the most important thing to me is to try to include those who are working with me in the decisions and the responsibility I have. I consult them before I make a decision, and we discuss it and try to come to an agreement about what should be done. After the discussion I try to divide up the task and have everyone take responsibility for his own part. Then if anyone fails to do what he should, it's up to him to correct it. When someone does fail to do his job I usually don't exert my authority but let the group work it out themselves.

D

When I am responsible for organizing and carrying out a task, the most important things I try to do are make sure everyone knows exactly what is expected of him and make sure I know my job thoroughly. Then I try to see to it that the task is carried out according to the rules laid down. If I let anyone violate the rules we're following without being disciplined, I lose the respect of those under me, my authority and effectiveness are endangered, and it is not fair to those who are doing their job.

D (con't)

Sometimes it is necessary to make an example of someone by disciplining him publicly so that the others know the rules are being enforced.

Circle the Answer that Best Describes the Way You Really Act and Feel.

I AM MUCH MORE LIKE C THAN I AM LIKE D

I AM SOMEWHAT MORE LIKE C THAN I AM LIKE D

I AM SLIGHTLY MORE LIKE C THAN I AM LIKE D

I AM SLIGHTLY MORE LIKE D THAN I AM LIKE C

I AM SOMEWHAT MORE LIKE D THAN I AM LIKE C

I AM MUCH MORE LIKE D THAN I AM LIKE C

E

When I am a member of a group with a task to be done, the first thing I try to find out is why I am being asked to do it. I feel I have a right to know just what the purpose of the task is, why I am being asked to do my particular part, and what the basis is for all the instructions that the organizer gives. If I object to doing some part of the job, I try to present my arguments to the organizer even if it perhaps delays the task, because I feel no one has the right to ask people to do something without giving reasons for it. It is better for each member to take some responsibility for the over-all task, because together they will usually know more about how to do it than the organizer. Besides, this way of carrying out the job insures fair treatment for all and the most efficiency.

F

When I am a member of a group with a task to be done, the first thing I try to find out is exactly what is expected of me. I feel I have a right to be told clearly what I am to do and precisely what the rules are under which I am to operate. I then try to carry out my instructions to the best of my ability. If I have any questions I feel I should be able to go to the organizer and have my questions cleared up. If I object to some of the things I am to do, I usually do them first, then later tell the organizer my disagreement so he can take account of it. However, it is likely he knows what he is doing or he wouldn't have been put in charge. This way of carrying out the job is fairest for all and most efficient.

Circle the Answer That Best Describes the Way you
Really Act and Feel

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I AM MUCH MORE LIKE E THAN I AM LIKE F | I AM SOMEWHAT MORE LIKE E THAN I AM LIKE F | I AM SLIGHTLY MORE LIKE E THAN I AM LIKE F | I AM SLIGHTLY MORE LIKE F THAN I AM LIKE E |
| I AM SOMEWHAT MORE LIKE F THAN I AM LIKE E | I AM MUCH MORE LIKE F THAN I AM LIKE E | | |

G

When I am with a group of people I ordinarily don't try to participate very much. I almost always sit back and listen to what the others say much more than I talk. When I do talk it is usually just a sentence or two. I rarely make a very long contribution. Also most of the time I respond to someone else's question rather than initiating anything on my own. Perhaps I don't participate in groups as much as I should.

H

When I am with a group of people I try to take a very prominent part. I almost always try to be in the limelight. I do not like to remain silent very long and almost always try to get into the thick of a discussion before very long. Sometimes I even say something startling, partly to get recognized. For whatever reason I am almost always one of the highest participators in any group. Perhaps I even over-do it somewhat.

Circle the Answer That Best Describes the Way you
Really Act and Feel.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I AM MUCH MORE LIKE G THAN I AM LIKE H | I AM SOMEWHAT MORE LIKE G THAN I AM LIKE H | I AM SLIGHTLY MORE LIKE G THAN I AM LIKE H | I AM SLIGHTLY MORE LIKE H THAN I AM LIKE G |
| I AM SOMEWHAT MORE LIKE H THAN I AM LIKE G | I AM MUCH MORE LIKE H THAN I AM LIKE G | | |

NAME ____________________

DATE ____________________

MALE __________ FEMALE __________

AGE ____________________

| | I | C | A |
|---|---|---|---|
| C | | | |
| W | | | |

## FIRO-B

Please place number of the answer that best applies to you in the box at the left of the statement. Please be as honest as you can.

☐ 1. I try to be with other people.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 2. I try to be the dominant person when I am with people.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 3. I try to be friendly to people.

1. most people 2. many people 3. some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 6. nobody

☐ 4. I like people to include me in their activities.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 5. I let other people decide what to do.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 6. I like people to act friendly toward me.

1. most people 2. many people 3. some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 6. nobody

☐ 7. I join social groups.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 8. I try to take charge of things when I am with people.

1. most people 2 many people 3. some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 6. nobody

☐ 9. My personal relations with people are cool and distant.

1. most people 2. many people 3. some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 6. nobody

☐ 10. I like people to invite me to things.

1. usually 2 often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 11. I let other people decide what to do.

1. most people 2. many people 3. some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 6. nobody

☐ 12. I like people to act cool and distant toward me.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4.occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 13. I tend to join social organizations when I have an opportunity.

1. usually 2.often 3 sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 14. I try to have other people do things I want done.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 15. I act cool and distant with people.

1. most people 2. many people 3. some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 6. nobody

☐ 16. I like people to invite me to join their activities.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 17. I let other people take charge of things.

1. most people 2. many people 3. some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 6. nobody

☐ 18. I like people to act distant toward me.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 19. I try to be included in informal activities.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 20. I try to influence strongly other people's actions.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 21. I try to have close relationships with people.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 22. I like people to invite me to participate in their activities.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 23. I let other people strongly influence my actions.

1. most people 2. many people 3. some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 6. nobody

☐ 24. I like people to act cool and distant toward me.

1. most people 2. many people 3. some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 6. nobody

☐ 25. I try to include other people in my plans.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 26. I try to influence strongly other people's actions.

1. most people 2. many people 3 some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 5. nobody

☐ 27. I try to have close, personal relationships with people.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 28. I like people to invite me to things.

1. most people 2. many people 3. some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 6. nobody

☐ 29. I let other people strongly influence my actions.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 30. I like people to act distant toward me.

1. most people 2. many people 3. some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 6 nobody

☐ 31. I try to have people around me.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 32. I try to have other people do things the way I want them done.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 33. I try to have close relationships with people.

1. most people 2. many people 3. some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 6. nobody

☐ 34. I like people to invite me to join their activities.

1. most people 2. many people 3. some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 6. nobody

☐ 35. I let other people control my actions.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 36. I like people to act close toward me.

1. most people 2. many people 3. some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 6. nobody

☐ 37. When people are doing things together I tend to join them.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 38. I try to have other people do things the way I want them done.

1. most people 2 many people 3. some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 6. nobody

☐ 39. I try to get close and personal with people.

1. most people 2. many people 3. some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 6. nobody

☐ 40. I like people to include me in their activities.

1. most people 2. many people 3. some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 6. nobody

☐ 41. I am easily led by people.

1. usually 2. often 3. some times 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 42. I like people to act close and personal with me.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 43. I try to avoid being alone .

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 44. I take charge of things when I'm with people

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 45. I try to have a close, personal relationship with people.

1. most people 2. many people 3. some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 6. nobody

☐ 46. I like people to ask me to participate in their discussions

1. most people 2. many people 3. some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 6. nobody

☐ 47. I let people control my actions.

1. most people 2 many people 3. some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 6. nobody

☐ 48. I like people to act close and personal with me.

1. most people 2. many people 3. some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 6. nobody

☐ 49. I try to participate in group activities.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 50. I try to take charge of things when I'm with people.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 51. I try to get close and personal with people.

1. usually 2. often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

☐ 52. I like people to invite me to participate in their activities.

1. most people 2. many people 3. some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 6. nobody

☐ 53. I am easily led by people.

1. most people 2. many people 3. some people 4. a few people

5. one or two people 6. nobody

☐ 54. I like people to act close toward me.

1. usually 2 often 3. sometimes 4. occasionally

5. rarely 6. never

## ATTRITION STUDY FINAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

How long were you in Hawthorn?

Did you transfer to another college or did you drop out of school altogether?

(If dropped out) Do you plan to return to school? When? Why?

(If dropped out) Would like to return to Hawthorn? (If yes) Will you?

Why did you drop out of Hawthorn? Are there any other reasons?

Did you go to the Hawthorn Student Center much?

What did you think about the way it was there?

What about the kids who hung around the center--what were they like?

Some people say that there are a lot of radicals and beatniks at Hawthorn? What do you think about that? (If true) What do you think about beatniks?

What did you usually do when you were at the center?

(If talked)--What about?

Did you consider yourself to be involved in Hawthorn activities? In what way?

Did you ever get together with Hawthorn students any place other than the center? Could you explain that?

Was there a particular group of students that you hung around with? (Who were they?)

Did you have a good time at Hawthorn?

What were the disadvantages of going to Hawthorn for you?

What were the advantages?

Did Hawthorn meet the expectations that you had about it?

Some people think that Hawthorn students are left too much on their own. How do you feel about this? How did this effect you?

Some people think that Hawthorn is too informal, others think that it is not informal enough. What do you think about this? How did this effect you?

Knowing what you do about Hawthorn, what kind of student do you think would be happiest going to Hawthorn? How do you fit into this description?

How would you describe the atmosphere around Hawthorn?

What do you think you gained from your stay at Hawthorn?

How would you describe Hawthorn/s approach to education? How did your major fit into your Hawthorn's program?

Some students waited two years before transferring from Hawthorn so that they could get transferable credit for their Hawthorn courses at another college. Is this one of the reasons that you waited as long as you did?

What did you think about the way that the three (two) sequences were organized and presented?

Of the courses that you took at Hawthorn, which were the ones you liked best? Why?

Which did you like the least? Why?

Did you take any seminars or tutorials at Hawthorn? What were they? What did you think of them?

Did you attend any special lectures or symposiums while you were at Hawthorn? What did you think of them?

Did you do a research project in Science of Society 132? What did you think about it?

Can you think of a particular discussion which you disliked? Can you tell me about it?

What do you think of discussions where some students talk hardly at all and others talk a great deal?

What about parties? Were they associated with Liberal Arts or Hawthorn?

Did Hawthorn give you the dating opportunities that you wanted? Your new college?

Where do you usually meet the girls (boys) that you date? At your new college? At Hawthorn? Neighborhood? Or somewhere else?

Who were your friends while you were in Hawthorn? Were they from Hawthorn, from Liberal Arts, from High School, or somewhere else? What about now? Who are your friends?

What are the differences between Hawthorn and your new college?

I'm going to list some aspects of colleges. Would you tell me how you would compare Hawthorn and your new college in each of these areas?

a. course materials?
b. assignments?
c. lectures?
d. discussions? Do you participate much in class discussions?
e. advisors?
f. students?
g. instructors?
    1. Do you talk to your instructors outside of class much? At Hawthorn? At your new college?
    2. How often have you discussed course material in an instructor's office? At Hawthorn? At your new college?
    3. How about talking about courses outside of their office? At Hawthorn? At your new college?
    4. Have you discussed ideas not directly connected with a course? At Hawthorn? At your new college?
    5. Have you discussed your plans after college? At Hawthorn? At your new college?
    6. Have you been to coffee or bull sessions with an instructor? At Hawthorn? At your new college?
    7. Have you attended the same parties? At Hawthorn? At your new college?
    8. Have you had an instructor home? At Hawthorn? At your new college?
    9. Have you been to an instructor's house? At Hawthorn? At your new college?

How would you describe the transition, for you, from high school to Hawthorn?

How would you sum up what your parents thought of your education at Hawthorn?

Do your parents differentiate between your new college and Hawthorm? (If yes) What do they see as the differences?

What did your parents think of you dropping out of Hawthorn?

Comparing your experiences now that you look back at your college life, would you say that you did the right thing by dropping out of Hawthorn? Why?

## RECAPITULATION OF FACULTY INFORMATION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 39a Has anybody on the faculty affected your thinking about what you want to do when you finish? | 81 (82) If you think about the faculty membersyou've had contact with at Hawthorn or in Liberal Arts, who are the ones that have meant something to you? | 84 Who on the Hawthorn faculty would you say really makes Hawthorn the sort of place it is? |
| 89 Some students have spent quite a bit of time with faculty members. Do you feel that you have made friends with any of the faculty members? | 90 Who is the Hawthorn faculty member with whom you've had most contact outside of class? | 93 Are there any faculty members who have some qualities you would like to have? |
| 108 What was the best discussion section you were ever in? | 113 Have you ever taken a Hawthorn special course, tutorial, civilization course, and the like? | 115d Did you work with anyone in picking your topic (for senior essay?) |

| | |
|---|---|
| First Semester | Second Semester |
| First Semester | Second Semester |
| First Semester | Second Semester |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| First Quarter | Second Quarter | Third Quarter |

Footnotes:

Comments:

## MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF 13 VARIABLES AT ENTRANCE

| | Fall-Sprg. 59-60 | | | Fall 60 | | | Fall 61* | | | Fall-Sum. 62-63 | | | Fall-Sum. 63-64 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | Mean | SD | N | Mean | SD | N | Mean | SD | N | Mean | SD | N | Mean | SD |
| 1. TCT (Fall only) | 261 | 33.62 | 7.15 | 317 | 35.39 | 6.55 | X | X | X | 298 | 34.5 | 7.00 | 293 | 34.3 | 6.82 |
| **Entrance Exams**<br>2. Verbal | 315 | 50.21 | 8.89 | 305 | 51.75 | 8.71 | 319 | 51.19 | 9.63 | 287 | 51.9 | 9.52 | 281 | 51.5 | 9.36 |
| 3. Quant. | 314 | 39.73 | 10.66 | 305 | 41.68 | 10.29 | 319 | 41.57 | 10.19 | 287 | [illegible] | 10.61 | 281 | 40.8 | 10.11 |
| 4. Vocab. | 315 | 43.19 | 6.86 | 305 | 44.19 | 7.11 | 319 | 43.44 | 7.71 | 287 | 43.5 | 7.42 | 280 | 41.3 | 7.03 |
| 5. CCI CONS. (43 items) | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | 298 | 32.7 | 4.86 | 295 | 33.8 | 5.17 |
| 6. OPI Myron (Fall only, 38 items) | 273 | 18.79 | 5.50 | 313 | 19.61 | 5.67 | X | X | X | 293 | 20.7 | 5.99 | X | X | X |
| **FIRO**<br>7. Inclusion | 265 | 4.46 | 1.50 | X | X | X | X | X | X | 298 | 4.37 | 1.70 | 294 | 4.15 | 1.80 |
| 8. Control | 262 | [illegible].91 | 1.30 | X | X | X | X | X | X | 297 | 2.87 | 1.60 | 293 | 3.03 | 1.65 |
| 9. Affection | 264 | 4.52 | 1.44 | X | X | X | X | X | X | 298 | 4.19 | 1.65 | 294 | 4.19 | 1.74 |
| 10. Personal | 265 | 4.26 | 1.62 | X | X | X | X | X | X | 297 | 4.04 | 1.69 | 294 | 3.96 | 1.71 |
| 11. Leader | 264 | 4.02 | 1.49 | X | X | X | X | X | X | 297 | 3.81 | 1.67 | 284 | 3.98 | 1.74 |
| 12. Follower | 265 | 4.49 | 1.35 | X | X | X | X | X | X | 298 | 4.27 | 1.59 | 293 | 4.19 | 1.56 |
| 13. Participation | 264 | 3.40 | 1.61 | X | X | X | X | X | X | 296 | 3.58 | 1.56 | 292 | 3.53 | 1.72 |

*During this year, students were not administered questionnaires by the college; therefore, no further data will be available for this year (1961).

## MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF 23 VARIABLES AT ENTRANCE--(cont.)

| | Fall-Sum. 64-65* | | | Fall-Summer 65-66 | | | Fall-Sprg. 66-67 | | | Summer-Fall 67** | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | Mean | SD | N | Mean | SD | N | Mean | SD | N | Mean | SD |
| 1. **TCT (Fall only)** | 367 | 34.00 | 7.38 | 290 | 33.47 | 7.52 | 284 | 32.96 | 7.21 | 266 | 32.97 | 8.28 |
| Entrance Exams | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Verbal | 301 | 50.30 | 9.57 | 267 | 42.15 | 8.77 | 210 | 42.24 | 9.10 | 210 | 515.38 | 92.57 |
| 3. Quant. | 301 | 39.20 | 9.79 | 267 | 37.28 | 7.43 | 210 | 35.68 | 8.72 | 210 | 502.42 | 101.28 |
| 4. Vocab. | 301 | 41.30 | 7.56 | X | X | X | 209 | 43.60 | 7.13 | X | X | X |
| 5. CCI CONS. (43 items) | 362 | 31.80 | 6.09 | 293 | 31.73 | 5.18 | 283 | 33.09 | 5.02 | 272 | 32.96 | 6.03 |
| 6. OPI Myron (Fall only, 38 items) | 373 | 21.45 | 5.92 | 282 | 19.85 | 3.93 | 280 | 22.32 | 6.21 | 258 | 23.00 | 6.41 |
| FIRO | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7. Inclusion | 369 | 4.20 | 1.79 | 287 | 4.33 | 1.74 | 278 | 4.32 | 1.69 | 255 | 4.01 | 1.80 |
| 8. Control | 369 | 2.87 | 1.61 | 286 | 2.83 | 1.59 | 279 | 2.87 | 1.52 | 253 | 3.07 | 1.64 |
| 9. Affection | 372 | 4.26 | 1.75 | 287 | 4.43 | 1.73 | 279 | 4.23 | 1.71 | 255 | 4.00 | 1.75 |
| 10. Personal | 374 | 3.96 | 1.69 | 287 | 4.09 | 1.61 | 279 | 3.98 | 1.65 | 257 | 3.76 | 1.70 |
| 11. Leader | 375 | 3.98 | 1.64 | 286 | 3.95 | 1.70 | 275 | 4.11 | 1.67 | 256 | 4.31 | 1.53 |
| 12. Follower | 377 | 4.02 | 1.58 | 279 | 4.05 | 1.55 | 272 | 3.89 | 1.59 | 252 | 3.93 | 1.57 |
| 13. Participation | 374 | 3.54 | 1.54 | 280 | 3.62 | 1.52 | 274 | 3.78 | 1.59 | 252 | 3.71 | 1.61 |

*During this year 65 students were given the SCAT instead of test previously used. SCAT gives only verbal and quantitative scores. These 65 students had a mean of 42.0 and a standard deviation of 10.49 on verbal, and a mean of 36.5 and a standard deviation of 7.80 on quantitative.

**The entrance exam was changed to College Boards this year.

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF 23 VARIABLES AT ENTRANCE--(Cont.)

| | Fall-Spg.<br>59-60 | | Fall<br>60 | | **Fall-Sum.**<br>62-63 | | **Fall-Sum.**<br>63-64 | | **Fall-Sum.**<br>64-65 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| 14. H.S. Rating<br>1. Excellent | 77 | 26.01 | 103 | 26.01 | 68 | 20.5 | 67 | 22.4 | 69 | 22.48 |
| 2. Good (Fall only) | 121 | 40.88 | 155 | 39.14 | 118 | 35.6 | 107 | 35.31 | 117 | 38.11 |
| 3. Indifferent minus 10 Engin | 74 | 25.00 | 119 | 30.05 | 129 | 39.0 | 106 | 34.98 | 110 | 35.83 |
| 4. Poor | 19 | 6.42 | 19 | 4.80 | 16 | 4.8 | 17 | 5.61 | 11 | 3.58 |
| TOTAL | 296 | | 396 | | 331 | | 303 | | 307 | |
| N.A. | 5 | 1.69 | | | | | 6 | 1.98 | | |
| 16. Parents' Ed.<br>Summary<br>1. Both some coll. or/more | 44 | 14.86 | 42 | 13.95 | 49 | 16.17 | 50 | 16.23 | 59 | 14.46 |
| 2. 1 Parent, some college | 63 | 21.28 | 67 | 22.26 | 75 | 24.75 | 82 | 26.62 | 107 | 26.23 |
| 3. Both Fin. H.S. | 20 | 6.76 | 67 | 22.26 | 51 | 16.83 | 52 | 16.88 | 62 | 15.20 |
| 4. 1 Fin. H.S. | 68 | 22.97 | 54 | 17.94 | 54 | 17.82 | 54 | 17.53 | 76 | 18.63 |
| 5. Both or 1, more than grammer, not fin. H.S. | 53 | 17.91 | 45 | 14.95 | 51 | 16.83 | 35 | 11.36 | 63 | 15.44 |
| 6. Both or 1, Gram. only | 18 | 6.08 | 25 | 8.31 | 14 | 4.62 | 22 | 7.14 | 19 | 4.66 |
| 7. Both no formal educ. | X | X | X | X | 1 | .33 | X | X | 1 | .245 |
| Not ascertained | 30 | 10.14 | 1 | .33 | 8 | 2.64 | 13 | 4.22 | 24 | 5.15 |
| TOTAL (Fall only) | 296 | | 301 | | 303 | | 308 | | 408 | |

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF 23 VARIABLES AT ENTRANCE--(Cont.)

| | Fall-Sum. 64-65 | | Fall-Sum. 65-66 | | Fall-Sprg. 66-67 | | Sum.-Fall 67-68 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| 14. H.S. Rating | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Excellent | 66 | 16.18 | 48 | 15.89 | 33 | 13.24 | 47 | 16.43 |
| 2. Good (Fall only) | 159 | 38.97 | 125 | 41.39 | 126 | 43.90 | 126 | 44.06 |
| 3. Indifferent minus 30 Engin. | 152 | 37.25 | 110 | 36.42 | 111 | 38.68 | 101 | 35.31 |
| 4. Poor | 20 | 4.90 | 9 | 2.98 | 12 | 4.18 | 7 | 2.45 |
| TOTAL | 408 | | 302 | 100 | 287 | 100 | 286 | 100 |
| N.A. | 11 | 2.70 | 10 | 3.31 | | | 5 | 1.75 |
| 16. Parents' Ed. Summary | This year previously charted | | | | | | | |
| 1. Both some coll. or more | | | 54 | 17.88 | 54 | 18.82 | 58 | 20.28 |
| 2. 1 Parent, some college | | | 81 | 26.82 | 80 | 27.87 | 63 | 22.03 |
| 3. Both Fin. H.S. | | | 51 | 16.89 | 43 | 14.98 | 46 | 16.08 |
| 4. 1 Fin. H.S. | | | 60 | 19.87 | 52 | 18.12 | 66 | 23.08 |
| 5. Both or 1, more than grammer Sch. not fin. H.S. | | | 37 | 12.25 | 43 | 14.98 | 41 | 14.34 |
| 6. Both or 1, grammer sch. only | | | 11 | 3.64 | 12 | 4.18 | 10 | 3.50 |
| 7. Both no formal education | | | - | - | 1 | .35 | - | - |
| Not Ascertained | | | 8 | 2.65 | 2 | .70 | 2 | .70 |
| TOTAL (Fall only) | | | 302 | 100 | 287 | 100 | 286 | 100 |

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF 23 VARIABLES AT ENTRANCE--(Cont.)

| | Fall-Spg. 59-60 | | Fall 60 | | Fall-Sum. 62-63 | | Fall-Sum. 63-64 | | Fall-Sum. 64-65 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| 18. Recency (Fall only) | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Student Foreign Born | 15 | 5.62 | 13 | 4.32 | 18 | 6.02 | 18 | 5.84 | 19 | 4.66 |
| 2. Both parents foreign (student born in U.S.) | 24 | 8.99 | 33 | 10.90 | 13 | 4.35 | 16 | 5.19 | 18 | 4.41 |
| 3. Father, F. B. Mother, U.S. | 27 | 10.11 | 21 | 6.98 | 32 | 10.70 | 21 | 6.82 | 28 | 6.86 |
| 4. Mother, F. B. Father, U.S. | 25 | 4.36 | 13 | 4.32 | 25 | 8.36 | 17 | 5.52 | 21 | 5.15 |
| 5. Four grandparents, F.B. | 43 | 16.10 | 68 | 22.59 | 65 | 21.74 | 62 | 20.13 | 71 | 17.40 |
| 6. Three grandparents, F.B. | 14 | 5.24 | 11 | 3.65 | 12 | 4.01 | 14 | 4.55 | 22 | 5.39 |
| 7. Two grandparents, F.B. | 21 | 7.87 | 27 | 8.97 | 37 | 12.37 | 36 | 11.69 | 60 | 14.71 |
| 8. One Grandparent, F.B. | 13 | 4.87 | 27 | 8.87 | 18 | 6.02 | 18 | 5.84 | 22 | 5.39 |
| 9. All grandparents, U. S. | 78 | 29.21 | 87 | 28.90 | 79 | 26.42 | 91 | 29.55 | 132 | 32.35 |
| -. N.A., D.K. | 7 | 2.62 | 1 | .33 | 4 | 1.34 | 15 | 4.87 | 15 | 3.68 |
| TOTAL | 267 | | 301 | | 303 | | 308 | | 408 | |

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF 23 VARIABLES AT ENTRANCE--(Cont.)

|  | **Fall-Sum.** 64-65 |  | **Fall-Sum.** 65-66 (Fall only) |  | **Fall-Spg.** 66-67 |  | **Sum.-Fall** 67-68 |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| 10. Recency (Fall only) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Student-Foreign Born | 19 | 4.66 | 18 | 6.12 | 14 | 4.88 | 10 | 3.50 |
| 2. Both parents foreign (student born in U.S.) | 18 | 4.41 | 6 | 2.04 | 8 | 2.79 | 9 | 3.15 |
| 3. Father, F.B. Mother, U.S. | 28 | 6.86 | 19 | 6.46 | 24 | 8.36 | 26 | 9.09 |
| 4. Mother, F. B. Father, U.S. | 21 | 5.15 | 18 | 6.12 | 11 | 3.83 | 16 | 5.59 |
| 5. Four grandparents, F.B. | 71 | 17.40 | 61 | 20.75 | 54 | 18.82 | 57 | 19.93 |
| 6. Three grandparents, F. B. | 22 | 5.39 | 17 | 5.78 | 13 | 4.53 | 20 | 6.99 |
| 7. Two grandparents, F.B. | 60 | 14.71 | 43 | 14.63 | 43 | 16.78 | 47 | 16.43 |
| 8. One grandparent, F.B. | 22 | 5.39 | 21 | 7.14 | 50 | 10.45 | 18 | 6.29 |
| 9. All grandparents, U.S. | 132 | 32.35 | 91 | 30.95 | 88 | 31.66 | 81 | 28.32 |
| -. N.A., D.K. | 15 | 3.68 | 8 |  | 2 | .70 | 2 | .70 |
| TOTAL | 408 | 100 | 302 | 100 | 287 | 100 | 286 | 100 |

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF 23 VARIABLES AT ENTRANCE (Cont.)

| | Fall-Spg. 59-60 | | Fall 60 | | Fall-Sum. 62-63 | | Fall-Sum. 63-64 | | Fall -Sum. 64-65 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| 19. Father's Occupation | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Executive/professional | 26 | 9.67 | 22 | 7.31 | 27 | 8.91 | 39 | 12.66 | 49 | 12.01 |
| 2. Business Manager/ Proprieter, lesser Professional | 28 | 10.41 | 28 | 9.30 | 44 | 14.52 | 48 | 15.58 | 71 | 17.40 |
| 3. Adminis. Personal/ Small Bus./Minor Professional | 49 | 18.22 | 68 | 22.59 | 55 | 18.15 | 40 | 12.99 | 60 | 14.71 |
| 4. Clerical/Sales Little Business | 47 | 17.47 | 30 | 9.97 | 44 | 14.52 | 34 | 11.04 | 30 | 7.35 |
| 5. Skilled | 47 | 17.47 | 65 | 21.59 | 72 | 23.76 | 66 | 21.43 | 95 | 23.84 |
| 6. Semi-skilled (Fall only) | 26 | 9.67 | 49 | 16.28 | 32 | 10.56 | 49 | 15.91 | 58 | 14.22 |
| 7. Unskilled | 19 | 7.06 | 8 | 2.66 | 8 | 2.64 | 13 | 4.22 | 16 | 3.92 |
| 8. Older Adult | X | X | X | X | 1 | .33 | X | X | 1 | .25 |
| 9. Don't Know | 1 | .37 | 1 | .33 | 7 | 2.31 | 2 | .649 | 3 | .74 |
| 0. Inappropriate | 9 | 3.35 | 15 | 4.98 | 5 | 1.65 | 5 | 1.62 | 5 | 1.23 |
| -. Not Ascertained | 17 | 6.32 | 15 | 4.98 | 7 | 2.31 | 12 | 3.90 | 20 | 4.90 |
| TOTAL | 269 | | 301 | | 303 | | 308 | | 408 | |
| Blanks | | | | | 1 | .33 | | | | |

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF 23 VARIABLES AT ENTRANCE--(Cont.)

| | Fall-Sum. 64-65 | | Fall-Sum. 65-66 | | Fall-Spg. 66-67 | | Sum.-Fall 67-68 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| 19. Father's Occupation | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Executive/professional | 49 | 12.01 | 10 | 3.48 | 33 | 11.50 | 27 | 9.44 |
| 2. Business Manager/ Proprietor, lesser Professional | 71 | 17.40 | 29 | 10.10 | 20 | 6.97 | 32 | 11.19 |
| 3. Adminis. Personal/ Small Bus./Minor Professional | 60 | 14.71 | 35 | 12.20 | 68 | 23.69 | 73 | 25.52 |
| 4. Clerical/Sales Little Business | 30 | 7.32 | 66 | 23.0 | 51 | 17.77 | 37 | 12.94 |
| 5. Skilled | 95 | 23.84 | 41 | 14.29 | 68 | 23.69 | 44 | 15.38 |
| 6. Semi-skilled (Fall only) | 58 | 14.22 | 77 | 26.83 | 12 | 4.18 | 41 | 14.34 |
| 7. Unskilled | 16 | 3.92 | 20 | 6.97 | 6 | 2.09 | 14 | 4.90 |
| 8. Older Adult | 1 | .25 | 5 | 1.74 | 9 | 3.14 | - | - |
| 9. Don't Know | 3 | .74 | 4 | 1.39 | 4 | 6.39 | - | - |
| 10. Inappropriate | 5 | 1.23 | | | | | - | - |
| -. Not Ascertained | 20 | 4.90 | 15 | | 16 | 5.58 | 18 | 6.29 |
| TOTAL | 408 | | 302 | 100 | 287 | 100 | 286 | 100 |

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF 23 VARIABLES AT ENTRANCE--(Cont.)

| | Fall-Spg. 59-60 | | Fall 60 | | Fall-Sum. 61-62 | | | Fall-Sum. 62-63 | | Fall-Sum. 63-64 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | N | % | N | % |
| 20. College Goals | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. 1-intel. 2-intel | 15 | 5.47 | X | X | X | X | | X | X | 16 | 5.19 |
| 2. 1-intel. 2-other | 45 | 16.42 | X | X | X | X | | X | X | 63 | 20.45 |
| 3. 1-intel. 2-prac. | 35 | 12.77 | X | X | X | X | | X | X | 30 | 9.74 |
| 4. 1-either. 2-intel | 25 | 9.12 | X | X | X | X | | X | X | 41 | 13.31 |
| 5. 1-prac. 2-intel | 39 | 14.23 | X | X | X | X | | X | X | 36 | 11.69 |
| 6. 1-other 2-other | 29 | 10.58 | X | X | X | X | | X | X | 46 | 14.94 |
| 7. 1-other 2-prac | 28 | 10.22 | X | X | X | X | | X | X | 26 | 8.44 |
| 8. 1-prac. 2-other | 48 | 17.52 | X | X | X | X | | X | X | 21 | 6.82 |
| 9. 1-prac. 2-prac | 2 | .73 | X | X | X | X | | X | X | 8 | 2.60 |
| TOTAL | 274 | | X | X | X | X | | X | X | 308 | |
| | N.A. 8 | 2.92 | | | | | | | | N.A.21 | 6.82 |
| 21. FTIAC | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Yes | 358 | 95.20 | 382 | 96.5 | 315 | 95.2 | | 271 | 89.44 | 255 | 82.30 |
| 3. No, City U. | 18 | 4.8 | 4 | 1.0 | 2 | .6 | | 8 | 2.69 | 11 | 3.5 |
| 5. No, other | X | X | 10 | 2.5 | 14 | 4.23 | 1.65 | 19 | 6.27 | 44 | 14.2 |
| TOTAL | 376 | | 396 | | 331 | | N.A. 5 | 303 | | 310 | |

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF 23 VARIABLES AT ENTRANCE--(Cont.)

| | Fall-Sum. 64-65 | | Fall-Sum. 65-66 | | Fall-Spg. 66-67 | | Sum.-Fall 67-68 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| 20. College Goals | | | | | | | | |
| 1. 1-intel. 2-intel. | 19 | 4.66 | 19 | 6.62 | 17 | 6.62 | 18 | 6.29 |
| 2. 1-intel. 2-other | 64 | 15.69 | 46 | 16.03 | 61 | 21.25 | 54 | 18.88 |
| 3. 1-intel.2-prac. | 38 | 9.31 | 28 | 9.76 | 20 | 6.97 | 27 | 9.44 |
| 4. 1-other. 2-intel. | 41 | 10.05 | 32 | 11.15 | 36 | 12.54 | 30 | 10.49 |
| 5. 1-prac. 2-intel. | 31 | 7.60 | 32 | 11.15 | 25 | 8.71 | 27 | 9.44 |
| 6. 1-other 2-other | 72 | 17.65 | 58 | 20.21 | 55 | 19.16 | 69 | 24.13 |
| 7. 1-other 2-prac. | 45 | 11.05 | 31 | 10.80 | 22 | 7.67 | 18 | 6.29 |
| 8. 1-prac. 2-other | 61 | 14.95 | 33 | 11.50 | 33 | 11.50 | 31 | 10.84 |
| 9. 1-prac. 2-prac. | 16 | 3.92 | 8 | 2.79 | 2 | .70 | 3 | 1.05 |
| N.A. | 21 | 5.15 | 15 | | 14 | 4.88 | 9 | 3.15 |
| TOTAL | 408 | | 302 | 100 | 287 | 100 | 286 | 100 |
| | N. A. 8 | | | | | | | |
| 21. FTIAC | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Yes | 333 | 81.62 | 244 | 82.71 | 236 | 82.23 | 245 | 85.66 |
| 3. No, City U. | 17 | 4.17 | 20 | 6.78 | 20. | 6.97 | 12 | 4.20 |
| 5. No, other | 58 | 14.22 | 31 | 10.51 | 31 | 10.80 | 29 | 10.14 |
| | | | 7 | | | | | |
| TOTAL | 408 | | 302 | | 287 | | 286 | 100 |

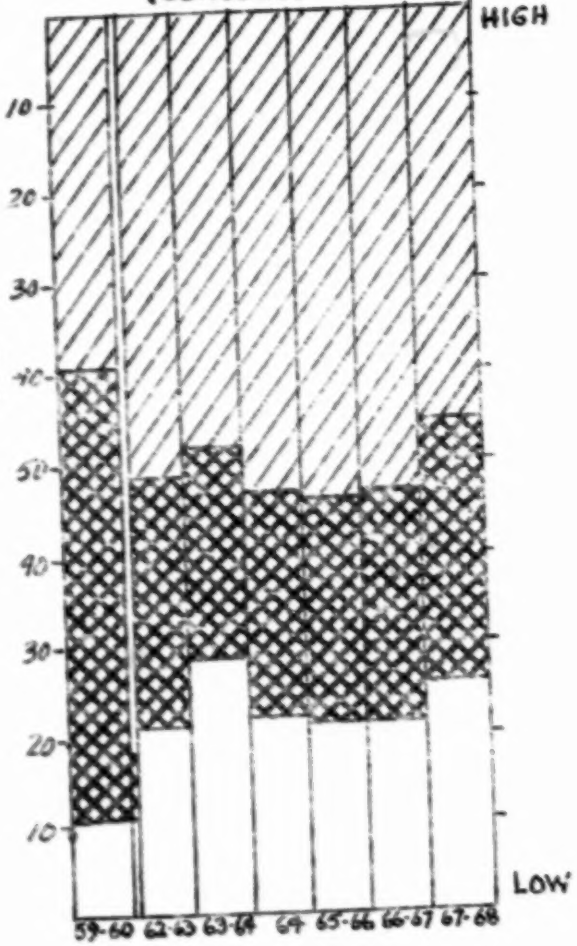
MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF 23 VARIABLES AT ENTRANCE--(Cont_

| | Fall-Spg. 59-60 | | Fall 60 | | Fall-Sum. 61-62 | | | Fall-Sum. 62-63 | | Fall-Sum. 63-64 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | | N | % | N | % |
| 22. Self Starter | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Yes | 62 | 15.9 | 136 | 34.3 | 129 | 39.0 | | 93 | 30.69 | 137 | 44.2 |
| 2. No | 327 | 54.1 | 260 | 65.7 | 202 | 61.0 | 1.65 | 205 | 67.66 | 173 | 55.8 |
| TOTAL | 389 | | 396 | | 331 | | NA<br>5 | 303 | | 310 | |
| 23. Sex | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Male | 232 | 59.6 | 231 | 58.3 | 201 | 60.7 | | 187 | 61.72 | 180 | 58.1 |
| 2. Female | 157 | 40.4 | 165 | 41.7 | 130 | 39.3 | | 116 | 38.28 | 130 | 41.9 |
| TOTAL | 389 | | 396 | | 331 | | | 303 | | 310 | |

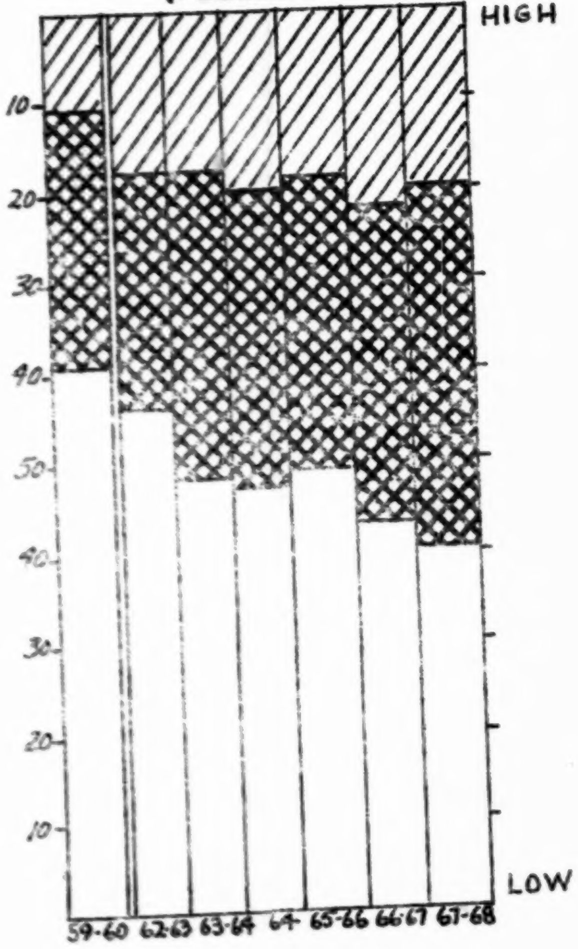
MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF 23 VARIABLES AT ENTRANCE--(Cont.)

| | Fall-Sum. 64-65 | | Fall-Sum. 65-66 | | Fall-Sprg. 66-67 | | Sum.-Fall 67-68 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| 22. Self Starter<br>1. Yes | 234 | 57.35 | 153 | 52.40 | 148 | 51.57 | 142 | 49.65 |
| 2. No | 174 | 42.65 | 139 | 47.60 | 132 | 46.00 | 132 | 46.15 |
| TOTAL | 408 | | 292<br>10 | 100 | 287<br>7 | 100<br>2.49 | 12<br>286 | 4.20<br>100 |
| 23. Sex<br>1. Male | 249 | 61.03 | 152 | 50.67 | 154 | 53.66 | 153 | 53.50 |
| 2. Female | 159 | 38.97 | 148 | 49.33 | 132 | 54.99 | 133 | 46.50 |
| TOTAL | 408 | | 300<br>2 | 100 | 286<br>1 | 100<br>.35 | -<br>286 | -<br>100 |

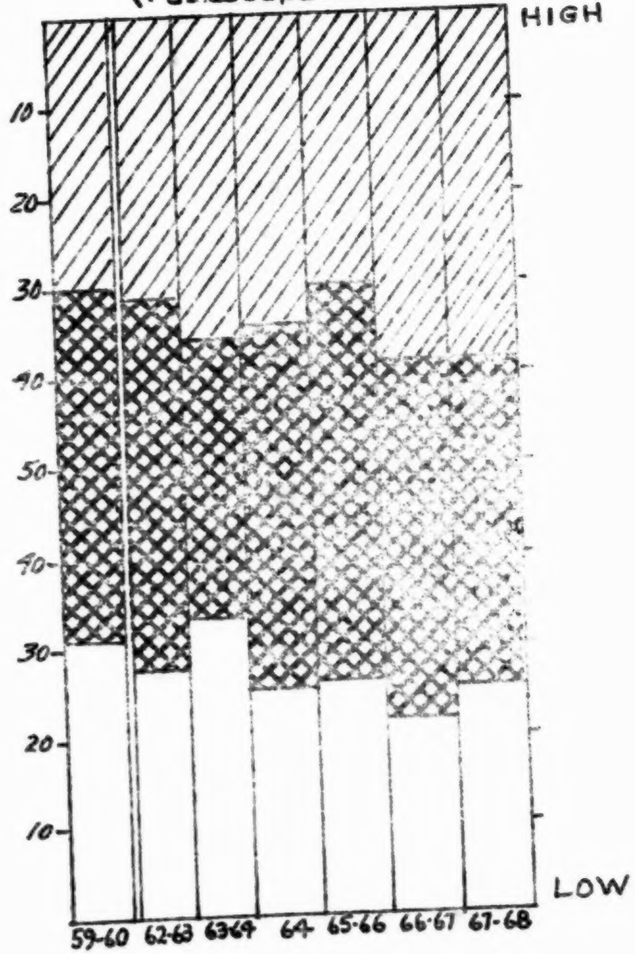
# FIRO SCORES:



Discipline
(Control)

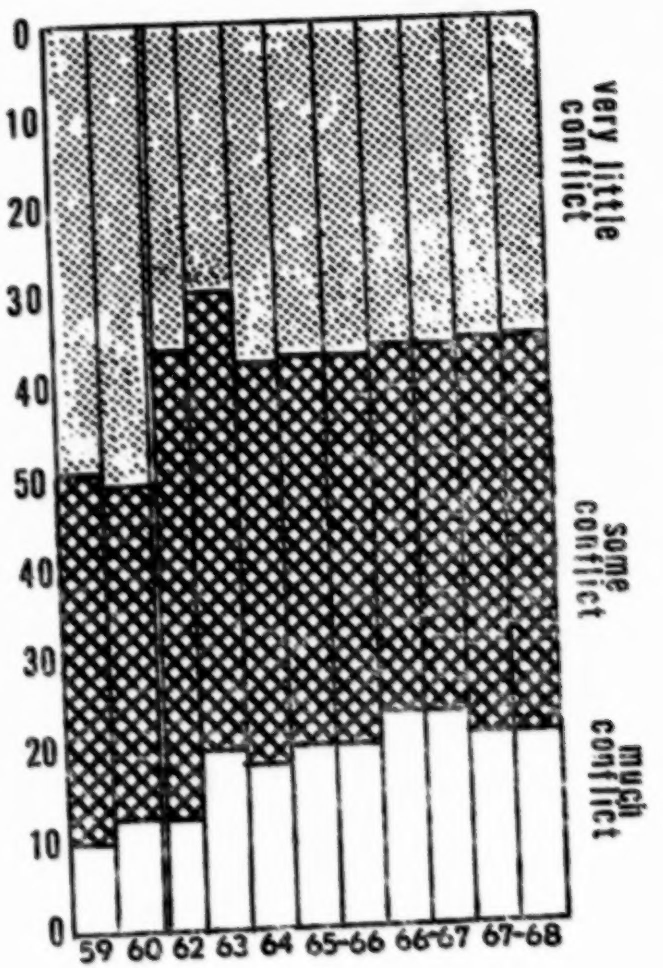


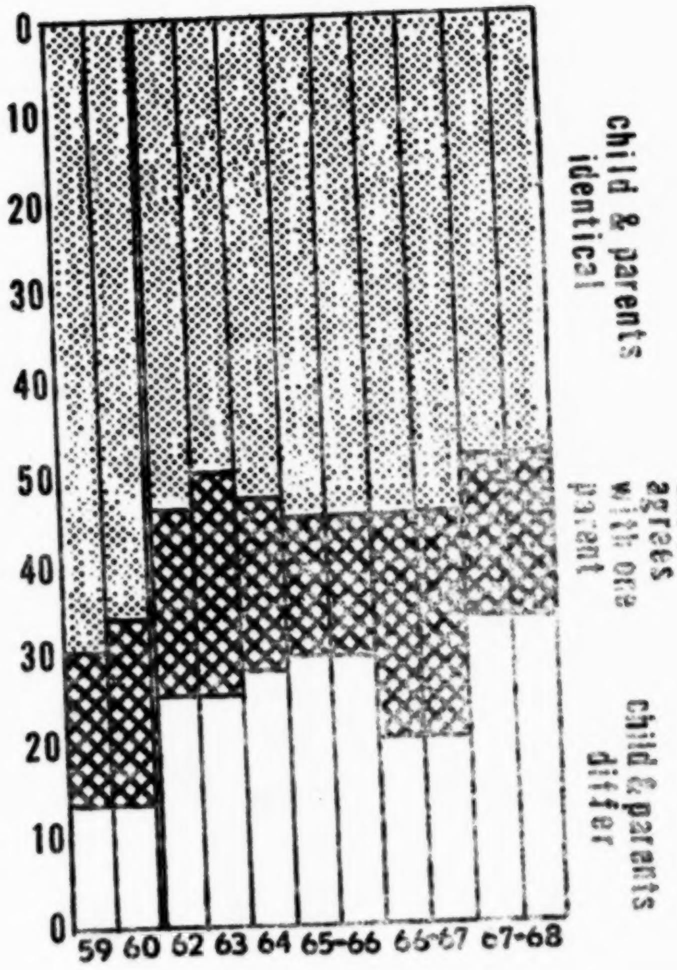
Independence
(Follower)



Involvement
(Participation)

# Harmony at Home


Perceived Parental Conflict


Parents & Child Religion

# RESEARCH USING OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

## Comments On Transcripts Requested By 1959 Entrants To City Upon Their Graduation In 1963

We made a list of all graduates - on time, late and professional - and went to the transcript office in Central Records. It is a huge room (perhaps six basketball courts) filled with desks and files.

First we went to a file of index cards (alphabetical) where is kept records of requests for transcripts to be sent elsewhere. These are thrown away if inactive for five years; in our case none of our students could have been inactive that long. Handwritten on the card is the date of the request, the place the transcript was sent, the number of credit hours the student had at the time of that request (with a separate notation for graduate credit).

Some cards have only a line or two; many have ten and more lines filled out representing attempted movement since the student's sophomore year.

We noted all requests, dividing the information into types:

A. Graduate School
B. Teaching - Board of Education
C. Job, Licensing, etc., etc.
D. No Requests

For each student was kept a summary of the number of each type of request. For request cards five lines long we copied the data; for the more heavily filled cards we made a note to copy. No machine in the office was adequate to make the copy. The index card would be bent on some; the thermofax does not pick up ball point pen.

Since many students go to City and since this file does not contain internal transmission of transcripts, i.e., from one of the seven City schools and colleges to another, we then had to check the actual folders for those students who had only "c" or "d" on their summary since any of these might be in school at City.

For those marked B. Teaching- these included students from the School of Education as well as from Hawthorn and Liberal Arts- we made a list and checked this with Education which keeps a very simple one line visible record of anyone in their Graduate School whether active or not; however, we found out that they did not keep such a record of those doing "post degree" work, i.e., filling out courses required for certification and not considered as graduate courses. We checked all students marked "B" not found in Education graduate courses back in Central Records.

Here we ran into the problem of these folders being kept in alphabetical order: 1) according to current quarter's graduation list (in our case anyone getting a degree after his initial college degree) and 2) according to the latest name- (married name in the case of women, changed name in the case of men.)

Another file is kept of all name changes; often folders had to be checked under both names.

Still some folders were not in the file as they were being worked on. One could not disturb those actually working at their desks so we checked these out in the FALL ALPHA ROSTER for 1964 which lists all students currently registered in the University in whatever capacity. There is no ALPHA ROSTER for Fall, 1963, so there is some slippage possible here.

Thus we have for requests of transcripts for Graduate School:

1. Requests for universities other than City.
2. Actual graduate work (including fifth year medicine and law) at one of City's schools.
3. Post-degree work at one of City's schools.

We do have a record of numbers of requests for other universities, but these do not distinguish several requests to the same university over several years time; several requests to the same university in the same year, i.e., requests to different graduate schools of that university; requests to different universities in a single year; requests to several universities in several years time. We checked for Hawthorn, not for LA, whether those making requests actually got there. All Hawthorn graduates making multiple requests are actually in Graduate School.

TO GET PHOTOSTATS OF INDEX CARDS TOO FULL TO COPY - ESTIMATE 25%.

OTHER THOUGHTS ABOUT TRANSCRIPT REQUESTS:

One notices the ethnic composition of the University- enormous numbers of Scotch-Irish and dearth of Irish names.

One notices name changes- Slavs not Armenians for example- often shortening which still leaves name unmistakably "foreign." "Wegrzyn" remains after removing the "owicz."

One notices marriage patterns (of the women.)

One notices clan names - sets of at least two generations of what looks like cousins.

One notices those who apply, are admitted to Graduate School, who turn up for courses and then withdraw- those who accumulate I (Incompletes.)

One notices the post-degree study apparently unrelated to previous work- chemist who takes drama and stage design.

One notices what graduate schools (University of Michigan a strong favorite) chosen so as to get a sense of search range of student (geographical and quality.)

One notices a student's repeated requests to same school (persistence.)

(The reader who is interested in a more detailed report on this research is referred to: Sally W. Cassidy, Paule Verdet, Richard H. Schell, Wayne State University; D. T. Campbell, Northwestern University; Evaluating an Experimental College Program with Institutional Records: An Interim Report; supported in part by Project 0990, Contract 3-20-001, Educational Media Branch, Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, under the provisions of Title 7 of the National Defense Education Act; Donald T. Campbell, Northwestern University, Principal Investigator.)

PERCENT OF GRADUATE SCHOOL REQUESTS
AMONG 1959 ENTRANTS TO CITY UNIVERSITY

| | Lib. Arts Invited | Lib. Arts Not | All Invited LA & Hawthorn | Hawthorn | Hawthorn to Lib.Arts | Total Hawthorn |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| General | .22 | .18 | .23 | .26 | .23 | .25 |
| Education | .23 | .25 | .25 | .37 | .16 | .30 |
| Medicine | .27 | .33 | .29 | .30 | .30 | .30 |
| Bus. Ad. | .09 | .23 | .15 | .42 | .11 | .29 |
| All | .22 | .23 | .25 | .34 | .22 | .30 |
| N | 302 | 181 | 527 | 152 | 73 | 225 |

PERCENT OF GRADUATE SCHOOL REQUESTS
AMONG 1963 GRADUATES OF CLASS ENTERING CITY UNIVERSITY in 1959

| | Lib. Arts Invited | Lib. Arts Not | All Invited LA & Hawthorn | Hawthorn | Hawthorn to Lib.Arts | Total Hawthorn |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| General | | | | | | |
| Percent | .54 | .86 | .60 | .71 | .67 | .70 |
| N | 57 | 14 | 90 | 21 | 12 | 33 |
| Education | | | | | | |
| Percent | .40 | .45 | .45 | .59 | .43 | .59 |
| N | 53 | 49 | 82 | 22 | 7 | 29 |
| Medicine | | | | | | |
| Percent | .86 | .80 | .82 | .82 | .75 | .81 |
| N | 24 | 12 | 28 | 17 | 4 | 21 |
| Bus. Ad. | | | | | | |
| Percent | .24 | 100 | .40 | .83 | .50 | .75 |
| N | 17 | 3 | 25 | 6 | 2 | 8 |
| All | | | | | | |
| Percent | .48 | .57 | .56 | .71 | .64 | .69 |
| N | 141 | 74 | 238 | 72 | 25 | 97 |

## CITY UNIVERSITY TRANSCRIPTS REQUESTED BY 1963 GRADUATES
## LOCALE AND LEVEL OF STUDIES
(in percentages)

| | Lib. Arts | | All Invited LA & Hawthorn | Hawthorn | Hawthorn to Lib.Arts | Total Hawthorn |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Invited | Not | | | | |
| **GENERAL** | | | | | | |
| City post-deg.* | .05 | .07 | .04 | .00 | .08 | .03 |
| City graduate | .21 | .14 | .26 | .29 | .42 | .33 |
| Other univ. | .28 | .64 | .30 | .43 | .17 | .33 |
| N | 57 | 14 | 90 | 21 | 12 | 33 |
| **EDUCATION** | | | | | | |
| Post deg. | .02 | .08 | .02 | .05 | .00 | .03 |
| City graduate | .23 | .22 | .26 | .36 | .14 | .31 |
| Other univ. | .15 | .14 | .17 | .18 | .29 | .21 |
| N | 53 | 49 | 81 | 22 | 7 | 29 |
| **MEDICINE** | | | | | | |
| City graduate | .29 | .40 | .18 | .18 | .00 | .14 |
| Other univ. | .57 | .40 | .64 | .65 | .75 | .67 |
| N | 7 | 5 | 28 | 17 | 4 | 21 |
| **BUS. AD.** | | | | | | |
| Post deg. | .18 | .00 | .12 | .17 | .00 | .13 |
| City graduate | .00 | .00 | .08 | .33 | .00 | .25 |
| Other univ. | .18 | 1.00 | .20 | .33 | .50 | .38 |
| N | 17 | 3 | 25 | 6 | 2 | 8 |
| **LAW** | | | | | | |
| Post deg. | .00 | .00 | .07 | .00 | .100 | .17 |
| City graduate | .14 | .50 | .07 | .00 | .00 | .00 |
| Other univ. | .57 | .00 | .53 | .80 | .00 | .67 |
| N | 7 | 2 | 15 | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| **TOTAL** | | | | | | |
| Post deg. | .04 | .07 | .04 | .03 | .08 | .04 |
| City graduate | .19 | .22 | .22 | .26 | .24 | .26 |
| Other univ. | .24 | .28 | .30 | .42 | .32 | .39 |
| TOTAL | 141 | 74 | 238 | 72 | 25 | 97 |

*(post degree = BA level work)

### REQUESTS FOR TRANSCRIPTS BY 1963 CITY GRADUATES
### IN VARIOUS CURRICULA AND FOR VARIOUS PURPOSES
### BY RELATIONSHIP TO HAWTHORN*
### (in percentage of 1959 entering class)

| | Lib. Arts Invited | Lib. Arts Not | All Invited LA & Hawthorn | Hawthorn | Hawthorn to Lib. Arts | Total Hawthorn |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **GENERAL** | | | | | | |
| Grad. School | .22 | .18 | .23 | .26 | .26 | .25 |
| Teaching | .01 | .03 | .02 | .02 | .03 | .02 |
| Other | .00 | .00 | .03 | .05 | .06 | .06 |
| N | 143 | 68 | 236 | 58 | 35 | 93 |
| **EDUCATION** | | | | | | |
| Grad. School | .23 | .25 | .25 | .37 | .16 | .30 |
| Teaching | .18 | .20 | .14 | .06 | .05 | .06 |
| Other | .15 | .10 | .14 | .11 | .11 | .11 |
| N | 93 | 88 | 147 | 35 | 19 | 54 |
| **MEDICINE** | | | | | | |
| Grad. School | .27 | .33 | .29 | .30 | .30 | .30 |
| Teaching | .00 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .00 |
| Other | .05 | .08 | .06 | .06 | .10 | .07 |
| N | 22 | 12 | 79 | 47 | 10 | 57 |
| **BUS. AD.** | | | | | | |
| Grad School | .09 | .23 | .15 | .42 | .11 | .29 |
| Teaching | .02 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .00 |
| Other | .25 | .00 | .20 | .08 | .11 | .05 |
| N | 44 | 13 | 65 | 12 | 9 | 21 |
| **ALL** | | | | | | |
| Grad. School | .22 | .23 | .25 | .34 | .22 | .30 |
| Teaching | .07 | .11 | .05 | .02 | .03 | .02 |
| Other | .09 | .06 | .09 | .08 | .10 | .08 |
| N | 302 | 181 | 527 | 152 | 73 | 225 |

*LA Invited = refused invitation to Hawthorn
LA Not Invited = no opportunity to enter Hawthorn
Hawthorn to LA = followed Hawthorn curriculum for a time then transferred to LA (i.e., "partial Hawthorn treatment")

Fall, 1959, Interview Schedule

## Hawthorn Program Study

September, 1959

Interviewer's name

Identification number

MY NAME IS . I AM WORKING WITH A RESEARCH GROUP WHICH IS NOT PART OF THE HAWTHORN FACULTY. OUR JOB IS TO LEARN WHAT HAPPENS WHEN A NEW COLLEGE STARTS, AND WE ARE TALKING WITH EVERYONE IN YOUR ENTERING CLASS. WE WILL NOT DISCUSS WHAT ANY INDIVIDUAL STUDENT TELLS US WITH THE FACULTY OR THE ADMINISTRATION. EVERYTHING YOU SAY IS TREATED AS CONFIDENTIAL. WE WILL EVENTUALLY ISSUE REPORTS OF STATISTICAL PERCENTAGES IN WHICH NO INDIVIDUAL IS IDENTIFIED.

THERE IS NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWER. WE WANT TO KNOW WHAT YOUR EXPERIENCES HAVE BEEN, AND WHAT YOUR IDEAS ARE.

1a. Some people decide about going to college only when the time rolls around and others plan for years. Can you tell me about how you decided to go to college?

1b. Have you always known that you were going to college, or was there some time when you thought you might not?

(IF ONCE THOUGHT MIGHT NOT ATTEND COLLEGE)

1c. When was that?

1d. What made you change your mind?

2a. What other colleges did you consider going to?

(IF CONSIDERED OTHER COLLEGES)

3a. Did anyone advise you about colleges in any way?

4a. What led to your coming to Hawthorn?

4b. Did you receive an invitation in the mail or did you ask for an invitation?

4c. Have you any idea why you were invited to Hawthorn?

5. What do you expect Hawthorn to be like?

6. What do you think about being part of the first group to go through Hawthorn?

7a. Do you already know any of the other students?

(IF YES)

7b. How do you know them?

8. What do you expect the other Hawthorn students to be like?

9. What do you hope to get from college?

10a. What things are you most concerned about in coming to college?

10b. Are there things that concern you about coming to Hawthorn? which might not concern you if you were going elsewhere?

11a. Do you expect that Hawthorn is going to be pretty much like most other schools, or different from most other schools?

11b. In what way?

11c. Do you see any advantages to coming to Hawthorn which you might not have if you were going elsewhere?

11d. Do you see any disadvantages to coming to Hawthorn which you might not have if you were going elsewhere?

12a. Do you expect Hawthorn to be pretty much like the College of Liberal Arts at City, or different from the College of Liberal Arts at City?

(IF DIFFERENT)

12b. In what way?
13a. On the basis of what you now know about Hawthorn, would you be in favor of your younger brother or younger sister coming here?
13b. Why do you feel this way?
14a. Do you think you yourself will stay to complete your degree?
14b. Why?
15. Would you drop out to get married?
16a. Do you expect to have a good time at Hawthorn?

16b. Why?

17a. Do you expect a good education at Hawthorn?

17b. Why?

18a. Do you expect that Hawthorn will be helpful in your life?

18b. Why?

19a. We realize you haven't had much experience yet with college faculty, but we would like to know something about what you expect. What kind of person do you think becomes a university teacher?

19b. How would you compare him with a high school teacher?

20a. What do you think your relationship with him will be like?

20b. What do you hope to receive from him?

NOW THESE NEXT QUESTIONS HAVE TO DO WITH WORKING.

21a. Some students are supported fully by their parents, while others are supported not at all, and still others are supported to the extent of medical care or other emergencies. To what extent are you supported by your parents, and to what extent are you self-supporting?

21b. How do you plan to contribute to your support?

21c. Do you plan to work at all during your college career?

(IF YES)

21d. When do you plan to work?

21e. How many hours do you plan to work, during the school year?

(IF 20 HOURS A WEEK)

21f. We know that there is a rule that students at City may only work twenty hours a week, but we also know that many students actually work more. There is nothing here that is official, and so you can feel free to tell us how many hours you really plan to work during the year. Are you definitely going to limit yourself to 20 hours?

21g. What effett will working have on your college experience, in your judgment?

22a. Now, thinking about how you went your life to be five years from now, how would you describe it?

22b. Do you think you may change your mind about this?

23a. How would you describe what you want your life to be like, twenty years from now?

23b. Do you think you may change your mind about this?

24a. Different people want different things from college. Read through this list of things people may want from college, and I will ask you to tell me for each, whether it is important or unimportant as far as you are concerned.

| Important | Unimportant | |
|---|---|---|
| ___ | ___ | a. Changing yourself |
| ___ | ___ | b. Learning to be of service to the world |
| ___ | ___ | c. Preparing for future work |
| ___ | ___ | d. Learning to know many different kinds of people |
| ___ | ___ | e. Developing values for your future |
| ___ | ___ | f. Making friends for life |
| ___ | ___ | g. Developing intellectually |
| ___ | ___ | h. Learning new skills |
| ___ | ___ | i. Meeting your future mate |
| ___ | ___ | j. Taking part in sports |
| ___ | ___ | k. Academic achievement |
| ___ | ___ | l. Participation in extra-curricular activities |
| ___ | ___ | m. Learning to be independent |
| ___ | ___ | n. Having a good time |
| ___ | ___ | o. Meeting people |
| ___ | ___ | p. Other than these (specify) ___ |

24b. Which of these is most important to you?

24c. Which is next most important to you?

24d. Which is least important to you?

25a. How do you hope to realize ______________ (response to 24b)

25b. Why is it something you want?

25c. What is it about college that makes it a good place to realize this?

25d. How likely do you think it is that you will realize ______________ (response to 24b)

25e. Why do you say this?

26. You said ________ (response to 24d) was least important to you. Why is that?

27a. Would you always have made the same decisions you just did about what is important?

(IF NO)

28. Coming to college often means a change in relationships with parents. Do your parents want you to come to college, or are they against your coming to college, or don't they care?

29a. Is there some member of your family who has strongly encouraged you to come to college?

(IF YES)

30. How would your parents react if you didn't finish college?

31. How would you react, yourself, if you didn't finish college?

32. What do your parents expect of you?

33. Do your parents understand what you want out of life?

34a. Is what you want out of life different from your parents' life, or pretty much the same?

34b. In what way?

35a. Do you discuss personal problems mostly with your parents, mostly with your friends, or with neither your parents nor your friends?

(IF PARENTS, OR IF PARENTS AND FRIENDS)

35b. Which parent do you chiefly talk with?

36. What do you and your parents agree about?

37. What do you and your parents disagree about?

38a. What do you do if you and your parents disagre?

38b. How much does a disagreement with your parents upset you?

39a. Do you feel you are pretty much living according to your family's rules, or are you on your own?

(IF NOT ON YOUR OWN)

39b. When do you think you'll be on your own?

NOW WE'D LIKE YOU TO COMPARE HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE

40a. How do you expect college to be different from high school?

40b. Do you think, all in all, college will be like high school or different from high school?

41a. Everyone is different in some way. In what way were you different from most of the other students at your high school?

41b. In general, do you think you were more like most other students at your high school or different from most other students?

42a. Do you expect that the students here at Hawthorn will be more like you or less like you than were the students in your high school?

42b. Why?

43. In what ways do you think you could be better prepared for college?

NOW ABOUT FRIENDS AND GROUPS OF FRIENDS

44a. Do you belong to a group or groups of friends, in which the friends all know each other as well as knowing you?

(IF YES)

44b. Think about the group of friends to which you feel closest. How did these people come to know each other?

44c. Do you think you will continue to get together with this group through this next year?

44d. How many of the group are coming to college: none, only a few, more than half, all?

44e. How do the other members of the group feel about your coming to college?

44f. What sort of thing would raise someone's standing in this group?

44g. What sort of thing would lower someone's standing in this group?

45a. About how many really close friends do you have?

(IF HAS FRIENDS)

45b. What will they be doing this fall?

46a. Would you say you spend most time with friends from school, friends from church, friends from the neighborhood, or friends from some other place?

46b. From where is that?

47a. Do you hope to affiliate with a fraternity?

47b. Why?

(IF WANTS TO AFFILIATE)

47c. What do you think your chances are?

48. With what sort of people do you hope to become associated in your future life?

49a. Most people feel left out of things some time. Did you ever feel left out of things while in high school?

50a. Are you in any way concerned about being left out of things in college?

(IF YES)

51a. Would you rather be friendly with everyone at Hawthorn or have just a few close friends?

51b. Why is that?

TURNING NOW TO DATING

52. How often do you date now?

53. Do you expect to do more or less dating during your first year of college?

54a. Are you concerned about dating?

55a. Do you hope to change in relation to girls while you are in college?

(IF YES)

56a. Did you go steady in high school?

56b. With about how many girls did you go steady?

56c. Why did your last steady relationship break up?

57a. Are you currently involved in a serious relationship with a girl?

NOW ABOUT WHAT YOU FIND FUN, WHERE YOU FEEL COMFORTABLE, AND WHERE YOU FEEL UNCOMFORTABLE?

58. What do you do most often when you just want to relax and have fun?

59a. Do you ever daydream?

(IF YES)

59b. Could you tell me a daydream?

60. If you have extra money, what do you generally spend it on?

61. Have you bought new clothes for college: none at all; some; quite a few?

62. With whom among the following do you feel most comfortable?

CARD
a. A boy your own age
b. A girl your own age
c. An older man
d. An older woman
e. A group of fellows and girls your own age
f. A group of fellows your own age
g. A group of girls your own age

63. With whom do you feel least comfortable? (CARD)

64. Do you find that you meet other people easily or with difficulty?

65a. How many other people really understand you?

65b. Who are they?

66. Can you describe the situation in which you have felt most yourself?

67. Everyone is liable to have some difficulties. When you get into difficulty, what sort of difficulty is it likely to be?

FINALLY, WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU A COUPLE OF QUESTIONS ABOUT STUDYING.

68. Do you have trouble studying, or do you find it easy to study?

69. How do you go about studying?

INTERVIEWER RATINGS

1. RACE
White ______
Negro ______
Other (write in) ____________________

2. SEX
Male ______
Female ______

3. PHYSICAL ATTRACTIVENESS
Very Attractive ______
Average ______
Unattractive ______

4. ATTITUDE TOWARD INTERVIEW
Positive ______
Neutral ______
Negative ______

5. POISE
Highly poised--great social skill ______
Somewhat poised--average social skill ______
Little poise--awkward ______

6. TYPICALITY
In no way outstanding--an average sort of person ______
In some ways different ______
Definitely different--atypical ______

7. VERBAL FLUENCY AND ARTICULATENESS

High ____
Average ____
Low ____

8. ASSERTIVENESS

Highly assertive--brash ____
Somewhat assertive--fairly confident ____
Unassertive--shy ____

9. HAPPINESS

High ____
Medium ____
Low ____

## STUDENT CHURCH ATTENDANCE

| | Fall 1959 % | Fall-Summer 1960 % | Fall-Summer 1962 % | Fall-Summer 1963 % | Fall-Summer 1964 % | Fall-Summer 1965 % | Fall-Spring 1966-67 % | Summer-Spring 1967-68 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Daily | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Two to three times a week | 9 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 8 | 4 |
| Once a week | 46 | 52 | 43 | 44 | 42 | 45 | 43 | 40 |
| Every two to three weeks | 11 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 9 | 6 | 8 | 9 |
| Once a month | 4 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| Several times a year | 16 | 16 | 16 | 13 | 12 | 15 | 11 | 16 |
| Once a year | 4 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 3 |
| Less often | 2 | 5 | 8 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 7 |
| Never | 6 | 3 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 14 | 16 | 16 |
| Depends | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | - | - |
| Etc | - | - | 0 | - | - | - | - | - |
| | N=285 | N=289 | N=297 | N=289 | N=397 | N=292 | N=283 | N=327 |
| No answer | | N=2 | N=2 | N=7 | N=3 | N=1 | N=4 | N=7 |

## FATHER"S RELIGION

| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jewish | 20 | 17 | 14 | 11 | 11 | 9 | 8 | 12 |
| Rom. Cath. | 25 | 23 | 33 | 35 | 32 | 38 | 42 | 40 |
| Oth. Cath. | 6 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Anglican | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 3 |
| Lutheran | 8 | 13 | 7 | 8 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 6 |
| Methodist | 6 | 11 | 9 | 5 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 5 |
| Presbyterian | 8 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Baptist | 7 | 6 | 7 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 6 | 11 |
| Oth. Prot. | 11 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 11 | 10 | 8 | 6 |
| None | 6 | 6 | 7 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 9 | 12 |
| Other & Free Thinking | 0 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 4 | - |
| | N=272 | N=272 | N=288 | N=285 | N=389 | N=288 | N=270 | N=317 |
| No answer | N=13 | N=19 | N=11 | N=11 | N=11 | N=5 | N=17 | N=17 |

## RELIGION SUMMARY

| | Fall 1959 | Fall-Summer 1960 | Fall Summer 1962 | Fall-Summer 1963 | Fall-Summer 1964 | Fall-Summer 1965 | Fall-Spring 1966-67 | Summer-Spring 1967-68 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Jewish | 20 | 15 | .13 | 11 | 11 | 9 | 8 | 11 |
| Rom. Cath. | 24 | 25 | 31 | 35 | 35 | 41 | 42 | 41 |
| Oth. Cath. | 4 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Anglican | 5 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 5 | 4 |
| Lutheran | 11 | 14 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 6 |
| Methodist | 5 | 12 | 9 | 6 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 7 |
| Presbyterian | 8 | 10 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 4 |
| Baptist | 8 | 6 | 9 | 12 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 10 |
| Oth. Prot. | 9 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 9 |
| None | 5 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 7 | 2 | 5 |
| Other & Free Thinking | 1 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| | N=281 | N=284 | N=295 | N=288 | N=393 | N=290 | N=280 | N=325 |
| No answer | N=4 | N=7 | N=5 | N=8 | N=7 | N=3 | N=7 | N=9 |

## STUDENT'S RELIGION

| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jewish | 19 | 15 | 10 | 8 | 10 | 6 | 4 | 7 |
| Rom. Cath. | 24 | 24 | 31 | 34 | 35 | 38 | 36 | 32 |
| Oth. Cath. | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Anglican | 5 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 2 |
| Lutheran | 11 | 14 | 6 | 8 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 5 |
| Methodist | 5 | 9 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 4 |
| Presbyterian | 8 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| Baptist | 6 | 6 | 6 | 9 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 7 |
| Oth. Prot. | 5 | 9 | 8 | 5 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 6 |
| None | 13 | 5 | 11 | 12 | 14 | 13 | 16 | 23 |
| Other & Free Thinking | 1 | 2 | 11 | 10 | 8 | 9 | 11 | 11 |
| | N=281 | N=279 | N=297 | N=277 | N=387 | N=283 | N=275 | N=311 |
| No answer | N=4 | N=12 | N=7 | N=19 | N=13 | N=10 | N=12 | N=23 |

# ETHNICITY AND RELIGION

| Mother's Ethnicity | Fall 1959 % | Fall-Summer 1960 % | Fall-Summer 1962 % | Fall-Summer 1963 % | Fall-Summer 1964 % | Fall-Summer 1965 % | Fall-Spring 1966-67 % | Summer-Spring 1967-68 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Brit. Comb. | 4 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 9 | 7 | 5 |
| English | 11 | 17 | 6 | 12 | 11 | 8 | 10 | 12 |
| Scotch | 3 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Scot-Irish | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | - |
| Irish | 4 | 3 | 5 | 11 | 8 | 4 | 7 | 6 |
| Australian | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Welsh | 0 | - | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Eng. Cana. | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| * Comb. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| French | 4 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 8 | 8 | 5 |
| Spanish | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | 0 | - | 1 |
| Italian | 2 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 3 |
| Portugese | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Maltese | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Belgium | - | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Fr. Canad. | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Alsace | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0 |
| German | 15 | 18 | 17 | 16 | 15 | 15 | 13 | 17 |
| Austrian | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | - | 1 |
| Dutch | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| Flemish | - | - | - | - | 0 | - | 0 | - |
| Bohemian | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | 0 | -- | 0 |
| Swiss | - | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | - | - | - |
| Amer. Ind. | - | 1 | - | 0 | 1 | 1 | - | 1 |
| Mexican | - | - | 1 | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| So. Amer. | - | - | - | - | - | 0 | - | - |
| So. Africa | - | - | - | - | - | 0 | - | - |
| Amer. Negro | 6 | 5 | 8 | 8 | 10 | 6 | 14 | 12 |
| Swedish | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Danish | - | - | - | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Norwegian | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | - | 1 | 1 |
| Finnish | 2 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Lithuanian | 1 | - | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Estonian | 0 | 1 | - | - | - | - | 0 | - |
| Scand. Gen'l | - | - | - | 0 | 0 | - | 0 | - |
| Polish | 17 | 12 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 13 | 16 |
| Serbian | 0 | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 | - |
| Croatian | - | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | - | 1 |
| Slovene | - | 0 | - | 0 | 0 | - | - | - |
| Slovak | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Hungarian | 4 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Albanian | - | - | - | 0 | - | - | 0 | - |
| Bulgarian | 0 | - | 0 | - | - | - | - | - |

## ETHNICITY AND RELIGION

| Mother's Ethnicity | Fall 1959 % | Fall-Summer 1960 % | Fall-Summer 1962 % | Fall-Summer 1963 % | Fall-Summer 1964 % | Fall-Summer 1965 % | Fall-Spring 1966-67 % | Summer-Spring 1967-68 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Roumanian | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Yugoslav (Gen'l) | - | 0 | 1 | - | 0 | - | 1 | 1 |
| Russian | 11 | 10 | 9 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 6 |
| Ukraine | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Greek | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Moslem (Chris) | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | 0 |
| Moslem (Europe) | - | - | - | - | 0 | - | 1 | - |
| Moslem (Medit) | 0 | - | 0 | - | - | - | 1 | - |
| Middle East | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| India | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0 |
| Southeast Asia | - | - | - | - | - | 0 | - | - |
| Japan | - | - | - | - | - | 0 | - | - |
| China | - | - | - | - | 0 | 0 | - | - |
| Phillip | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
|  | N=276 | N=272 | N=284 | N=289 | N=382 | N=285 | N=280 | N=325 |
| No answer | N=9 | N=19 | N=15 | N=7 | N=18 | N=8 | N=7 | N=9 |

| Father's Ethnicity | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Brit. Comb. | 2 | 8 | 7 | 3 | 5 | 8 | 5 | 3 |
| English | 10 | 10 | 7 | 12 | 8 | 7 | 8 | 10 |
| Scotch | 6 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 4 |
| Scot-Irish | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | - |
| Irish | 6 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 9 | 7 | 8 | 10 |
| Australian | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Welsh | - | - | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| Eng. Cana. | 0 | 1 | - | - | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| + Comb. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| French | 5 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Spanish | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Italian | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Portugese | - | - | - | 0 | - | - | - | - |
| Maltese | - | 1 | 0 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Belgium | - | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | 1 |
| Fr. Canad. | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | 1 |
| Alsace | 0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0 |
| German | 13 | 22 | 16 | 15 | 14 | 17 | 15 | 16 |
| Austrian | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Dutch | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 |

# ETHNICITY AND RELIGION

| Father's Ethnicity | Fall 1959 % | Fall-Summer 1960 % | Fall-Summer 1962 % | Fall-Summer 1963 % | Fall-Summer 1964 % | Fall Summer 1965 % | Fall-Spring 1966-67 % | Summer-Spring 1967-68 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Flemish | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Bohemian | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 | 1 |
| Swiss | 1 | - | - | - | 0 | - | - | - |
| Amer. Ind. | - | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mexican | - | - | 0 | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| So. Amer. | - | 0 | 0 | - | - | - | - | - |
| So. African | - | - | - | - | - | 0 | - | - |
| Amer. Negro | 6 | 5 | 9 | 8 | 10 | 6 | 13 | 13 |
| Swedish | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Danish | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Norwegian | 0 | 1 | 0 | - | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Finnish | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | 1 |
| Lithuanian | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Estonian | 0 | 0 | - | - | - | - | - | 0 |
| Scan. Gen'l. | - | - | - | 0 | - | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Polish | 16 | 11 | 15 | 14 | 16 | 14 | 13 | 14 |
| Serb. | 1 | 0 | 1 | - | - | 0 | 1 | - |
| Croation | - | - | - | 0 | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Slovene | - | 0 | 0 | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Slovak | - | 1 | - | 0 | 1 | 1 | - | 1 |
| Hungarian | 4 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Albanian | 1 | - | - | 0 | - | - | - | - |
| Bulgarian | - | - | 0 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Roumanian | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Yugoslav | - | | | | | | | |
| (Gen'l) | - | 0 | 0 | - | 1 | - | 0 | 0 |
| Russian | 11 | 10 | 8 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 6 |
| Ukraine | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Greek | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Moslem (Chris) | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | 0 |
| Israel | - | - | 0 | - | - | - | - | 0 |
| Moslem (Europe) | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - |
| Moslem (Medit) | 0 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - |
| Middle East | - | - | - | - | - | 0 | - | - |
| India | - | - | - | - | - | - | | 0 |
| Southeast Asia | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Japan | - | - | - | - | - | 0 | - | - |
| China | - | - | - | - | 0 | 1 | - | 0 |
| Phillip | - | - | - | 0 | - | 0 | - | - |
| | N=278 | N=276 | N=293 | N=291 | N=385 | N=285 | N=283 | N=326 |
| No answer | N=7 | N=15 | N=6 | N=5 | N=15 | N=8 | N=4 | N=8 |

## SUMMARY OF ETHNICITY

| Father's Ethnicity | Fall 1959 % | Fall-Summer 1960 % | Fall-Summer 1962 % | Fall-Summer 1963 % | Fall-Summer 1964 % | Fall-Summer 1965 % | Fall-Spring 1966-67 % | Summer-Spring 1967-68 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| British | 13 | 20 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 17 | 13 | 13 |
| Irish | 6 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 9 | 7 | 8 | 10 |
| Scotch | 6 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 4 |
| West Europe | 17 | 25 | 19 | 18 | 19 | 23 | 18 | 18 |
| Scandanavian | 4 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 7 | 2 |
| Latin | 9 | 8 | 10 | 13 | 10 | 7 | 10 | 9 |
| Greek | 3 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Russian | 13 | 12 | 10 | 7 | 5 | 9 | 7 | 8 |
| Polizh | 17 | 11 | 17 | 14 | 16 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| Other Slav. | 6 | 3 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 7 |
| Other | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Negro | 6 | 5 | 9 | 8 | 10 | 5 | 14 | 13 |
| | N=278 | N=276 | N=294 | N=290 | N=392 | N=281 | N=283 | N=326 |
| No answer | N=7 | N=15 | N=5 | N=6 | N=8 | N=12 | N=4 | N=8 |

| Mother's Ethnicity | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| British | 17 | 24 | 12 | 18 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 18 |
| Irish | 4 | 3 | 7 | 11 | 8 | 3 | 7 | 6 |
| Scotch | 4 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 1 |
| West Europe | 18 | 22 | 20 | 18 | 16 | 20 | 14 | 21 |
| Scandanavian | 4 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 2 |
| Latin | 6 | 7 | 7 | 9 | 10 | 14 | 11 | 9 |
| Greek | 4 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Russian | 12 | 10 | 9 | 6 | 8 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Polish | 18 | 12 | 16 | 15 | 15 | 18 | 13 | 17 |
| Other Slav. | 7 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| Other | - | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | - | 1 |
| Negro | 6 | 5 | 8 | 7 | 11 | 5 | 14 | 12 |
| | N=276 | N=273 | N=284 | N=288 | N=382 | N=283 | N=279 | N=325 |
| No answer | N=9 | N=18 | N=15 | N=8 | N=8 | N=10 | N=8 | N=9 |

# STUDENT ACTIVITIES AT CITY UNIVERSITY

by

Gregory Nigosian

## Foreword

We will consider the proportion of Hawthorn students who participated in university-wide student activities.[1] The finding, simply is that the proportion of Hawthorn student participation is greater than that of Liberal Arts students. But this is more important than it appears, because we are discussing only participation in university-wide activities.

Hawthorn students, of course, had a wide variety of college activities in which they could participate. On the other hand, Liberal Arts students had very little in the way of "college" activities to participate in. Therefore, if we were to incorporate college-specific activity in the present comparative analysis, we would include a bias in favor of Hawthorn students, and show an exaggerated degree of participation in student activities by Hawthorn students.

Thus not only are Hawthorn students more likely than Liberal Arts students to participate in university-wide student activities, we would find, if we could include such data, that Hawthorn students are far more likely to participate in activities available to them than Liberal Arts students in activities available to them.

## Introduction

The popular mythology in the early years held that Hawthorn students were "separatists" or "isolationists". It was argued that Hawthorn students were concerned only about themselves, and the Hawthorn Center and the activities which occured there. The data belie the myth.

For example, considering only those Hawthorn students who accepted an invitation to attend, compared with those who were invited but chose not to attend, we can see that in this most stringent of comparisons, Hawthorn students hold their own.

---

[1] A participant is defined as one who participated in any university-wide activity, with a few exceptions. For example, those few persons who were very involved in intercollegiate athletics were not included because it was found that the student activities records were inaccurate for this category. Also, those who were "members" of Hillel were not included because this would have produced an inflated picture (all persons who checked "Jewish" on the religious preference card at registration were reported as members, meaning that Hillel was more of a mailing list than an organization.)

| | Hawthorn (accepted invitation) | | Liberal Arts (rejected invitation) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Participant | 54.4% | (155) | 53.5% | (227) |
| Non-Participant | 45.6% | (130) | 46.5% | (197) |
| | | (285) | | (424) |

If, however, we considered all those persons who were eligible to enter Hawthorn, but of whom only a sample were actually invited to attend, the participation by Hawthorn students is sharply higher.

| | Hawthorn (accepted invitation) | | All other eligible to attend Hawthorn | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Participant | 54.4% | (155) | 44.6% | (466) |
| Non-Participant | 45.6% | (130) | 55.4% | (580) |
| | | (285) | | (1,046) |

It is not clear just what is involved here. Partly, it may be that those who accepted the invitation were already predisposed toward student activities and saw Hawthorn as more "collegiate." It might also be that something about attending Hawthorn as the effect of increasing participation. This seems to be the case.

| | Any Hawthorn Experience | | No Hawthorn Experience | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Participant | 57.1% | (222) | 46.4% | (581) |
| Non-Participant | 42.9% | (167) | 53.6% | (671) |
| | | (389) | | (1,252) |

If any contact with Hawthorn seems to correlate with participation, one might wonder if longer contact produces greater participation. It seems to.

|  | Stayed in Hawthorn | All Others |
|---|---|---|
| Participant | 57.4% (139) | 45.7% (640) |
| Non-Participant | 42.6% (103)<br>(242) | 54.3% (759)<br>(1,399) |

But simple longevity of contact with Hawthorn does not provide sufficient explanation for differences in participation. Considering just those with Hawthorn experience, it is clear that there is something at work other than just "Hawthorn contact." For example, those who were invited and stayed have a good proportion of participants.

|  | Hawthorn (Invited and Stayed) |
|---|---|
| Participant | 53.6% (98) |
| Non-Participant | 46.4% (85)<br>(183) |

But those who left have a higher degree of participation.

|  | Hawthorn (Left) |
|---|---|
| Participant | 55.9% (57) |
| Non-Participant | 44.1% (45)<br>(102) |

But the highest participation of all groups was shown by that group of students who came to Hawthorn on their own, without having been invited.

|  | Hawthorn (Self-Starters) |
|---|---|
| Participant | 64.4% (67) |
| Non-Participant | 35.6% (37)<br>(104) |

Similarly, the pattern among Liberal Arts students is not monolithic, nor does it suggest that it is "college" alone which explains participation.

| | Liberal Arts Students | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Invited to Hawthorn | Not Invited | Not Eligible for Invitation |
| Participant | 53.5% (227) | 38.4% (239) | 55.8% (115) |
| Non-Participant | 46.5% (197) | 61.6% (383) | 44.2% ( 91) |
| | (424) | (622) | (206) |

(The pattern for those not invited to Hawthorn is especially bizarre. It suggests that the construction of the "invitation pool" failed to take into account some element which made the "not invited" group dramatically different in at least one respect from the patterns shows by their fellow students.)

The Impact of Participation

There are many who argue that it is good to participate in student activities for the social and personal benefits they provide for students. Thus, we should consider what relation there might be between participation in activities and outcome (graduation, dropping-out, or slowing down), considering the effect of some other variables as well.

A comparison of outcome of Hawthorn and Liberal Arts participants and non-participants would be instructive, though it raises some questions as well.

| | Hawthorn | | Liberal Arts | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Participant | Non-Participant | Participant | Non-Participant |
| Graduate (in 5 yrs. or less) | 49.6% (69) | 29.1% (30) | 46.6% (298) | 17.4% (132) |
| Slow-down (still around after 5 yrs.) | 32.4% (45) | 16.5% (17) | 21.6% (138) | 14.4% (109) |
| Drop-out (left at any-time before grad.) | 18.0% (25) | 54.4% (56) | 31.8% (204) | 68.2% (518) |
| | (139) | (103) | (640) | (759) |

It is apparent that there is a drastic difference between participants and non-participants in each of the outcome categories. There is much less difference between Hawthorn and Liberal Arts students in corresponding categories. And, there is the greatest difference in what might be expected to be the polar positions- Hawthorn participants and Liberal Arts non-participants (up to a 50.2% difference.)

The meaning of this difference is unclear. For example, in the drop-out category, it might be that people who are potential drop-outs shun activities to shore up their academic positions. On the other hand, since almost as many participants graduate as non-participants drop out, it could be that there is something about participation that goes along with propensity to graduate.

Comparison between the percentage of people in the activity column with those in the composite college column shows that participants are more likely to graduate or slow down, and less likely to drop-out than non-participate.

| | All Hawthorn | All Liberal Arts | Both |
|---|---|---|---|
| Graduate | 40.9% | 30.7% | 32.2% |
| | (99) | (430) | (529) |
| Slow-down | 25.6% | 17.7% | 18.8% |
| | (62) | (247) | (309) |
| Drop-out | 33.5% | 51.6% | 48.9% |
| | (81) | (722) | (803) |
| | (242) | (1,399) | (1,641) |

The same general pattern holds for college and participation and, indeed, is exaggerated when considering age.

| | Under 21 | | | | 21 and Over | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hawthorn | | Liberal Arts | | Hawthorn* | | Liberal Arts | |
| | Part. | Non-Part. | Part. | Non-Part. | Part. | Non-Part. | Part. | Non-Part. |
| Graduate | 49.6% | 30.5% | 47.8% | 21.2% | -- | -- | 26.3% | 3.6% |
| | (67) | (29) | (288) | (126) | (2) | (1) | (10) | (6) |
| Slow-down | 33.3% | 16.8% | 21.3% | 12.1% | -- | -- | 26.3% | 22.4% |
| | (45) | (16) | (128) | (72) | -- | (1) | (10) | (37) |
| Drop-out | 17.0% | 52.6% | 30.9% | 66.7% | -- | -- | 47.4% | 73.9% |
| | (23) | (50) | (186) | (396) | (2) | (2) | (18) | (122) |
| | (135) | (95) | (602) | (594) | (4) | (4) | (38) | (165) |

*Too few for meaningful percentages

There are many fewer older students, but it is clear that they are less likely to participate in activities, and far more likely to drop-out. Removing the older Liberal Arts students moves the younger ones closer to the Hawthorn pattern.

Within each sex category, participants across college look more like each other, but there are still substantial differences

| | Men | | | | Women | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hawthorn | | Liberal Arts | | Hawthorn | | Liberal Arts | |
| | Part. | Non-Part. | Part. | Non-Part. | Part. | Non-Part. | Part. | Non-Part. |
| Graduate | 41.8%<br>(33) | 31.1%<br>(19) | 40.6%<br>(108) | 16.0%<br>(57) | 60.0%<br>(36) | 26.8%<br>(11) | 50.9%<br>(190) | 18.6%<br>(75) |
| Slow-down | 41.8%<br>(33) | 16.4%<br>(10) | 26.7%<br>(71) | 18.0%<br>(64) | 20.0%<br>(12) | 17.1%<br>( 7) | 18.0%<br>(67) | 11.1%<br>(45) |
| Drop-out | 16.4%<br>(13) | 52.5%<br>(32) | 32.7%<br>(87) | 65.9%<br>(234) | 20.0%<br>(12) | 56.1%<br>(23) | 31.1%<br>(116) | 70.3%<br>(284) |
| | (79) | (61) | (266) | (355) | (60) | (41) | (373) | (404) |

An interesting pattern is that participant women are most likely to graduate, and non-participant women are most likely to drop-out.

But the most important test of the relationship between participant and outcome would be one concerning "input", that is, the student upon entrance. The measure used below is a combination of information about the student's high school and about himself. The following composite of factors is used to show difference in the "input" of students.

| Composite student quality | Good | | | Average | | Poor | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| High school quality | Outstanding | Outstanding | Good | Good | Average | Average | Poor | Poor |
| Student admission by | Certificate | Exam | Certif. | Exam | Certif. | Exam | Certif. | Certif. |

Using the composite index of student quality, and the categories already used, we can consider whether student quality affects the relationship between college, activities, and outcome.

| STUDENT PREPARATION | GOOD | | | | AVERAGE | | | | POOR | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| COLLEGE | Hawthorn | | Lib. Arts | | Hawthorn | | Lib. Arts | | Hawthorn* | | Lib. Arts | |
| ACTIVITY PARTICIP. | yes | no | yes | no | yes | no | yes | no | yes | no | yes | no |
| OUTCOME | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| GRADUATE | 56.6%<br>(43) | 40.4%<br>(19) | 51.8%<br>(160) | 25.7%<br>(70) | 46.0%<br>(23) | 23.7%<br>( 9) | 46.3%<br>(114) | 16.1%<br>(51) | ( 3) | ( 2) | 28.2%<br>(24) | 6.4%<br>(11) |
| SLOWDOWN | 34.2%<br>(26) | 17.0%<br>( 8) | 22.3%<br>(69) | 13.2%<br>(36) | 26.0%<br>(13) | 18.4%<br>( 7) | 18.3%<br>(45) | 12.7%<br>(40) | ( 6) | ( 2) | 28.2%<br>(24) | 19.3%<br>(33) |
| DROP-OUT | 9.2%<br>(7) | 42.6%<br>(20) | 25.9%<br>(80) | 61.0%<br>(166) | 28.0%<br>(14) | 57.9%<br>(22) | 35.4%<br>(87) | 71.2%<br>(225) | ( 4) | (14) | 43.5%<br>(37) | 74.3%<br>(127) |
| | (76) | (47) | (309) | (272) | (50) | (39) | (246) | (316) | (13) | (18) | (85) | (171) |

*too few for meaningful percentages

It can be seen from cross-participation, cross-college and cross-preparation comparisons that the basic pattern holds up; those who participate in any student activities are more likely to graduate and less likely to drop-out.

Considering the quality of student preparation, we find, of course, that better students are likely to better in terms of outcome. But the table also shows that, whatever the quality of participation, the main pattern continues- those in Hawthorn and activities do better, those in Liberal Arts and not in activities do worse.

## STUDENT ACTIVITIES OF 1959 ENTRANTS TO CITY UNIVERSITY DURING THEIR COLLEGE CAREER

| | Liberal Arts | | Hawthorn | | Not Eligible | | Total N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not. Inv. | Refused | Transfer | Stayed | Lib. Arts | Haw-thorn | |
| All active | 258 | 246 | 62 | 107 | 97 | 70 | 840 |
| All non-active | 362 | 178 | 40 | 76 | 111 | 34 | 801 |
| TOTAL | 620 | 424 | 102 | 183 | 208 | 104 | 1,641 |
| Univ. gov't. political | | | | | | | |
| SFC/NSA | 3 | 2 | 1 | 4 | - | 3 | 13 |
| collegiate only | 6 | 8 | 4 | 6 | 2 | 7 | 33 |
| Univ. not political not SFC/col. | | | | | | | |
| participant | 71 | 74 | 15 | 27 | 30 | 15 | 232 |
| active | 7 | 10 | - | 9 | 4 | 1 | 31 |
| Publications | | | | | | | |
| participant | 8 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 10 | 29 |
| active | 2 | 1 | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| Pol. Soc. active groups | | | | | | | |
| participant | 11 | 15 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 11 | 49 |
| active | - | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 8 |
| Ethnic | | | | | | | |
| participant | 16 | 12 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 40 |
| active | - | 2 | - | 3 | 2 | 1 | 8 |
| Religious | | | | | | | |
| participant | 40 | 44 | 18 | 20 | 16 | 10 | 148 |
| active | 9 | 9 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 24 |
| +Hillel act. | 28 | 35 | 7 | 13 | 7 | 9 | 99 |
| -Hillel part. | 18 | 21 | 11 | 7 | 6 | 4 | 59 |
| Professional departmental | | | | | | | |
| participant | 64 | 58 | 13 | 15 | 17 | 14 | 181 |
| active | 6 | 3 | - | - | 1 | 1 | 11 |
| Professional frat./sor. | | | | | | | |
| participant | 8 | 13 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 3 | 44 |
| active | 4 | 5 | - | 1 | - | - | 10 |

(continued)

(continued from previous page)

| | Liberal Arts | | Hawthorn | | Not Eligible | | Total N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not. Inv. | Refused | Transfer | Stayed | LA | Haw. | |
| Social frat./sor. | | | | | | | |
| participant | 41 | 62 | 11 | 21 | 21 | 12 | 168 |
| active | 17 | 16 | 3 | 9 | 4 | 3 | 52 |
| Honorary recogniation | | | | | | | |
| participant | 11 | 7 | 4 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 31 |
| active | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Drama, speech musical | | | | | | | |
| participant | 29 | 27 | 13 | 16 | 8 | 8 | 101 |
| active | 7 | 11 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 30 |
| Recreation | | | | | | | |
| participant | 33 | 35 | 7 | 17 | 16 | 10 | 118 |
| active | 1 | 3 | 1 | - | 2 | - | 11 |
| University Athletics | | | | | | | |
| participant | 3 | 5 | - | 1 | 1 | 3 | 13 |
| active | 1 | - | - | 1 | - | - | 2 |
| Interest groups | | | | | | | |
| participant | 14 | 9 | 3 | 8 | 8 | 5 | 47 |
| active | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | - | 4 |
| Other | | | | | | | |
| participant | 10 | 8 | 2 | 11 | 4 | 5 | 40 |
| active | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | 3 |